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INDEX FOR JULY-DECEMBER, 1953

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HITLER BURNED MY BOOKS: MANFRED GEORGE

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THE *Nation*

July 4, 1953
20¢

The Satellite Story

BEHIND EAST EUROPE'S UNREST

by Mark Gayn

Wanted: A President *Bruce Catton*
Italy's Rural Reds *J. G. La Palombara*
Revolt Against Ike *Miles McMillin*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Around the U.S.A.

Selling Free Enterprise to Asia

San Francisco

AFTER nineteen months of short-wave broadcasting to China, Radio Free Asia left the air on April 30 of this year. Thus ended the biggest and most costly undertaking of the Committee for Free Asia. Less well known than the Committee for a Free Europe, the Committee for Free Asia was formed in the spring of 1951 "to launch a people's movement for freedom by combating rampart Communist aggression in Asia."

"Who are the people behind Radio Free Asia?" asked the R. F. A. announcer in an early broadcast. "Some of us are Chinese, some American. In time there will be Indians and Indonesians and Burmese—people from all the countries of Asia." Although it was true that Asians held positions on the staff, policy control of the Committee for Free Asia has always been 100 per cent American. Of the forty-one persons on its board of directors twenty-six are big business men, seventeen of whom are presidents of corporations or banks. Among them are T. S. Petersen of Standard Oil, J. D. Zellerbach of Crown-Zellerbach, S. D. Bechtel of the far-flung Bechtel construction corporation, and Juan Trippe of Pan American Airways. The chairman of the board is Brayton Wilbur, a San Francisco importer who went to Asia in February as one of the fifty-five business men sent abroad by Harold Stassen to evaluate the Mutual Security program. There are no Asians or Americans of Asian ancestry on the board. One Negro, whose name was recently added, saves the committee from being strictly a white man's organization.

"We're selling the democratic system of free enterprise," said the first committee president, George Greene, and this was the only theme the committee developed under his leadership. During this period the committee gave a banquet for the Asian newsmen assembled in San Francisco to cover the Japanese-peace-treaty conference. As an opportunity to influence opinion-molders from all over Asia the affair was such a dismal flop that the San Francisco *News*, a strong supporter of the committee, described the evening as bearing a "closer resemblance to a meeting of the Ale, Quail, Chowder, and Marching Society than the start of a continent-wide effort to free men's minds."

In addition to its broadcasting, the committee has financed a number of smaller projects. It distributes a somewhat irregular newspaper called the *Asian Student* to 7,000 Asian students in this country. It promotes the "Seeds for Democracy" campaign to send vegetable seeds to the Philippines. It has awarded $1,000 travel grants to three American high-school students of Asian descent to enable them to visit Japan and has sent three-man teams to many parts of Asia to work with local groups in setting up youth centers, bookshops, and other propaganda outlets.

• The way the committee is financed is a matter which its executives prefer not to discuss. Officially the main support comes from the Crusade for Freedom, with some additional money contributed by foundations and corporations. One thing is certain—the committee spends money freely. In 1951, for example, when its announced income was $500,000, it paid $100,000 for 1,000 tons of newsprint which it turned over to South Korea for textbooks. When it consolidated its offices on San Francisco's Market Street, the building permit called for $100,000 in alterations. The number of high-salaried people on the R. F. A. staff is further evidence that any effect it is having on Asia is not purchased cheaply.

The committee does not openly indorse Chiang Kai-shek, but from the beginning it has been evident that its heart is in Formosa. Its opening prospectus praised Chiang's 1947 constitution, and its New York office was for a long time headed by Lester Knox Little, who was concurrently registered as an agent for the Formosa government. The number of Kuomintang boosters on the committee staff and its broadcasts' exclusive concern with China make it clear that it has been more interested in liberating China than in preventing areas at present non-Communist from falling under Communist influence. Having dropped the radio station, the committee is now turning its attention toward overseas Chinese, whom it will reach through local radio and other propaganda media.

• It would be interesting to know whether R. F. A. was ended as a concession to the budget or in belated recognition that short-wave radio has little influence on the predominantly rural inhabitants of a country now ruled by a party that won control through personal agitation in areas where radio is unknown. Despite the contrary evidence of a 1947 UNESCO survey, the committee has maintained that the larger cities of Asia "abound with sets" and that R. F. A.'s audience would spread its propaganda by word of mouth because it offered "hope and encouragement to the long-suffering victims of Soviet-inspired aggression and tyranny." This and other naive presuppositions about the political mind of Asia and its susceptibility to American advertising techniques make it doubtful whether the enormously expensive R. F. A. was of any value at all.

On whatever part of Asia the committee now intends to concentrate, it shows no signs of being imaginative enough to define freedom in terms other than free enterprise, anti-communism, and the liberation of China. Coupled with its big-business leadership, this makes the committee a sitting duck for Communist charges of economic imperialism, and in sensitive areas of neutralist sentiment such as India, Burma, and Indonesia the effect is likely to be wholly negative. If American leadership in Asia is dependent upon the propaganda of the Committee for Free Asia and the McCarthyized Voice of America its future is black indeed.

MARSHALL WINDMILLER
AND JACK HOWARD

[*Marshall Windmiller is a student of Asian politics; Jack Howard is on the staff of a leading California daily.*]

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New York, Saturday, July 4, 1953

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Peace Drive Undiminished

Perhaps the two most important facts of the past week are these: Peking has shown no sign of calling off the Korean truce negotiations in spite of Syngman Rhee's continued balking and America's "pampering" of him, and Moscow, having suppressed the East German rising, has expanded its program of concessions and seems intent on pushing the peace offensive instead of calling it off. Korea is still the most "fluid" sector of the front, but at this writing Syngman Rhee is reported in retreat before the heavy diplomatic-economic guns Washington has trained on him. He will probably get some military guaranties he does not deserve—though how can the United States hinge its future course of action on the *révanchiste,* revisionist ambitions of the ROK chieftain?—and if he does, the Communists may demand a few guaranties themselves, to assure the armistice on both sides of the line. But if Peking and Moscow want peace in Korea, they will certainly not call the deal off once Syngman Rhee has been induced to swallow the terms they have already agreed to. Assuming he does, all Syngman Rhee will have achieved is to embarrass the United States, weaken its bargaining power with its friends as well as with the Communists, and endanger his own political neck. If he should go on resisting, who knows, he might end by driving his allies into the arms of his enemies!

Rising Political Barometer

In Europe a kind of slow political demobilization is going on. The East German trouble did not check it; on the contrary it helped persuade the West that the unrest and consequent weakness in Russia's frontier area had tipped the balance farther toward conciliation.

Mark Gayn's rigorous review (page 6) of the situation in Eastern Europe shows to what extremes of exploitation the Kremlin had gone, and how bitter is the resentment everywhere. He believes that Moscow's economic exactions will have to be continued if Russia is to supply its cold-war needs, but that its post-Stalin policy is to relax other sorts of pressure in the hope of mollifying the satellite peoples. If this has been the dream of the new Soviet rulers, East Germany must have made them come to with a start. But it seems to us more likely that the Russian leaders—of all people—realized the probable consequences involved in the easing of controls and discounted the risk as part of a broader policy aimed at accommodation with the West. Given a general settlement—or even a cold-war armistice—which would remove the threat of a rearmed Germany in a Western alliance and open the doors to East-West trade—and Moscow could afford to relax its increasingly unsuccessful pressures on the Eastern countries.

That Europe believes such an easing is under way is indicated by many apparently disconnected items, such as the character of the new French government, the opposition of the Danish Socialists to American air bases in Denmark, the growing talk of a negotiated peace in Indo-China, the huge indignation in Britain over Syngman Rhee's intransigence. Even the prospect of reconciliation between Italy's two Socialist parties and their possible representation in De Gasperi's next government are signs of the changing weather—more astonishing in some ways than all the rest. Significant, too, are Chancellor Adenauer's new emphasis on unity and the total failure of Premier de Gasperi's recent efforts to persuade the French and British leaders that they must avoid the pitfalls of a new four-power conference.

France and the Rosenbergs

Our Paris correspondent writes: The Rosenberg case created a sort of *mystique* which swept the churches, members of every parliamentary party right up to M. Herriot and President Auriol, and the newspapers of every political persuasion. There was a sort of national unity over the Rosenbergs that has not been seen here in any connection for a long time. Today Justice W. O. Douglas is the great hero of France and of a great deal of Europe.

Was the emotion worked up artificially? Was it basically the expression of an anti-American mood? Not so. For if there were many anti-Americans who pleaded for the doomed couple, there were also many pro-Americans who felt that their execution would create a deep moral gulf between the United States and Europe. The psychological background of the passion that shook France was perhaps best explained by Beuve-Mery in *Le Monde:*

> Why this tremendous emotion over a couple of un-

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known people on the other side of the ocean? Is it not that the circumstances surrounding them raised the problem of their life and death to the high level of a symbol, a symbol of those essential values which are the last justification of Western civilization? . . . Free men who can still protest with impunity feel the shadows of giant idols, fed on lies and terror, closing down on them, and they feel the hour approaching when they may have no choice other than being either martyr or executioner.

The Bridges Decision

The Supreme Court by a four-to-three decision has set aside the conviction of Harry Bridges and his co-defendants Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson under an indictment charging perjury and conspiracy. With the stoicism born of eighteen years' harassment, Mr. Bridges greeted the decision with the remark "now we prepare for the sixth," meaning the sixth major hearing, for neither double jeopardy nor estoppel seems to have any relevance to this case. It is altogether probable, for example, that the Department of Justice will now bring a civil suit to revoke Bridges's citizenship. The fact is that there are individuals in the Immigration and Naturalization Service who have acquired a vested interest in the continued harassment of Bridges; these individuals would not know how to win promotions and salary increases if they were not permitted to continue this senseless vendetta against a trade-union leader whose record on the West Coast waterfront is in refreshing but unacknowledged contrast to that of Joe Ryan and the East Coast longshore unions. From the outset, *The Nation* has insisted that this latest prosecution was a mean-spirited effort to "get Bridges." Like Mr. Bridges we will now prepare for the sixth.

Hitler Burned My Books

by Manfred George

> The whole civilized world was shocked when on the evening of May 10, 1933, the books of authors displeasing the Nazis, including even those of our own Helen Keller, were solemnly burned on the immense Franz Joseph Platz between the University of Berlin and the State Opera on Unter den Linden. I was a witness to the scene. All afternoon Nazi raiding parties had gone into public and private libraries, throwing into the streets such books as Dr. Goebbels in his supreme wisdom has decided were unfit for Nazi Germany. . . .

THESE words were written by Louis P. Lochner in his introduction to "The Goebbels Diaries." These were his

---

MANFRED GEORGE, noted author and journalist in pre-Hitler Germany, now edits the New York German-language weekly Aufbau.

memories of that sinister night in the spring of 1933. I did not know Lochner then, but I must have been standing somewhere near him, submerged and anonymous in the hysterical mob. Every time the frenzied crowd lugged up more piles of books, I had an impulse to shout, "Stop!" But I could not afford to indulge that impulse. In those days I was sleeping in a different apartment each night, pursued and branded because of my books and my journalistic work—just as were those whose volumes were tossed into the crackling flames.

And then the shrill voice of the satanic Herr Doktor cut through the smoke that was blackening the people's faces. "The past is lying in flames," Dr. Goebbels screamed. "The future will rise from the flames within your own hearts!"

The future rose, as it inexorably does, but the flames devastated a whole country. It began with flames—the burning of the Reichstag and the burning of the books—and it ended in flames. And it took the "blood, sweat, and tears" of the whole world to extinguish the conflagration.

The rabble that hurled the books on to the gigantic pyre in Berlin that night had been well instructed and rehearsed in advance. On April 23, 1933, a comprehensive list carefully compiled by Dr. Goebbels had been published in the newspaper *Nachtausgabe.* In it numerous writers were denounced as "Communistic vermin," although almost none of them were Communists. The list contained, among others, the names of Heinrich Heine, Lion Feuchtwanger, Ernst Toller, Stefan Zweig, Sigmund Freud, and Hugo Preuss (the great scholar and, incidentally, the author of the Weimar constitution). Nor were the books of former German Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau missing—they were burned because their author was a Jew. Others, who were neither Jews nor Communists—Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Voltaire, Romain Rolland, H. G. Wells, Selma Lagerlöf, Carl von Ossietsky, and the eminent political philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Förster—saw their works devoured by the flames because they were liberals. Goebbels made no distinction among Communists, Jews, and liberals. He lumped them all under one common label—"intellectuals."

THE burning of the books was merely the final demented chapter in the crusade that Goebbels' master had launched in "Mein Kampf" against the eggheads of his time. "We will never be able to win over the intellectuals to any appreciable degree," Hitler had written. He called them "the intellectual demi-monde" and denounced them as "parasites." He sensed that this group might successfully oppose his tactics of slander, denunciation, and intimidation. "They are the arch-enemies of any effective political-mass movement," he charged.

Hitler's propaganda was aimed at the non-political masses. They had to be shocked into a state of fear and terror. And since Hitler had opponents in the most diverse groups he shrewdly avoided fighting each individual enemy with different arguments. Vaingloriously he declared in "Mein Kampf": "It is part of the genius of the great leader to create the illusion that opponents who, ideologically speaking, are poles apart actually belong in one and the same camp, because the realization of the fact that one's enemies all hold different opinions may lead those who are weak and vacillating to doubt the righteousness of their cause."

It was a foregone conclusion that the intellectuals would be the sworn enemies of such a state of mind. Hence Goebbels denounced them as "intellectual beasts," and Rosenberg fought every form of individualism because "the liberal creed of the perfectibility of the individual will lead to an arrogant, irresponsible, cosmopolitan intellectualism."

GERMANY had known censorship in the past. But book burnings were something that even the most rabid reactionaries would not have resorted to—until the Nazis came to power. The Weimar Republic had enacted a mild law against *Schund und Schmutz* (filth and trash), directed against obscene literature. Hitler and Goebbels immediately seized upon it to befuddle the minds of the masses by stigmatizing the authors on their book-burning list as the writers of "obscene literature." This piece of distortion implanted the idea that these authors not only were politically dangerous but had contaminated "the soul of the German people."

Only the Nazis were "decent" people; all others had to be exterminated or at the very least silenced. The consequences are history. The book burnings were followed by the book bans and by the decrees stipulating, in effect, that only those writers who accepted the theories of National Socialism could make a living. State-supervised organizations such as the Reich Chamber of Culture sprang up, with compulsory membership for all writers and publishers, book dealers, librarians, and any persons connected with literary endeavors.

Then the great silence fell over Germany. In the country's earlier history a few writers here and there had exiled themselves—men such as Heine, Hervegh, and Freiligrath. This time, Germany lost hundreds of writers.

Germany has not recovered from this blow. Only now are young writers beginning to stir and to express individual ideas. But even worse than the loss of a literary tradition conceived in freedom was its immediate result: the conformism which was imposed for years on the press and literature created the very climate of numbness which paralyzed and eventually enslaved the German people. All the abominations which the Germans committed during the era of Hitlerism could happen primarily because the intellectuals had abdicated *in toto*.

The ensuing demoralization was, for Germany, without parallel. Literary histories were rewritten; authoritative works were falsified. The universities became agencies of official propaganda; the press was degraded to the exclusive service of government, following directives that were issued every day as guidance for headlines, editorials, and the handling of news.

In May, 1943, many cities in the United States commemorated the book burnings in Germany in solemn ceremonies. One of these demonstrations took place on the steps leading up to New York City's Public Library and was saluted in a message from President Roosevelt, in which he said in part:

> We all know that books can burn—but we also know that they cannot be destroyed by fire. Men may die, but books never die. No human being and no arbitrary force can extinguish their memory. No human being and no arbitrary force can stamp out the powerful impact of free thought . . . nor can they deprive the world of those books in which the struggling spirit of humanity is mirrored for all time.

The Freedom to Read

[*The American Library Association, meeting in Los Angeles last week, unanimously adopted a manifesto and resolution which we believe to be the most effective defense yet published of what might be called the Sixth Freedom—the Freedom to Read. Following is the text of the preamble of this remarkable document, which we present in lieu of our own editorial comment.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities in various parts of the country are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks, to label "controversial" books, to distribute lists of "objectionable" books or authors, and to purge libraries.

These actions apparently rise from a view that our national tradition of free expression is no longer valid; that censorship and suppression are needed to avoid the subversion of politics and the corruption of morals. We, as citizens devoted to the use of books and as librarians and publishers responsible for disseminating them, wish to assert the public interest in the preservation of the freedom to read.

We are deeply concerned about these attempts at suppression. Most such attempts rest on a denial of the fundamental premise of democracy: that the ordinary citizen, by exercising his critical judgment, will accept the good and reject the bad. The censors, public and private, assume that they should determine what is good and what is bad for their fellow citizens.

We trust Americans to recognize propaganda, and to reject obscenity. We do not believe they need the help of censors to assist them in this task. We do not believe they are prepared to sacrifice their heritage of a free press in order to be "protected" against what others think may be bad for them. We believe they still favor free enterprise in ideas and expression.

We are aware, of course, that books are not alone in being subjected to efforts at suppression. We are aware that these efforts are related to a larger pattern of pressures being brought against education, the press, films, radio, and television. The problem is not only one of actual censorship. The shadow of fear cast by these pressures leads, we suspect, to an even larger voluntary curtailment of expression by those who seek to avoid controversy.

Such pressure toward conformity is perhaps natural to a time of uneasy change and pervading fear. Especially when so many of our apprehensions are directed against an ideology, the expression of a dissident idea becomes a thing feared in itself, and we tend to move against it as against a hostile deed, with suppression.

And yet suppression is never more dangerous than in such a time of social tension. Freedom has given the United States the elasticity to endure strain. Freedom keeps open the path of novel and creative solutions, and enables change to come by choice. Every silencing of a heresy, every enforcement of an orthodoxy, diminishes the toughness and resilience of our society and leaves it the less able to deal with stress.

Now as always in our history, books are among our greatest instruments of freedom. They are almost the only means for making generally available ideas or manners of expression that can initially command only a small audience.

They are the natural medium for the new idea and the untried voice, from which come the original contributions to social growth. They are essential to the extended discussion which serious thought requires, and to the accumulation of knowledge and ideas into organized collections.

We believe that free communication is essential to the preservation of a free society and a creative culture. We believe that these pressures toward conformity present the danger of limiting the range and variety of inquiry and expression on which our democracy and our culture depend. We believe that every American community must jealously guard the freedom to publish and to circulate, in order to preserve its own freedom to read.

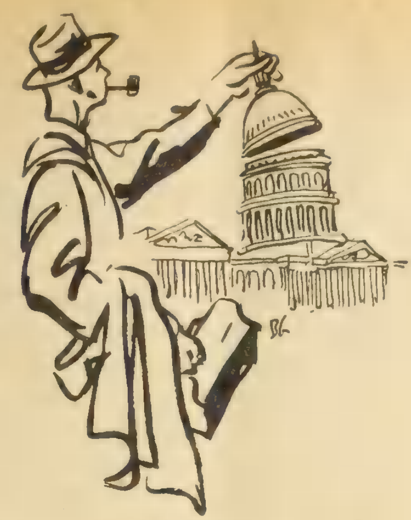
We believe that publishers and librarians have a profound responsibility to give validity to that freedom to read by making it possible for the reader to choose freely from a variety of offerings.

The freedom to read is guaranteed by the Constitution. Those with faith in free men will stand firm on these constitutional guaranties of essential rights and will exercise the responsibilities that accompany these rights.

lative program announced from the White House early in February. The words "from the White House" are used designedly. The President did not formally announce the program; he agreed on it with Republican leaders at a White House meeting and let them make the announcement as they came out. That program, summarized briefly, called for: renewal of the President's power to reorganize federal departments; passage of all appropriation bills by the House by May 15; statehood for Hawaii; amendments to the Taft-Hartley act; limited extension of controls on scarce materials; transfer of ownership of offshore oil to the states; extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act; simplification of customs procedures; extension of social security to uncovered groups; extension of federal aid for school construction in defense areas; a bill to increase the number of commissioners for the District of Columbia from three to five.

THE REORGANIZATION bill has been passed, chiefly because the Democrats went down the line for the Eisenhower plan when the Republicans balked. The offshore-oil bill was passed. Four of the eleven appropriation bills made the May 15 deadline. The rest is silence—or, if not exactly silence, delay and inaction. No Presidential message was sent to Congress on amending Taft-Hartley, extending social security, simplifying customs procedures, extending federal aid to schools, or increasing the number of District commissioners. A message was sent up on reciprocal trade but no Administration bill; to fill the vacuum, Representative Simpson of Pennsylvania, diehard tariff protectionist, wrote his own. It soon appeared that the price of modifying the Simpson bill into something the White House could accept would be assurance of a safe protectionist majority on the Tariff Commission.

The most influential voice raised about the federal budget is not that of the President but of penny-pinching Representative Taber of New York. On the excess-profits tax and reduction of the income tax—two matters vitally connected with the projected balancing of the budget—the strongest influence is that of Dan Reed, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.



Apparently it will also be Reed who finally decides what if anything can be done about broadening social-security coverage.

The point I wish to make is that the White House could get its way on such matters if it really fought. Instead, it has been dominated by a desire to accommodate itself to the will of the leaders on Capitol Hill—to "get along," to make deals, to avert any semblance of a split in the party.

Even the attempt to revamp the State Department has been blunted by this desire for harmony. One of the soundest criticisms of the last Administration was that in one way or another it had permitted the State Department to be terrorized by the McCarthys and the McCarrans. In many important policy matters the State Department had become their prisoner. Under Ike it was going to be different. But the State Department has not regained its independence. Scott McLeod, its security officer, is a visible symbol of the fact that its personnel may not flout the Senatorial wish. On the horizon of every department employee is always a McLeod no bigger than a man's hand.

A PROBABLY more important failure to exert leadership is seen in the President's selection of men to operate the political machine through which, ultimately, his program must be translated into action—the Republican Party itself. His first choice for chairman of the Republican National Committee, Wesley Roberts, fell into difficulties in connection with a financial deal in Kansas and was allowed to resign. To succeed him, the President named ex-Representative Leonard Hall of New York. The striking thing about this appointment is that during Hall's service in Congress, from 1939 to 1952, he voted against so many things to the support of which President Eisenhower is firmly committed.

He voted, for instance, against extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act. In 1950 he voted to kill the Point Four program and subsequently to limit defense spending for the fiscal year 1953 to $46,000,000,000. In 1949 he voted to cut in half the authorization for military aid to Europe in the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. Last year he voted to lop nearly two billion from the Mutual Security Act, although General Eisenhower, then in Europe, had just cabled that such a cut would endanger the military build-up which he considered essential to United States security. He voted to lift price and rent controls, against expansion of social security, to end federal aid to schools in defense areas, to kill slum clearance and public housing, to curb rural electrification, and, in 1948, against the federal soil-conservation program.

The President's desire to have harmony with Congress at almost any cost—which, in the end, means abdication of the leadership function itself—calls to mind the case of Ulysses S. Grant, the only other West Pointer to become President. Grant believed that the President should take his cue from Congress—that he was the instrument of the people's will and that the people's will was expressed through their representatives in Congress. Following this theory, Grant let Congress get entirely out of control. He is generally considered to have been the country's weakest President.

One is also reminded of the legendary young West Pointer who after getting his commission as second lieutenant was assigned to a Western Indian-country post run by a colonel famous for eating young lieutenants alive. To his surprise, the colonel received him graciously and asked him to sit down for a talk. With his confidence restored the young officer remarked as he rose to leave, "Colonel, I believe you and I are going to get along very well." "Yes," said the colonel, with a faint frosty smile, "but you will do most of the getting."

ITALY'S RURAL REDS

Lessons of the Election . . *Joseph G. La Palombara*

Milan, Italy

BEHIND the rationalizations and recriminations which have characterized post-electoral comment in Italy and abroad lies a most unpleasant political fact: after five years of Christian Democratic government—and almost three billion dollars in American aid—the strength of the center parties is considerably less than it was in 1948, whereas the left has continued to make gains and the right has revealed marked capacity for growth. This trend away from the political center is clearly shown in the table below, which compares the results of the 1948 and 1953 elections. The serious losses of the center can be ascribed in part to widespread public dissatisfaction with the last government's program and in part to the center's inability to recreate the life-or-death atmosphere of the 1948 campaign in an Italy which has come to accept crisis as endemic.

Even if the center parties work together and can maintain the slight majorities which they enjoy in both houses, it is evident that to assure a stable government they must either recapture the support they have lost or make inroads into new areas. The first approach would mean concentrating on southern Italy, where the Monarchists and neo-Fascists drew many voters away from the Christian Democrats. The task would be extremely arduous, for there is much dissatisfaction with economic conditions, and southern Italians still feel an amazingly strong—at times fanatical—attraction toward the monarchy and the paternalistic security it symbolizes. The half-million votes obtained by the Monarchists in the Naples area are vivid testimony to this. Certainly the center would find it very difficult to reverse a political trend now in full momentum.

It might therefore find the second approach more rewarding—that is, a vigorous attempt to win converts in new areas, particularly in sections where the attachment of the populace to the extreme left is plainly incongruous. A promising area would be the agricultural regions of north-central Italy, where contrary to popular belief Italian communism has its most important strongholds. In these regions the extreme left often obtains 50 per cent of the total votes cast. In the administrative elections of 1951-52, for example, it got 48.7 per cent of the votes in Tuscany, 49 per cent in Emilia-Romagna, and 52.5 per cent in Umbria. In 1953 these provinces gave 51.7 per cent, 53.1 per cent, and 53.5 per cent to the Communists, Nenni Socialists, and their allies.

From almost any analytical standpoint these areas could be expected to return a heavier vote to the Christian Democrats. The fact that they do not brings us up against the seeming paradox of highly conservative peasants voting for a revolutionary extreme, of humble religious folk following the atheistic precepts of Marx and Lenin, of a tradition-bound group favoring radical social and economic change. The phenomenon is complex and the explanation difficult. This can best be illustrated by a closer look at one of these regions.

Umbria is one of the most beautiful and historically interesting sections of the country. The hardworking *mezzadri*, or share-croppers, who make up approximately 60 per cent of the population preserve the customs and relics of antiquity with the same diligence they show in tilling the sculptured plains and hillsides. This tenacious guardianship of the past is coupled with religious fervor, the mystical aspects of which are said to derive from the ancient Etruscan civilization. Yet the countryside is more red than even the highly industrialized pro-Communist city of Terni.

The reason, if one can be hazarded, appears to lie in the organizational and propagandistic capacities of the left and in the basic egoism of the Umbrian peasant. Of course, where socio-economic conditions are marginal or worse, the Communists have found their task all the easier. They must be credited, however, with having successfully carried their message—orally or on paper—into

	Percentage of Votes Cast		
	1948	*1953*	*Net change %*
Center			
Christian Democrats	48.5	40.1	− 8.4
Social Democrats	7.1	4.5	− 2.6
Liberals	3.8	3.0	− 0.8
Republicans	2.5	1.6	− 0.9
Others	0.7	0.5	− 0.2
	62.6	49.7	−12.9
Left			
Communists	31.0	22.6	
Socialists		12.7	
Others		1.4	
	31.0	36.7	+5.7
Right			
Monarchists	2.8	6.9	4.1
Neo-Fascists	2.0	5.8	3.8
	4.8	12.7	7.9

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the remotest corners of the region, to isolated villages and farms where the arrival of a person from outside is an event of the first order. One democratic trade-union leader whom I met in Umbria frankly admitted that the Communist political organizers endured hardships in their proselyting forays which would be unthinkable to workers for the center. He added that the center cannot make use of clerics there as it does in other parts of Italy because the Popes and their underlings were for many years the most feudal of Umbria's landlords.

At Perugia last October I encountered an excellent example of the versatility of Communist propaganda. The Communist and Socialist parties, assisted by their trade-union adjunct, the Italian General Confederation of Labor, organized an art exhibit in the medieval Palazzo dei Priori, ostensibly to depict the life of the countryside. The show had little artistic merit, but its political success was demonstrated by the crowds of peasants and workers who came to marvel at the paintings, at the publicity for "their cause," and at the fact that prominent Communist and Socialist deputies had paid big prices for particularly "meritorious" paintings.

Propaganda dovetails with the peasants' egoism when it touches on land redistribution. The current emphasis is on the peasants' right to a larger share of what the land produces. Recently the Communist Labor Confederation forced the landlords to grant 53 per cent of the net output to the *mezzadri*, and it will undoubtedly keep pressing for more. And behind this reiterated demand lies the clearly articulated promise that the land itself will some day belong to those who cultivate it.

THAT IN BRIEF was the situation which confronted the center parties in the recent election campaign. The returns showed that it is not enough to put up placards on city and village walls saying that the Communists will not carry out their promises of land distribution. The peasant is psychologically attuned to accept a promise which gratifies a basic desire, and as long as the Communists do not have the responsibility of governing, no convincing proof of their insincerity can be offered. References to hangings at Prague or the plight of Soviet farmers are not adequate counterbalances to Communist successes in wresting benefits for the peasant from the landlord and, often, the state.

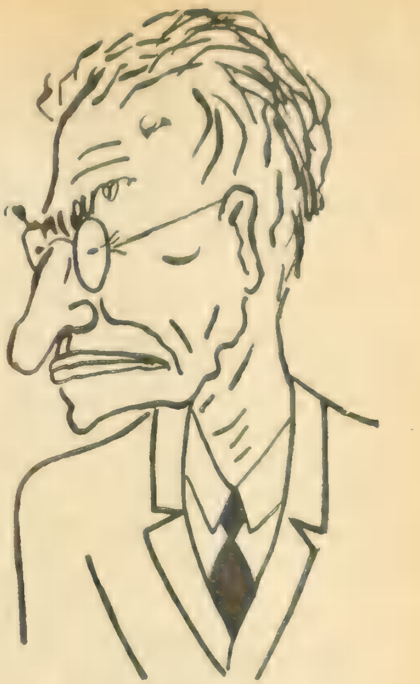
Nor has an appeal to religion—the "Christ or Communism" slogan of 1948—been effective. Devout as they are, the Umbrians have a long tradition of anticlericalism. The organized church and its representatives are viewed with suspicion if not open hostility. The peasant who hangs the portraits of Christ and Togliatti side by side on his kitchen wall sees no contradiction in the act. Christ, he believes, will see to his mystical needs on earth and to his life after death; Togliatti will take care of his material and temporal demands.

From the center's point of view the answer must lie in the propaganda of the *deed*. A courageous and dynamic program for effecting a real improvement in the peasants' way of life must be undertaken if the center wants to regain its lost ground. The De Gasperi government will have to facilitate and compel private investment as well as continue its public works. As a first step interest rates on industrial investment might be lowered; the present high rates have both hampered industrial development and motivated landowners to put their money into this branch of the economy rather than back into the land.

The Christian Democrats should have begun such a program in earnest five years ago. Their failure to do so very nearly cost them this election. But because the imperfect operation of the 1948 electoral law has given the center a small working majority in the Chamber, it may still be able to govern the country for another five years. During this period the Christian Democrats must take specific unequivocal steps in the direction of comprehensive reform. The minor parties, which up to now have had almost no program, must seek to keep the Christian Democrats from moving toward the right, a perilous step favored by many of De Gasperi's enemies within his party. Positive action by the center parties would do much more to influence the *mezzadri* than their present negative attitude of simply being anti-Communist. Such a concrete program might even be instrumental in bringing Pietro Nenni and his Socialists back into the center.

In the final analysis the center must recognize that theory and ideology interest the peasants very little. Its leaders are not communicating with these people when they engage in abstract discussions of the impact which Marxism-Stalinism would have on democratic freedoms. The Communists almost ignore Marx and concentrate on tractors, housing, and electricity. It will not be easy to change the peasants' present allegiance, but it can be done if the language used is meaningful, if promises are specific and sincere, and if the abstract advantage of a democratic society which the *mezzadro* has never experienced and does not really understand is not the only alternative offered to the cold economic enticements of the left.

The recent elections should not be viewed as a demonstration that the Italians are ungrateful for good government and anarchistically inclined. Instead, it must be recognized that the Italian voters, more than thirteen million of them, feel that there are fundamental social problems which have yet to be tackled. The *Corriere della Sera* of Milan was quite correct in comparing Italy's internal tensions to a religious struggle, but the paper's conclusion that "the only symbol which can be placed in opposition to the hammer and sickle is the cross" is as dangerous as it is misleading. To act on this assumption would mean that the center itself had perpetrated the greatest betrayal of Italian democracy.



Prime Minister de Gasperi

REVOLT AGAINST IKE

Wisconsin's Battle Royal . . *by Miles McMillin*

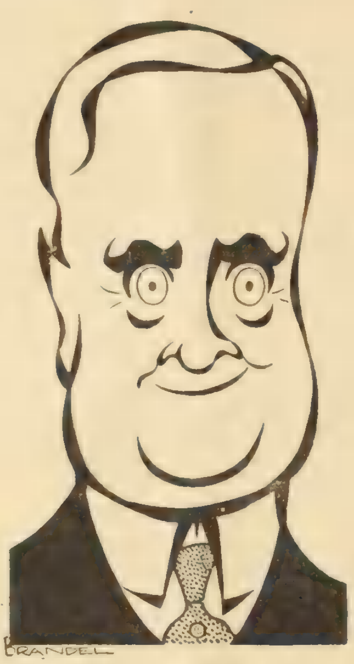
Madison, Wis.

ONE of Senator McCarthy's oldest tricks with Wisconsin Republican audiences is to open a speech with the remark, "It is good to be out of Washington and back in the United States." The effectiveness of the gag indicates the provincialism of the dominant political group in Wisconsin. In their political spectrum Washington is as far away as Paris or even Moscow. One often gets the impression that when the President or Secretary of State expresses "internationalist" views he seems as much a foreigner to them as the Italian Premier. One reason McCarthy appeals to them is that "he sure tells those people down in Washington."

It was not surprising therefore, that the recent Republican state convention at Madison had all the appearance of an anti-Eisenhower rally. The President was not attacked directly but through the state's senior Senator, Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Wiley came to the convention to plead for support for the President's foreign policy. Few prominent figures in Wisconsin's turbulent political history have ever been more crudely abused. He was virtually ignored by the party leaders from the time he came to town until he left. No outstanding Republican would accompany him to the speakers' platform when he entered the convention hall. About half the audience applauded politely when he was introduced, but there was a ringing chorus of lusty boos. His address, a straightforward delineation of the Eisenhower foreign policy, was not once interrupted with applause, and when he finished he was booed and heckled.

Afterward the convention passed a resolution censuring him for his support of Eisenhower's position on the Bricker amendment and demanding that he reverse his stand. He was also criticized for agreeing with the President on the need of changes in the McCarran act.

Senator Wiley knew of course that he would face trouble at the convention. He had been informed that a telegram had been sent by the Committee for Constitutional Government to many county chairmen urging his "impeachment" if he did not change his position. Wiley's strategy was to meet the attack with a plea for loyalty to the President. He concluded his address: "The President is a great leader, a dedicated, consecrated man. He is our Republican leader. Let us not fail him."



Senator Wiley

ACTUALLY, Senator Wiley's views found much more favor than the debate and vote indicated. But his supporters were completely cowed by the McCarthy and Taft crowd. No one wanted to stand up against Thomas E. Coleman, boss of the party, who looks upon pre-Chicago support of Eisenhower as akin to treason. No one cared to risk an encounter with the boisterous fanatical McCarthyites who flock to Republican conventions to back their champion. No responsible party official came to the defense of Senator Wiley. The timid Governor Kohler, who is presumably an Eisenhower man, has long since surrendered to McCarthy's roustabouts. Kohler's only public comment was that the resolution was "ill-advised."

The friends of the President are neither bold nor organized. The difference between them and the McCarthy-Taft forces is illustrated by the different ways in which the convention received the two Senators. The Eisenhower Republicans stood and applauded for Wiley; the McCarthy-Taft people sat and booed. When McCarthy walked on to the platform the McCarthy-Taft people stood and roared their approval; the Eisenhower group also stood, though many did refrain from applauding.

The timidity continues despite ample signs that McCarthy's popularity is on the wane with party workers. Republican legislators who have defended him in the past say privately that he has gone too far and that he is damaging the party by his harassment of the Administration. These professionals understood McCarthy when he went after the Democratic Administration, but his present conduct seems an attempt to gratify his own ambitions at the expense of the party. They will not be quoted and they cannot be expected to lead the fight against him, but it was easy to find anti-McCarthy sentiment among Republicans in the legislature and in the convention.

A young Madison lawyer who heads the Democratic organization in Dane County, where McCarthy was badly trounced last fall, said the other day that it was strange to see McCarthy's political power increasing as his popularity declined. A convention of editors of Wisconsin weeklies was recently surveyed by LeRoy Gore, a Sauk City publisher. Gore reported in his paper that he talked with sixteen weekly publishers who had actively supported McCarthy in 1952. "Of the sixteen," he

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said, "no less than eleven have had enough. They're off Joe's wagon for keeps. Four more have lost so much of their enthusiasm for Joe that they no longer support him, although they aren't actively opposing him. One—just one of the sixteen—still regards Joe as the Moses to lead us out of the wilderness."

It should be remembered that McCarthy trailed far behind Eisenhower and Kohler in the election last fall. A survey I have made among politicians, clergymen, and other prominent citizens has turned up just two men who think McCarthy's standing with the people has improved since then. One of these is a Republican who works for the party and the other a Democratic state senator. Despite this evidence, the only outstanding Republican with the courage or disposition to face a showdown with McCarthy is his primary opponent of last year, Len Schmitt.

A TEST of McCarthy's strength may come this year in a special election which Governor Kohler says he will call to fill the vacancy created by the death of Representative Merlin Hull, a veteran Republican from the state's Ninth District in northwestern Wisconsin. A young Republican Assemblyman named Arthur Peterson is seeking the Republican nomination. Peterson is an outspoken foe of McCarthy and a strong supporter of President Eisenhower. After bitterly attacking McCarthy in the 1951 session of the legislature, he went to Korea with his Marine unit and successfully withstood an attempt of the McCarthyites to purge him in the primary of 1952. If he makes the McCarthy-Eisenhower schism his issue, he will, of course, have to fight the party organization. One of his announced opponents, state Senator Arthur Padrutt, who may get the party's indorsement, is complaining that such is Peterson's intention. Two other announced candidates are straight McCarthyites; Padrutt has not committed himself but may have to if he wants organization support.

If Peterson, a tall, handsome, scholarly young man who frequently takes his father's pulpit to preach, is successful he will have overturned the isolationist tradition of the district. Hull, despite repeated efforts of the Republican organization to purge him because of his support for New Deal and Fair Deal domestic measures, was always an easy winner. A former Progressive, he was an isolationist of the old mold, convinced that the ills of the world were traceable to the British Empire.

The district is largely rural, and the Democrats are eying it hopefully. They believe that opposition to the Eisenhower farm program has presented them with an opportunity to take the seat.

Henry Luce and I

By H. J. Sachs

Ruston, La.

I AM beginning my twenty-fifth year of teaching in a good small college. Henry Luce is beginning his sixteenth year of editing *Time* and his eleventh year of editing *Life*. I have taught a total of about three thousand students and have tried to get them to think about literature and interpretations of life through literature. Henry Luce has told more than thirty million readers what to think about war and peace, government and economics, movies and radio, divorce and crime, God and the devil, and hundreds of other subjects.

In my teaching I try scrupulously to differentiate between fact and opinion, possibilities and probabilities. Henry Luce reports in quotation marks the private conversations of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Malenkov—conversations reported in quotation marks by no other publication and remarks which have been heard by no ear save his own supernaturally endowed one. What I say is the product of my study and thinking, but Luce can order hundreds of persons to write what he wants them to write, and he can use only that part of their writing which he likes. I cast my little vote. He helps make Presidents.

Obviously Luce is far more intelligent than I. He, not I, saw the tremendous possibilities in a novel kind of news magazine. He, not I, recognized what could be done with a magazine devoted almost exclusively to pictures. Hundreds of college teachers, however, are better educated, more intelligent, and more honest than Luce; yet Luce probably has more influence on public opinion in the United States than all the college teachers combined.

Of course I have known all this for years. Always there has been the consolation that one does one's little best and hopes that truth will prevail. But what consolation remains if one no longer dares to do his best? Newspapers and radio and news magazines are giving students a set of dogmas which teachers can challenge only at great peril. At a recent teachers' convention one English teacher reported that some of his students objected to an honest interpretation of the influence of the Industrial Revolution on eighteenth-century literature. Another said he had been advised not to mention biology in describing the thoughts of Victorian authors. One might as well try to describe a cheese sandwich without mentioning the cheese.

A teacher of history reported that he had been reprimanded for saying there were two sides to the debate about Yalta. A speech teacher was called on the carpet because one of his students in discussing Red China said that our country had always recognized de facto governments. In one of my own classes the other day I was discussing the tragedy of Keats's premature death. I mentioned in passing how deplorable it is that at a time when medicine is making giant strides there are so many who cannot afford the best medical care, and that while we are learning how to save hundreds of thousands of lives through modern medicine we are also learning how to kill hundreds of millions through modern war. "Well," said one youngster, "you're not advocating socialized medicine or pacifism, are you?" I hastened to reassure him, but I find myself spending more and more time on pure aesthetics and the pretty little flowers of literature.

Disgustingly craven, you say? But I assure you that no one not teaching in a college has any idea how frightened teachers are.

H. J. SACHS is professor of English at Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

BOOKS

Publishing for the New Age

By Ashley Montagu

IT HAS been said that history never repeats itself but that historians sometimes do. At the risk of appearing repetitious I make bold to suggest that book publishers take a good long look at the dinosaurs, and then get down to business—and I mean business. The dinosaurs grew to enormous dimensions, and as their bellies swelled their brains declined, till from sheer size and psychosclerosis they got stuck in the mud and died out.

There is something wrong with book publishing in America. In the Age of Man publishers are producing books for the Age of Dinosaurs—the dinosaurs being themselves. Instead of talking to the public the publishers talk to each other under the impression that they are playing ring-around-a-rosy, with the public in the middle, when in fact the public remains largely outside the ring. Who are the publishers kidding? One could answer, no one but themselves, were it not for the disservice they are doing their authors and the public they should be serving.

I am writing this article not as an author but as a member of the book-reading public, as a reader who would like to see publishers sell more books and the public read more books. I should like to see publishers *earn* more money by being brainier, better business men, and at the same time taking their social obligations more seriously. Taking one's social responsibilities seriously means, un-dinosaurlike, to look at the facts of life squarely and respond by making the required adjustments. Let it be remembered that it is not the biggest or the fightingest who survive but the *fittest*. Fitness means changing with the requirements of a changing world.

Taking the United States as it is and not as we think it ought to be, we start off with the fact that there are fewer book readers in this country per centum of population than in any other literate nation of the Western world. This fact is sometimes blamed upon the faults of our educational system. It is true that our educational system leaves much to be desired, and that fundamental work needs to be done here which would have among other effects that of greatly increasing the size of the book-reading public; however, it should be pointed out that the fact that Americans don't buy or read as many books as people in other parts of the literate Western world does not mean that Americans don't read as much as other people do. This is the inference often drawn. The truth is that Americans are largely a magazine-reading people; they will spend 25 or 35 cents on a magazine more readily than most other people, and the success of the 25- and 35-cent paper books have proved that a great part of the magazine-reading public will buy books and read them if the price is right.

With the cost of living reaching an all-time high, the necessities of life are increasingly taking precedence over what is coming to be thought of as "unnecessary" necessities. Why spend money on luxuries when you don't have to? Books at $3.50, $5, or more are certainly luxuries. Looked at from the angle of the 35-cent book they take on the aspect of the most wanton extravagance.

In short, publishers have not only got to accept and adjust themselves to the facts of life, but they must realize that it will be to everyone's advantage if they do so. However good their reasons for publishing books in the style of the age that is about to pass into history, publishers will have to turn to new styles of production which will enable them to issue books at more attractive prices.

Books issued at an attractive price are a beginning, not an end. Low-priced books will still have to be sold. Publishers must begin to think of new methods of distribution and marketing. Advertising in the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* book-review sections will, I think, always be desirable, even if little more is done than to quote what the reviewers have said in earlier issues. But when publishers behave as if they believed that this is the way to sell books, one may legitimately begin to wonder. Can it be that publishers have run out of ideas since the invention of the cocktail party? It looks very much like it.

THE JOB that the publishers should have done years ago is being done by the book-clubs. Why didn't publishers think of selling their books in this way? Yes, I know that one or two did, and are still successfully doing so, but this is not really what I have in mind. The 35-cent-book publishers have called into being new techniques of distribution and marketing from which all publishers have a great deal to learn.

There are about 1,000 booksellers in the United States, and of these the majority are within 500 miles of New York. Some of these booksellers are found in the department stores; less than 200 are independent booksellers. Too many towns in the United States do not boast such a thing as a bookstore. Obviously the outlets which do exist—and there are more than 8,000—can reach but a very small proportion of the potential public for books. Can publishers do anything to encourage the return of the independent bookseller? I think they can by providing him with books that he can sell.

Numerous media for the marketing of books await development, and high on the list of these I would place one that many publishers look upon as a competitor, namely, television. Again, unless publishers wake up and do something about this medium for marketing books it is likely to be taken out of their hands. What marvelous review and discussion programs of books one can imagine! What a stupendous advertising medium publishers have here! Since with new manufacturing methods books can be produced in large quantities at low prices and since with improved methods of distribution so many more books will be sold, there should be a much greater amount of money available for all sorts of advertising media.

Furthermore, I would suggest that with quantity the material quality of the book could be improved. Better paper

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ASHLEY MONTAGU, professor of anthropology at Rutgers University, is the author of the much-discussed "Natural Superiority of Women."

and wider margins could be used, so that our new inexpensive books would be at least as durable as the old German Tauchnitzes were. Ephemeral books may be printed on ephemeral paper, but good books deserve good paper and adequate margins. Cutting margins, I suspect, terminates in cutting profits. It is a short-term view which leads to such practices; what publishers need is more long-term thinking. Every publisher tries to build a strong backlog of books on which he can rely. He would not long endure if he attempted to live by flash-in-the-pans. But since publishers really do take the long view in regard to the traditionally published book, why not with books to be published for the New Age?

In Continental Europe low-priced, well-produced paper-covered books have been successfully published for more than a century. In England fitful attempts were made during the nineteenth century to introduce paper-bound books. Among the most successful of these were those sold at railway stations, which were therefore called "Railway Books," but for some reason these and other paper-bound editions died out. It was not until the second quarter of the present century, with the launching of the highly successful Penguin Books, that a really telling demonstration was made of what could be done this way.

I well remember, in 1928, meeting the publisher who was later among the first to publish the cheap paper-cover books in this country and urging him to undertake the publication of such books. His reply was that it could not be done successfully in the United States. Well, we have found that it *can* be done. What publishers must have the wisdom to recognize is that it not only can but must be done on a much wider scale than has hitherto been attempted; indeed, that the paper-covered book must become the standard book—while all other books remain the luxuries they have become.

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Home and the Traveler

THE MOON AND THE BONFIRES. By Cesare Pavese. Translated from the Italian by Marianne Ceconi. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

By Helene Cantarella

CESARE PAVESE, considered one of Italy's most significant post-war writers before he took his own life in 1950, was haunted by man's rootlessness in a world of increasing complexity and contradiction and by his need to achieve a synthesis of moral values which would restore his sense of unity with life and thus restore him to himself. In none of his earlier works is this search for integration better described than in "The Moon and the Bonfires," the last novel Pavese was to write and the first to be published in this country. It is a complex and often perplexing book, for its symbolism is not always easily accessible. None the less, it makes compelling and unforgettable reading.

Told in the first person, the story is the journey in time and space of an Italian who, having fled as a youth to seek his fortune in a mythical "America," comes home in his maturity, rich in the world's goods but spiritually adrift. With his boyhood friend Nuto, the protagonist's *alter ego* who stayed behind, he tries to explore and recreate the past in the hope that it will reveal whether he should sink roots in the surroundings of his childhood or pursue his destiny as a "traveler" forever seeking a lovelier, richer village, another "America."

Together he and Nuto roam through the Piedmontese countryside and in a skilful contrapuntal interplay of past and present evoke the ghosts of those who had peopled their valley and who are now dead—the proud owners of La Mora, where the "traveler" had been apprenticed as a child, their three beautiful and ill-starred daughters, the youngest of whom had been shot as a Nazi informer during the Liberation and burned on the highest hill of Gaminella, which still bore a mark like the bed of a bonfire.

What was left of all that, of the life these people had lived, the wars they had fought, the hopes they had nursed? Nothing and everything. Life went on the way it always had. Better perhaps if everything could go up in bonfires of dried grass—those symbolic generating fires that "wake up the earth"—so people might start over again; or if people did as in "America"—the symbolic Moon of the title—where, "when

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you were sick of something, a job or a place, you just changed."

In the valley, unfortunately, nothing ever changed except the actors. And their fate was uniformly tragic. The "traveler," however, having once cut himself adrift, can make a choice, and he does, if only by indirection. Although he has "come home" in every sense of the word, he makes possible the flight to "America" of the waif Cinto, who thus becomes a projection of himself into the future.

Pavese's posthumously published diary, "Il Mestiere di vivere" ("The Job of Living"), gives one a clear idea of his anguish as he wrestled with these problems and sought his own solution first in communism, then in love (significantly enough for an American woman who is the object of his lyrics), both of which failed him.

Mrs. Wharton's Novels

EDITH WHARTON. A Study of Her Fiction. By Blake Nevius. University of California Press. $3.75.

A discerning critical study of an ambiguous artist. It is perhaps easier to take off Mrs. Wharton for her deficiencies, as Van Wyck Brooks did in "The Confident Years," than to defend her achievements, as did Edmund Wilson in "The Wound and the Bow." Mr. Nevius takes an intelligent middle course. His literary evaluations are just; his personal insights are sharp; he avoids the jargon of cult criticism. He is particularly good on such a central theme of Edith Wharton's work as "the trapped sensibility," which to her was one of the mysteries of the moral life, if to us it may more correctly appear as the tyranny of social convention which she saw through, suffered from, and was unable to resist. The book also defines the real meaning of Mrs. Wharton's snobbery; the restricted range of her intellect (perhaps she was not after all very *bright*); and the culmination of her rather narrow but intense and genuine talent in such novels as "Ethan Frome," "The Age of Innocence," and "The Reef."

There are interesting parallels in the work of Ellen Glasgow and Willa Cather which might have been pursued further by Mr. Nevius, but meanwhile his study of the first (chronologically) of our three leading women novelists is a valuable contribution to the history of American literature.

Love Under Water

MANTA. UNDER THE RED SEA WITH SPEAR AND CAMERA. By Hans Hass. Translated from the German by James Cleugh. Rand, McNally. $4.50.

This one follows a trend in titles. Readers who can distinguish "Manta" from "Annapurna" and "Kon-Tiki" as well as from such earlier specimens as "Simba" and "Kabloona" will discover that the author, who lives in Liechtenstein and is said to be the inventor of the new oxygen-tank arrangement for underwater swimming, takes some fine pictures of sharks, sunken ships, etc., off Port Sudan. A manta turns out to be a giant ray—they sometimes reach twenty feet across—which looks like a flying saucer and is outlandish enough to figure on a Science Fiction jacket. Without as much I-do-it-all-for-science as usual this is a straightforward sporting account of everyday happenings above as well as below water in a remote outpost of the Empire. It doesn't hurt a bit that the author looks like Tarzan only better or that his beautiful secretary—explorers seem lucky that way—is more chic in a diving helmet than most women would be in something by Paquin. Anyhow the jacket says they are married by now and spent a honeymoon under water at the Great Barrier reef.

Kansas Flood

RIVER ON THE RAMPAGE. By Kenneth S. Davis. Doubleday. $3.

The greatest material catastrophe that ever struck the United States was the Kansas River flood of 1951 which slashed a deep wound right across the nation's midriff and caused damage estimated at more than $2,500,000,000. Mr. Davis, author of "Soldier of Democracy," was there and saw it. He tells about it, and about the stinking aftermath, in gripping and relentless fashion.

Like every other writer about the Missouri Basin he sees clearly the shortcomings of the so-called Missouri Basin plan dominated by the autocratic and inefficient army engineers. They say their planned works would have stopped the 1951 flood, but Mr. Davis says a shift of only a few miles in the storm's center and it would have overtopped every planned dam and levee, clear down and through Kansas City. Nature has repeated the lesson until it seems its dumbest child should have learned it—a river basin is an organic whole and can be protected and developed only as such. For ignoring this the Kansas is a ruined river, and Kansas a partly ruined state. Yet we plunge on blindly in the courses dictated by expediency and politics.

Yeats's Second String

THE COLLECTED PLAYS OF W. B. YEATS. New Edition with Five Additional Plays. Macmillan. $5.

If Yeats were not so famous as a lyric poet he might be better known as a playwright. Probably he never felt quite at home with the dramatic form, and Synge struck more accurately than he did the note which the Abbey Theater was trying to find. But for all that, four or five of his plays bear the clear mark of his genius both for fantasy and for power. This companion volume to the "Collected Poems" includes the five brief pieces published since the 1934 edition of "Collected Plays." One or two are trivial, but at least two, "Purgatory" (1939) and the prose "The Words Upon the Window-Pane" (1934), are memorable. Though it is not certain that either would gain much by performance, both are in some sense highly dramatic, and the second is especially so. Perhaps the mystery and tragedy of Jonathan Swift and his Stella were never more powerfully evoked by fiction.

Childhood in Tehran

PERSIA IS MY HEART. As Told by Najmeh Najafi to Helen Hinckley. Harper. $3.

The autobiography of a Persian girl up to the time she came to the United States to study. A delightful description of childhood in an upper-class family of Tehran that admirably conveys the color and flavor of Persian life. Here again, as in other books of this type, is stressed the overriding importance of the motion pictures as America's—shall we say cultural?—ambassador. To the women of my country, says the author, "Hollywood is a magic word, bringing up visions of all that is most desirable"!

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

IN THIS the slack season of temporary exhibitions, it seemed indicated to inspect works of art with more or less permanent attachments. Accordingly, I visited the United Nations buildings to have a look at mural paintings. The most recent of these, and by far the most expressive, was completed last March by Vela Zanetti.* Erected in a wide corridor off the public balcony entrances to the council chambers, this mural unfurls its symbolic progress, left to right, from the darkness of war to the light of civilization under the benefits of the United Nations. The big horizontal space is boldly filled with a roughly symmetrical composition, and the challenge of big scale has been courageously accepted. It is admirably lighted by large window areas opposite, and the dark red flooring from which it rises provides a major key to its color organization, contrasting elements being given by grays and slate blues.

I find it difficult nowadays to digest overt allegory in painting and sculpture, though one should be willing not to reject ahead of time any given subject matter whatever. Nevertheless, allegory is a part of culture, and in ours it seems forced, whether in something as formally beautiful as Saint-Gaudens's Angel of Victory leading General Sherman on, or in something as crass as MacMonnies's Civic Virtue, which departed from City Hall some years ago. The standard of judgment about allegory should, I suppose, be the same as it has always been: is the allegory so meshed into the forms of the painting that it becomes another inseparable form, or does it exist on the surface? Zanetti, it seems to me, has almost made a go of a difficult commission, though I cannot escape the feeling that the work is both influenced by and inferior to Orozco, and that Guernica is in a different artistic class altogether.

I am aware that United Nations art should enjoy a sort of diplomatic immunity from local criticism, at least on grounds of tact. Zanetti's mural was commissioned on a gift from the Guggenheim Foundation, however, and I have therefore felt that a straightforward critical appraisal was not out of order. Per Krogh's larger mural in the Security Council is big only by the tape measure. He has unaccountably segmented it into little panels that do not fit: rectangular ones, round-arched ones, and a central one that is reminiscent of the medieval mandorla. The spaces in between are simply left empty. There is a gradual rise from a dark base containing figures much too reminiscent of Edvard Munch toward the upper friezes, which might be described as closer to Arthur Rackham than to the idea of United Nations.

In the confusing and over-decorated General Assembly, there are two Leger murals at the sides, executed by another painter on the basis of Leger's designs. I cannot believe that these pieces of blown-up ornament are serious efforts of Leger, or that he can have been properly informed as to the room in which they were to be placed. One of the murals, in ochre and light blue (on dark eggplant walls), is at least decoratively appropriate; the other, in scarlet, black, and white, is not.

UNDER ITS new director, the Museum of Non-Objective Art has been rearranged on the laudable principle of showing a little at a time. The third of his selections is now on view. As before, the walls are somewhat blindingly white, and the pictures, well separated, are framed only in narrow strips, in keeping with the theory that painting is no longer attempting the illusion of a view out the window. Near the entrance to the museum, the visitor may discover one of those signs about the dangers of excessive occupancy of the building, and the principle seems to have been applied to the artistic contents. I found the white walls, however, too glaring, as I think others will if they try the simple experiment of looking at the pictures with hands cupped beside the eyes like blinders and observe what additional richness the colors assume.

The current selection, discursive like the others, concentrates somewhat on Kandinsky, as the last one concentrated on Delaunay. One's admiration for the collecting activities of the retired director increases with each new showing, now that the major painters of the early twentieth century are no longer overbalanced by a plethora of Rudolph Bauers. Although the Kandinskys are not placed together, the visitor will find it worth his time to study them as a group. The near-fauve works of 1910 are well represented, as are the major productions of 1913 and thereabouts. There is less difference, except in much more daring scale, than one might have supposed. Though all the works of 1910 are clearly landscapes, one of those of 1913, labeled Rain, is equally non-non-objective; and this leads inescapably to the discovery that works of the same year like The White Edge, which I would place among Kandinsky's masterpieces, are based on a landscape idea. Although the late works seem hard and unfeeling by comparison, a second look at Number 235, of 1921, will produce the discovery that the oyster-white ground is not flat or mat but "islanded," like a view of shoals from a very high altitude, and thus in effect much more fluid than one first realized.

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*Drawings by Vela Zanetti of sections of his mural appeared in *The Nation* of December 27, 1952.

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Films

Manny Farber

IT IS a custom among professional pipe smokers to offer romantic estimations of American moviegoers. The latest evaluation appeared in the *New Leader*—a tongue-in-cheek discription of the action-movie fans who attend shabby theaters west of Times Square. It was a classic case of what happens when a critic turns sociologist. Mr. Markfield found that the largely male audience for action and horror pictures was made up of a desperate crew—perverts, adolescent hoodlums, chronic unemployeds, and far-gone neurotics—who possessed an impeccable taste in good, unpretentious off-beat films. These moviegoers shuddered or tittered, snored or shrieked obscenities. But somehow, while unable to control their bodies and emotions in the slightest degree, they were movie critics who simply couldn't be fooled by the expensive or pretentious. "Marvelous" was the word used to describe the infallible instinct of this *Lumpenproletariat* which causes Hollywood to shake in its assorted beach sandals.

It is a dangerous thing to lump a whole audience under general labels. The writers who did this in the twenties—during the era of Griffith, Sennett, and other silent-film "greats"—convinced a world-wide reading public that American moviegoers had low standards of appreciation and were to be treated like unintelligent children. Today, it has become fashionable for intellectuals to pretend to the same level of responses as the average member of the average audience. Every day another intellectual goes "popular" with a poetic, gaga dissertation on Mickey Spillane, "Moon Mullins," Ray Robinson, or Teresa Brewer. People everywhere are now encouraged to consider the audience for pop-artists infested by aesthetes looking like roughnecks and behaving like slobs.

As a steady customer in male-audience houses, I've never seen anything odd or outstanding in the clientele. Finding interest and excitement in almost any type of film filled with brawny men, destruction, and fights, a steady procession of people fill most of the seats from midmorning until almost dawn, lapping up the bad with the good, the merely pretentious with the unheralded realistic gems. My reason for citing a difference with Mr. Markfield's illusions is to encourage moviegoers to look at the screen instead of trying to find a freak show in the audience.

"The Moon Is Blue" is a small comedy that seems to sparkle, sound monotonous, look machine-made, and appear smartly guided at the same moment. For a while it merely irritated me. A blatantly calculated actress named Maggie McNamara trades jokes with a miscast William Holden in the observation tower of the Empire State Building. The girl is supposedly a wittily open-minded ingenue actress being picked up by a "terribly sweet" and personable young architect. They both talk in empty little sentences that suggest only the psuedo-teen-age characters in popular magazine romances. After hearing innocuous things like "Oh, this is terrific" or "You're nice, I like you" in an observation tower that has been used to death by movie-makers there seems little reason to expect anything daring or smart from "The Moon Is Blue." Nevertheless, when the pair shift to the young man's bachelor apartment, the dialogue shifts to a steady drumbeat of better-than-average epigrams, and though people come through doors and answer phones as constantly as in television comedy, the movie seems to get more flexible and interesting. How this happens is a little intangible, but it may be because Miss McNamara looks natural acting a proper little pop-off and because the director, Otto Preminger, can set up a modern apartment scene that seems as shrill and phony as Broadway living actually is.

While its sex is strictly antiseptic, this Preminger project has been tagged as too "blue" in story, action, and dialogue by Joe Breen's industry-censorship department. Everybody remains idyllically pure, but the risqué lines caused the Breen office to condemn the picture. It will therefore be kept out of several thousand theaters.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ERNEST NEWMAN devoted much of his *Saturday Review* article on Toscanini's recordings of Beethoven's nine symphonies to arguing the point that we had better not try to improve Beethoven's scoring, and above all not think he miscalculated because of his deafness, since actually "he knew perfectly well what he was about." He cited a bare-sounding passage in the last movement of the Piano Sonata Op. 111 which "is altogether 'unpianistic' " (not to my ears or to anyone else's in my experience) but which he said is an example not of miscalculation but of Beethoven's usual procedure for the particular expressive purpose. This discussion of Op. 111, said Newman, was not the digression it appeared to be: "it bears vitally on two points . . . The first is that it is wisest to play his music, for the most part, exactly as he has written it; the second is that there are often things in a score of his that have to be apprehended by our imagination rather than by our ear"; and he cited something in the Ninth Symphony that even Toscanini hadn't been able to make audible.

But the entire argument was a digression, since Newman didn't relate it to the facts of Toscanini's performances—notably the performance of the Ninth: Toscanini's score of this work is filled with the reinforcing doublings of woodwinds, the rewriting of horn parts (which one English reviewer questioned), and the other changes that he makes in accordance with his belief that whatever is on the printed page must be heard in the living sound. Newman didn't say in accordance with his argument that Toscanini's changes are wrong, or that in spite of his argument the changes are right: he didn't speak of the changes at all; and he had gone through his lengthy argument not to make a point about Toscanini's performances but to show off some of his favorite ideas in a performance of his own.

And though Newman eventually did get around to say things about Toscanini's performances, his only reference to the records was the statement "Here, in seven priceless records (fourteen sides), we are given in abundance everything that has gone to make him the unique figure he is . . ."—which hardly conveyed how inadequately, and even falsely, some of the wonderful performances are transmitted by these records.

The limited edition album issued by RCA Victor contains the previously issued recordings of Nos. 3 ("Eroica"), 1, and 9, and the recordings of the others that will be issued in September. I listened first to the "Eroica," which as issued in 1950 was very poor; and I was agreeably surprised by the evidence that it had been reprocessed from the original tape: the opening chords were bad, but after that the sound was agreeable and well-balanced. There was, however, a repeated hum-note; and though the de luxe features for the extra $12 include a leatherette album with a medallion of Toscanini, some purple prose about him by Samuel Chotzinoff, and Lawrence Gilman's prose on the symphonies, they don't include records free of the usual tiny scratches that click and sputter maddeningly.

On the reverse side of the "Eroica" record was No. 8; and since it had been recorded as recently as last November I was completely unprepared for sound that was dry, rough, and ear-piercingly strident (except when treble was cut down drastically). Next No. 4, made from the broadcast of February 1951, with sound that had no spaciousness, richness, and luster—the scherzo movement being the worst. Then No. 5, made from the broadcast of March 1952, with a deficiency in bass that made the sound of the first movement thin and nasty, and the bass-notes at the beginning of the second movement inaudible. When bass was stepped up a lot the over-all sound became more solid and agreeable, but those notes in the second movement remained barely audible (one wonders what was done to get them past Toscanini's ear).

That left Nos. 2, 7, 1, 6, and 9, recorded in that order between October 1951 and March 1952. The last four were the best, with sound that was full, spacious, well-balanced, and luminous—except that the scherzo of No. 7 was a little dry and strident and the finale more so. No. 2 also was a little dry, less full and spacious, and a little strident in the finale.

But even the best didn't offer sound as fabulously beautiful as that of the Respighi "Fountains of Rome" recently issued by Mercury, the Strauss "Aus Italien" just issued by Urania, the Mahler "Lied von der Erde" recently issued by London. Such results and the methods of producing them appear to be standardized by now (on the "Fountains" envelope I read that Mercury used "a single Telefunken microphone—in this instance hung about fifteen feet directly over the conductor's podium"); how, then, does it happen that at this late date Victor turns out something like that strident Beethoven Eighth?

In a box within Newman's article Irving Kolodin characterized Victor's de luxe album as "a handsome frame for a noble picture." But a better specimen of the Kolodin method of operation occurred in a review of the Flagstad record of the "Siegfried" and "Götterdämmerung" finales: Kolodin found that in the "Siegfried" duet "Furtwängler leads with a masterful hand," and could "only regret that a conductor of more Wagnerian temperament than Sebastian was not Flagstad's pacemaker in the ['Götterdämmerung'] Immolation"—when what he had listened to was Sebastian conducting the "Siegfried" and Furtwängler the "Götterdämmerung."

Schumann's "Davidsbündlertänze" I don't find as enjoyable as some of his other sets of piano pieces. The performance by Joseph Battista is good (MGM).

George Barati's String Quartet (1944), played by the California String Quartet, is an elaborate piece whose meaning I don't understand (Contemporary).

Letters

The Law and the Commandment

Dear Sirs: At about 5 p.m., Monday, June 8, 1953, I got on a Broad Street No. 6 bus at the corner of Main and Ninth Streets, in Richmond, Virginia, and stood until the bus reached the corner of Seventh and Franklin Streets, when I took a seat next to the window on the left hand side of the bus. Shortly thereafter a very attractive boy about fourteen years old, neat, well-dressed, sat down beside me. I entered into a conversation with him and learned that he was a student in the eighth grade of one of our Richmond schools and that he was planning to enter high school in the near future.

While we were talking, the bus reached Broad and went up Broad to around Second Street. The bus driver, a Mr. Lewis, then stopped the bus and came back where we were talking and ordered the boy, even though there were a number of vacant seats in front of us, to get up and go to the rear of the bus. I protested to the bus driver, who replied roughly, "I must enforce the law." I said I was a Christian minister and that I did not approve of his ordering the boy to go to the rear of the bus. If the boy had been a Chinese or a North Korean he would not have been ordered

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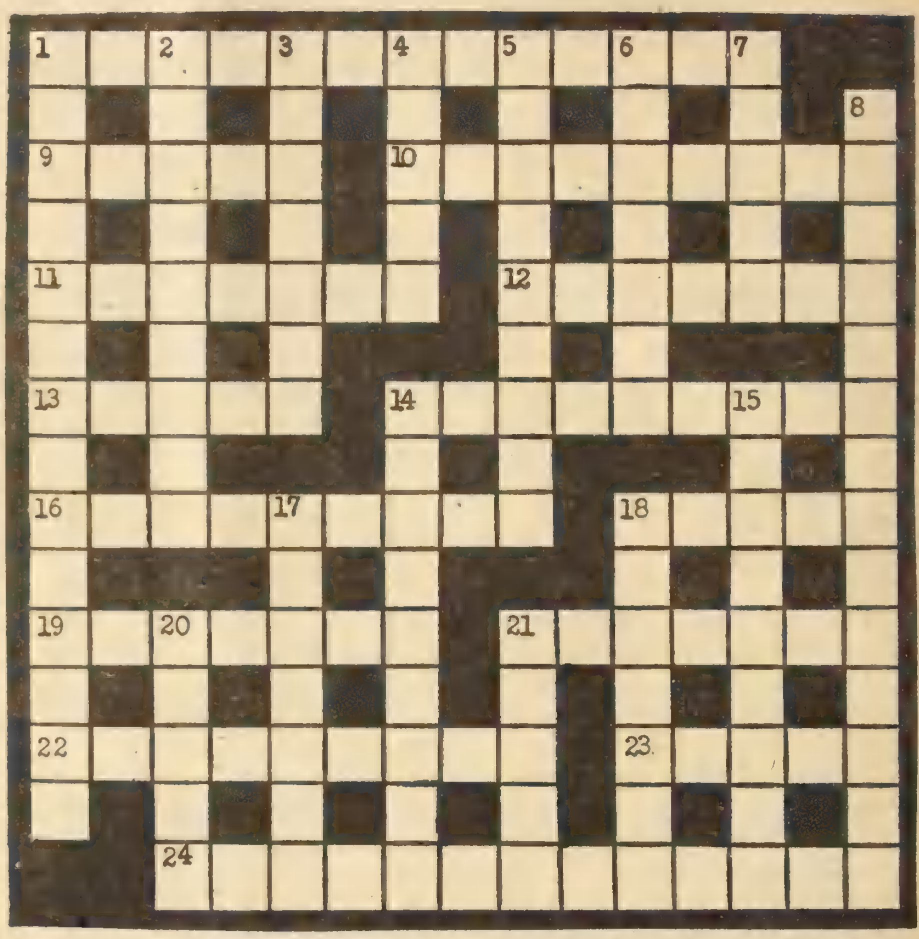

ACROSS

1 Low fellow by degrees, therefore the little teacher winds up loose. (5, 8)
9 Abyssinian victory, Italian defeat. (5)
10 Thicket group? (9)
11 Mr. Klein in Moscow. (7)
12 Counter. (7)
13 Faces regarded retrogressive in esteem. (5)
14 — when the alarm goes off? (Pauses en route, too!) (4, 5)
16 If you do, does it imply a liquor sample? (4, 5)
18 A friend to the French island. (5)
19 Are hers like a clipper? (7)
21 Cut back with a dearth of fish. (7)
22 A pecular fellow isn't safe here! (3, 3, 3)
23 No tag dance! (5)
24 Not exactly a beach sandal—Ancistrodon piscivorous, rather. (5, 8)

DOWN

1 Shoemaker's dance? (10, 4)
2 Good advice to hackers, if one takes a powder, for example. (9)
3 Isn't exactly so clear, as they might say in sooth. (7)
4 Bird, hooded in the old days. (5)
5 "Flat" suits such performers! (9)
6 Spicules. (7)
7 This sort of tree is superior to the mixed type of animal. (5)
8 Speech anonymous? (7, 7)
14 Trouble, if it's an over-riser! (9)
15 Slick horses? They could make a pretty picture! (3, 6)
17 Talk of a mad dog? Sometimes it's wild! (7)
18 Expedient, after the body is in state. (7)
20 Equip. (5)
21 Freeing from slavery, when the nice man leaves court. (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 521

ACROSS:—1 SHORT CIRCUITS; 10 LANCE; 12 COLONISTS; 13 EMBER; 14 GOOD RIDDANCE; 19 and 8 down GRANDFATHERS CLOCK; 22 LEHAR; 24 PARTISANS; 25 SPLAYFOOT; 26 and 11 across GRAIN ELEVATORS; 27 RAILROAD TRAIN.

DOWN:—2 HANDLE; 3 RHEINGOLD; 4 CLEPSYDRA; 5 REELS; 6 UKASE; 7 TROMBONE; 9 USURPER; 15 INHERITED; 16 DERRINGER; 17 AGELESS; 18 VALHALLA; 20 HAWAII; 21 USING; 23 ROYAL; 24 PHOTO.

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to go to the rear of the bus. Why? Because Chinese and North Koreans do not happen to be Negro Americans.

I then went back to the rear of the bus and sat next to the boy. When I got off at my regular stop near the Broad Street Station, I asked the bus driver if he always enforced the laws of the state impartially. He said he obeyed the rules of those who paid his salary. I also asked him whether if he were a bus driver in heaven he would segregate the souls of the Negroes from the souls of the white people. He roughly replied that anyone who rode on his bus would have to obey the law.

This episode raises certain questions for those of us who are endeavoring to be Christians:

1. Is our Virginia law requiring segregation on busses in intrastate travel a law of both God and man or is it just a man-made law?

2. Is this law constitutional?

3. Does the enforcement of this law violate Jesus's commandment to love God with all your heart, soul, and mind and your neighbor as yourself?

4. Are we justified in sending missionaries to Africa to preach the Christian gospel of human brotherhood and then separate Negro and white Christians on our busses in Virginia?

5. Does not the enforcement of our segregation laws create un-Christian attitudes of mind, heart, and soul both in our white people and in our Negro Americans?

6. How can we say that we love God whom we have not seen and be unwilling to sit next to our brother who has a darker skin than we have?

7. Is there not an obligation resting upon all of us who feel that our Virginia segregation laws are basically un-Christian to become qualified voters so that we may help elect men and women to the Virginia Assembly and to the governorship who will pledge themselves to repeal our un-Christian, undemocratic segregation laws?

8. Should trade unions exclude Negro Americans from membership by constitutional provision or otherwise?

CHARLES C. WEBBER

Richmond, Va.

[*The writer, for seven years president of the Virgina C. I. O. Council, is now field representative of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, an organization sponsored by the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths.*]

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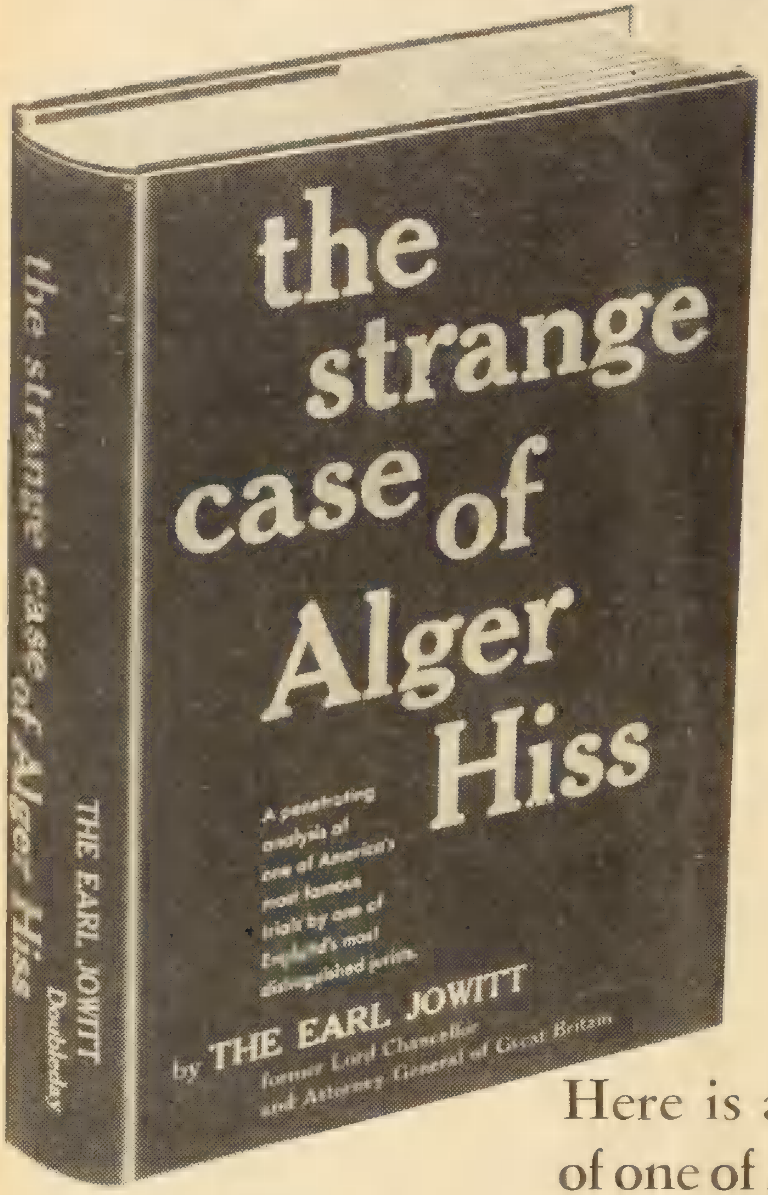
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THE *Nation*

July 11, 1953
20¢

49th And 50th States

G. O. P. BETRAYS A PLEDGE

by Ex-Governor Gruening of Alaska

The Kenyatta Case	*Peter Abrahams*
Order of Lenin (a Fable)	*Malcolm Logan*
Containment and Peace	*W. A. Williams*

**EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865**

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

MAN who brings the mail around has been staggering under volume of communications to us on the fine Redlich-Frantz analysis of the Fifth Amendment controversy. (Does Silence Mean Guilt?, June 6, 1953.) Over 200 requests (from 33 states) for reprints have been received to date; total reprints sent out running close to 20,000. (See rates below.)

Nation-wide attention article received resulted in a temporary radio and TV career for co-author Norman Redlich. June 30 he debated McCarran Committee Counsel Robert Morris on ABC's "Town Meeting of The Air." Topic: "Is the Fifth Amendment Being Misused?" Ten days earlier he and Morris aired the same topic over WOR-TV's "America Speaks" forum.

A New York attorney, Redlich is retiring from the spotlight for the time being to devote himself to additional pieces for *The Nation.* If you want copies of the very interesting Town Hall debate you can write to "Town Meeting," 123 West 43d Street, New York.

You'll find next week's issue a real antidote for summer doldrums. There's a brilliant review by Professor Charles Alan Wright of the controversial book "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss," by the Earl Jowitt (see back cover for offer to *Nation* readers on the Hiss book). In addition, novelist Ira Wolfert contributes a fascinating study of the Hiss case.

Speaking of novelists: do you know what happens when a bright young American writer gets tapped by Hollywood? Nelson Algren (The Man with the Golden Arm) got tapped and the story is a hilarious one. He shares it with *Nation* readers in a coming issue. There will also be a second Algren piece on what's happening to intellectuals in America.

M. S.

[*Reprints of Does Silence Mean Guilt? are: 10 cents for single copies; $7.50 per 100; $25 for 500; $45 per thousand.*]

Letters

Instrument of Progress

Dear Sirs: Will you allow me to say that your last several issues, particularly those containing the serial-editorial The Present Danger, have been the best in my thirty-five years' reading of *The Nation.* Liberalism has become a by-word in many quarters. In your critical, rational, searching hands it has been turned into an instrument of enlightenment and progress.

I don't know how better to show my appreciation than by helping to increase *The Nation's* circulation. I inclose my check, for which please send subscriptions to the persons mentioned below. . . .

New York. DAVID L. WEISSMAN

On the Rosenbergs

Dear Sirs: Something seems to have departed from my sense of dignity as a human being with the execution of the Rosenbergs. Prominent persons in government were disappointed that they did not confess, inform, and beg for mercy.

I am an engineer in a division highway office. Every single one of my associates is a professing Protestant or Roman Catholic. Nearly every one said that the Rosenbergs should have been tortured before they were executed. They all claim to be intelligent and educated. All of them say Senator McCarthy is doing good work. . . .

HAROLD G. MITCHELL

New Philadelphia, Ohio

Dear Sirs: The Nation was among the few with the courage to ask clemency for the Rosenbergs, and I am proud to be one of its readers. In this it showed a deeper concern for our country than those who sought their death. Not only Communists are appalled. Humanitarian opposition to the death penalty, the lighter sentence given the undoubted spies May and Fuchs, doubt of Greenglass's testimony and motives, contrast with the Czech pardon of Oatis, the haste with which the Supreme Court was rushed into extraordinary session—these things lead many to feel that, whether or not the conviction was well founded, the punishment was determined not by the merits of the case but in terms of the cold war.

Abroad this execution will be thrown in our faces for a long time to come. Here at home it shows how far the war orientation has triumphed; would two young parents have been denied clemency five years ago? As more and more factors pointed toward doubt and urged clemency, what sort of government was it that grew more insistent on death? Was it afraid to let them live? The official rationale that what Greenglass copied made possible the Korean war should be treated as an affront to intelligence; Urey's statement and Einstein's indorsement dismiss it. . . .

It was clear that the Rosenbergs could have escaped death by a confession. Even those who believe them guilty must admire their moral courage during two years in the deathhouse. . . .

DELL H. HYMES

Bloomington, Ind.

Dear Sirs: I have written the following letter to the Representatives of my state in Washington:

> The mighty people and government of the United States have just destroyed with a current of electricity two personalities—two unique human beings whose exact likenesses will never again appear in the universe. Regardless of the rationale "justifying" such an unspeakable and irreversible procedure, the act of execution is unworthy of any society calling itself civilized or mature. . . . I am writing with the hope that you will consider legislation abolishing the barbaric practice of capital punishment.

ROBERT R. KOHN

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Ormandy's "Shenanigans"

Dear Sirs: I have just read Mr. Haggin's review of the Philadelphia Orchestra's last New York concert (May 23 issue). As an ex-member of the great Philadelphia Orchestra I can confirm Mr. Haggin's view that being a member of that organization under Mr. Ormandy is indeed miserable. It was a continually frustrating experience to be forced to play Bach, Brahms, and so on—à la Ormandy.

I was pleased to note that there is one critic in this country who can see through the shenanigans of Mr. Ormandy, as did the critic of the London *Times* after our first concert in Royal Albert Hall. This critic, having nothing but praise for the orchestra itself, found it difficult to understand how a man such as Mr. Ormandy could be the conductor of so great an orchestra.

St. Louis, Mo. JOSEPH PEPPER

Volume 177, Number 2
New York, Saturday, July 11, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

New Government, Old Problems

The new French Cabinet lost no time in making it clear that France's grave economic situation will require increased sacrifices by the French people. M. Faure, the new Finance Minister, has already asked for a billion-dollar loan from the Bank of France. The national budget shows a deficit this year of twenty-five billion francs. New sources of revenue can come only from indirect taxes, such as on gasoline and tobacco, which will prove neither popular nor sufficient. So long as the Indo-China war continues its great drain on France's resources, there is no way out of the present crisis.

Hard times lie ahead for Premier Laniel. The Communist-inspired General Confederation of Workers may launch a series of strikes in the near future as a protest against what it considers the reactionary character of the new government and of its program. Even the Catholic unions are becoming impatient. The Force Ouvrière, held together only by the leadership of Léon Jouhaux, has been losing so much ground lately that it will perforce have to follow the other unions in support of demands for higher wages. France has a new government, but its problems remain in aggravated form.

U. N. Instead of Big Five?

It looks as if the Russians were preparing to make the United Nations the chief focus of diplomatic action in the near future. There was a hint of this intention, as we said at the time, in the appointment of Andrei Vishinsky as Soviet permanent delegate to the U. N. (The general view was that the Russian Foreign Minister had suffered a demotion.) A more recent sign has been the total disappearance of the demand for a Big Five conference which had dominated Soviet propaganda ever since the Berlin meeting of the World Council of Peace. At the recent conference called by the World Council in Budapest, the Big Five motif was discreetly dropped, and stress was laid on the role of the United Nations as an instrument for peace. More significant still was the tone of the editorial on international relations in the last number of the Cominform organ. Following the Budapest lead, the article concluded that the United Nations might serve as the means of bringing about improved relations, provided the spirit of the Charter was respected.

This shift in diplomatic emphasis is worth following with attention. Without abandoning their support of Communist China or giving up the idea that at the proper moment Peking's admission to the U. N. might be backed by Britain, Canada, and other non-Communist states, the Russians seem to be adopting a strategy which eliminates one of the major obstacles to more friendly dealings with Washington—their formerly stubborn insistence on a conference including Mao Tse-tung.

The Statehood Shell Game

Two news stories which appeared in parallel columns in the New York *Times* of July 4 illuminate certain questions raised by Mr. Gruening's article in this issue (page 24). Testifying before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in Washington on a bill to grant statehood to Hawaii—a hearing in which Senator Smathers, Florida Democrat, appeared as the leading opponent of the bill—Edward Sylva, Attorney General of Hawaii, vehemently disputed the contention of the ex-Communist informer and professional witness Paul Crouch that the Communist Party dominates the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii.

On the same day that Mr. Sylva testified in Washington, Jack Hall, the leader of the I. L. W. U. in the islands, and five other persons were sentenced in Honolulu to five years' imprisonment and a $5,000 fine each following their conviction for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the territorial government. Pleading for the statehood bill, Mr. Sylva effectively demonstrated why there is no "clear and present danger" of a Communist conspiracy succeeding in Hawaii, a conclusion with which even Senator Arthur V. Watkins, Republican of Utah, agreed. Yet if this be true, then why was Hall convicted? Mr. Sylva's testimony suggests the answer. The conviction of the Smith act defendants, he explained, was "greeted with applause" in Hawaii since it was regarded as the perfect answer to those who urged "the red menace" in order to block statehood. Yet far from furthering the cause of statehood, the convictions have had exactly the opposite effect: they are being cited as proof positive that a "clear and present danger" exists.

But even if such a danger did exist then obviously by not granting statehood we are only increasing the danger.

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The multi-racial islanders well know that Dixiecrats like Senator Smathers are primarily interested in their racial ancestry, not their ideology. And being largely working class in origin, they will not be slow to recognize that the upper-class proponents of statehood have in effect admitted that Hall was improperly convicted. Should statehood now be denied, in the wake of Hall's conviction, working-class consciousness is certain to increase in Hawaii.

Wise Man's First Premise

Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine, consultants, investigators, and advisers extraordinary to Senator McCarthy, were scheduled to appear recently on WOR-TV's "America Speaks" forum program to debate the question; "What Is Behind the Eisenhower Speech on Book-Burning?" But both men reneged when told that their opponent would be James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*. Following Senator McCarthy's example, neither could appear, it was explained, on a program with any person who had been sworn as a witness before the committee. "My position," Mr. Cohn explained, "is like that of a prosecuting attorney"—a rather remarkable admission in view of the committee's insistence that it is not a prosecuting agency. Messrs. Cohn and Schine spurned the suggestion that Elmer Rice, the playwright, be substituted for Mr. Wechsler. "Oh, no," they said, "he's an author, and therefore a potential witness"—another interesting admission.

Cohn finally said he would appear with Howard Rushmore, the New York *Journal-American's* "anti-Communist" expert who for a time served on the staff of the committee chaired by Senator McCarthy, or with Louis Budenz. The producers then pointed out that both men were authors and had appeared before the committee as witnesses. Ultimately Cohn suggested Godfrey P. Schmidt, Fordham University law professor and Cardinal Spellman's legal adviser. Mr. Schmidt did not hesitate to declare that there was nothing really objectionable about book-burnings—that is, of some books—thereby indicating who if not what is behind some of the current interest in the subject. "The wise man's first premise," Mr. Wechsler replied, quoting Justice Holmes, "is that he is not God."

Opportunity for Colombia

A month after Colombia's coup d'état its significance is becoming clearer. Although the leading figure was again a military man, General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, the circumstances of the coup and the perspectives it opened make it something more than the usual Latin American "pronunciamiento." Opposition movements in other countries subject to dictators have been greatly encouraged by the forcible but bloodless change in Bogotà.

Coming from the atmosphere of General Franco's entourage in Madrid, President Laureano Gomez was on the point of celebrating his return to the presidency, after a leave of absence for illness, by making the dictatorship still more sereve. Eager to insure total control, his first thought was to get rid of the acting commander of the army, General Rojas Pinilla, who was said to oppose a Peronist experiment in Colombia. Notified of Gomez's intention, the General simply arrested the Dictator, without having to fire a shot, and sent him out of the country on board a regular passenger plane.

Apparently the result will not be merely the replacement of one dictator with another. Great possibilities are now open to the democratic elements of Colombia, and they have a good leader in former President Eduardo Santos. But the Liberals must prove they have learned something from the recent period of weakness and romanticism. Though the "perfectionists" are already calling for early "free elections," the more experienced fear that after years of arbitrary rule and destruction of liberties, no genuinely free elections can be held until the present government has had a chance to establish safeguards against reactionary terrorism and fraud. A sense of security and confidence is Colombia's first requirement.

Questions on a Bid

The contract for ten transformers at Chief Joseph Dam has been awarded by the Defense Department to a British firm which again was the low bidder. But a much more valuable one for generators has been secured by the Westinghouse Electric Company which on the second round of bids cut its original price by $746,762, or more than 25 per cent, to a figure well below that of its British competitor. Thus a knotty problem appears to have been solved in a way that clears the Defense Department from the charge of flouting the policy of "trade, not aid."

It seems to us, however, that the episode ought not to be closed until some pertinent questions are answered. According to Secretary of Defense Wilson, the initial bids were rejected because specifications had been too loosely drawn, enabling the British concern to proffer material of a lower quality than that of the American bidders. How then, on the basis of "tighter" specifications, was it possible for Westinghouse to bid so much lower a price? Some explanation is necessary in view of the fact that Westinghouse is organizing a loud propaganda campaign against the awarding of government contracts to foreign firms which, according to the American firm, offers unfair competition because of much lower labor costs.

Now it may be that in the case of the Chief Joseph generators, Westinghouse cut its price below cost for the sake of prestige. It seems more probable, however, that relying on the 25 per cent preference provided by the "Buy American" act, it included in its first bid an unconscionably fat profit. In that case, the interpretation of the "Buy American" act that allows the armed services to make foreign purchases when this helps the mutual security program is justified by the break it gives the taxpayer as well as by the support it offers to our foreign policies.

Korea and Collective Security

THE MOST popular spectator sport over the past few days has been the grim one of guessing whether Syngman Rhee would accept any truce formula that anybody else could accept, and if not what the Administration, the U. N., and the Communists would do about it. The week opened with no answer. The one sure bet was that while the South Korean boss could not defeat the enemy he could certainly defeat the purposes of his allies and protectors. He could sabotage a truce. He could endanger the U. N. army if it tried to pull out. In the process of committing national suicide, he could turn the U. N.'s action in Korea into a monumental fiasco and damage its prestige and good faith throughout the world.

But another question is rearing its head behind the diplomatic struggle at Seoul. It is a question highlighted but not created by Mr. Rhee, and it should be worrying the world quite as much as his immediate capacity for mischief. The question is this: has the Korean war and its denouement put an end to the use of military sanctions as an instrument of collective security? The search for an answer should reach beyond the present impasse and concentrate on the greater issue of sovereignty in relation to collective responsibility.

SYNGMAN RHEE'S insistence on his right to determine the minimum safeguards required for the security of his country is no doubt stubborn and irrational. For one thing his demand for national unity, achieved by force if necessary, is in effect a demand that Korea be unified under his regime. No United Nations resolution ordained that unification meant extending the rule of Mr. Rhee to the Yalu River, not even the authorization of General MacArthur's drive across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. As a matter of fact, the more President Rhee argues his claim to control the whole country, denying the very existence of North Korea as a separate state, the more he undermines the original case for military sanctions. The Security Council backed the American call for "police action" on the ground that North Korea, in sending its army across an agreed national boundary, had committed aggression. According to the Syngman Rhee theory there was no aggression, only an act of rebellion. But the U. N. did not vote military sanctions to support one side in a civil war. It was a sovereign state whose existence was threatened; it was an invading army that the U. N. voted to help repel. President Rhee had better keep those facts in mind: they constitute his only valid claim to the military aid poured into South Korea since June, 1950.

But once the basis for military sanctions is firmly established, a problem arises out of it. When and how and through whose decision is the collective action to be ended? Certainly it was the intention of the nations that voted sanctions to reserve to the U. N. the power to decide when the aggression had been checked and on what terms they should pull out. Never could they have imagined that the final decision would rest with the rescued nation, that South Korea would assume the right to veto or wreck a truce it did not approve. Yet the very essence of the sovereignty which was threatened by an aggressor and preserved by U. N. intervention is embodied in Syngman Rhee's fanatical determination to decide his country's destiny. Legal experts may argue that by the act of accepting collective help, the South Korean government voluntarily gave up that right. This is a point which could be long debated. But realistically the problem represented by Rhee's resistance to the U. N. truce terms remains untouched. For whatever its legal obligations a state which has been the beneficiary of collective military sanctions is in a position to claim the last word on the settlement of the dispute—or wreck the show.

This is a danger that was not anticipated when sanctions were voted. It turns out to be a very serious danger, so serious that it is hard to believe another similar decision will ever be made in like circumstances. Three years of war waged with modern weapons, hundreds of thousands dead, a country destroyed, billions of dollars sunk in the effort—and in the end, when aggression is defeated and principle vindicated, the victim can calmly say: "Sorry, partners, but this is not the way we want the show to end. We want you to stay and keep on fighting until we consider the war won. Of course you can refuse: but if you do we will fight alone."

THE U. N. forces *can* pull out, in theory. But in fact they cannot unless he agrees, without still more frightful risks. For a great army depends for every move it makes on the cooperation and support of the country in which it is operating. Enough has been written by experts in the field to show how complete is the veto power over the U. N. exercised today by Rhee's regime. Other sorts of sanctions—economic, diplomatic—can be applied and then lifted. Military sanctions cannot; by their very nature they deprive the collective body of control over its own actions. Syngman Rhee has dramatized a question that may as well be faced now as later, the question whether the United Nations will not have to reconsider the whole problem of how to deal with acts of aggression and other threats to world peace.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

49TH AND 50TH STATES

G. O. P. Betrays a Pledge . . *by Ernest Gruening*

Juneau, Alaska

IT LOOKS increasingly as if the Administration would fail to carry out one of its clearest and easiest commitments—statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. The Republican platform was specific. It favored "immediate statehood for Hawaii; statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act."

There was more than that. Three years ago, addressing a Denver audience, President Eisenhower of Columbia University declared: "Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that 'America practices what it preaches.'"

This sound and stimulating contribution to contemporary thought was particularly pertinent in view of the international situation. Circumstances had thrust world leadership upon the United States. Inevitably such leadership seeks to further the basic principles of our ideology, of which there is none more important than "government by consent of the governed." It began in a real sense when Franklin D. Roosevelt started putting our own house in order in relation to its surroundings and enunciated the "good neighbor" policy. Intervention in Latin American countries was forsworn. Cuba was freed from the vassalage of the Platt amendment; the Monroe Doctrine was made multilateral; and our promise to grant full independence to the Philippines was fulfilled. President Truman carried the process farther. He proceeded vigorously to divorce the United States from the imperial colonialism on which it embarked after the war with Spain, urged on by McKinley's "manifest destiny" and Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick." Tru-

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ERNEST GRUENING, Governor of Alaska from December, 1939, to the spring of 1953, was previously Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior. He was also an editor of The Nation *for several years.*

man asked for immediate statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, the first President to do so. For Puerto Rico the Truman Administration procured precisely the political status which most Puerto Ricans desired—that of an associated dominion. Our insular problem child thus obtained not only the advantages of independence without loss of any of the privileges of American citizenship but all the economic benefits of inclusion in the American system.

The Eightieth, Eighty-first, and Eighty-second Congresses failed to carry out Truman's program for Alaska and Hawaii. Statehood bills for both passed the House but not the Senate. Southern Democrats, obsessed with fear of civil-rights legislation and consequently unwilling to add new states whose Senators were unlikely to share their enthusiasm for the filibuster, combined with conservative Republicans to shelve the statehood bills, despite unwavering favorable committee reports in both houses. Public sentiment in the nation, however, supported them overwhelmingly, and the cause was clearly gaining strength.

AFTER VOTING heavily Republican in their 1952 election, which preceded the national election by three weeks, Alaskans received a rude shock from President Eisenhower's State of the Union message. This urged Congress to grant statehood to Hawaii "promptly with the first election scheduled for 1954" but made no mention of Alaska. The Alaska House of Representatives, composed of twenty Republicans and four Democrats, by unanimous vote immediately wired the President its protest.

What is the explanation for the failure to mention Alaska? To questions asked at subsequent press conferences President Eisenhower has responded variously. He didn't think Alaska was ready. Hawaiians had a splendid war record which deserved recognition, and so forth. Actually, partisan political considerations determined the selection of Hawaii as the Republicans' lone candidate for statehood. Territorial policies under this Administration are shaped by Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Butler has long been violently opposed to statehood for either Alaska or Hawaii. His feelings about Hawaii were revealed when as chairman of the same committee in the Republican Eightieth Congress he spoke of the danger that a "Jap Senator" would be elected to the United States Senate should Hawaii be admitted. Subsequently he emphasized the communism in the Islands. But whatever his objections, they vanished when the 1952 election gave the Republicans only a one-vote majority in the Senate. If the Democrats should gain one seat in 1954, the Republicans would lose control, and Butler his chairmanship. Owing to the foresight of Hawaiians in drawing up and approving a constitution without waiting for Congressional action, passage of the Hawaiian statehood bill would enable the people of Hawaii to elect two Senators and a Representative in the 1954 elections. Alaska, on the other hand, could not elect its Senators until 1956.

Senator Butler

Hawaii and Alaska statehood proposals, though formulated in separate bills, have been teamed in recent years, for two reasons. First, since they are the only two incorporated territories—the only areas eligible for statehood—it has seemed proper and natural to bring them in together. A more practical reason has been that Hawaii has been assumed to be Republican; Alaska, Democratic. Hawaii has in fact gone Republican ever since a Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, refused to sanction annexation after the dethronement of Queen Liliuokalani and the establishment of the Hawaiian republic, and McKinley, his Republican successor, favored it. Alaska, since the establishment of its legislature in 1913, has exhibited the same political complexion as the nation, going Democratic from 1932 to 1950. Actually neither area is irrevocably in one party's pocket. In the last election Hawaii's popular delegate, Joseph Rider Farrington, was closely pressed by a little-feared Democrat; a swing of some 3,500 votes out of over 100,000 cast, would have elected Judge Delbert Metzger. Alaska Republicans carried the legislature overwhelmingly but failed to defeat the highly esteemed Democratic delegate, "Bob" Bartlett.

Had the Eisenhower Administration indorsed both Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood, the chances of both passing in the Eighty-third Congress would have been excellent. The Southern bloc, relieved of its fears of federal F. E. P. C. legislation, would undoubtedly have voted against the two measures but not filibustered against them. The Northern Democrats, together with the three Southern Democrats who voted for Alaskan statehood in 1952—Holland, Kefauver, and Sparkman—probably a few other Democrats, and the majority of Republicans, would have been ample to pass both. But the manifest partisanship of the Republican move to admit only Hawaii deeply disturbed the Democrats. On March 10 a motion to recommit the Hawaii bill for the purpose of having the committee bring out both bills was defeated in the House by the narrow margin of 227 to 182. Of the 182 voting to recommit, 165 were Democrats. But the Republican majority alone would not have been sufficient to prevent recommittal; twenty-seven Democrats also voted against it. This hurdle crossed, the Hawaii bill was passed 274 to 138, with 90 Democrats voting for it. Their number would have been larger but for the Administration's attitude on Alaskan statehood.

Ample time now remained for Senate action on Hawaii. But an unexpected and unexplained delay took place. For ten days the Hawaiians could get only evasive replies from the Republican leadership. (Was it because of the growing fear that of the prospective Hawaiian Senators only one was likely to be a Republican?) Then the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee by a vote of eight to seven reported favorably on Senator Anderson's motion that the Alaskan bill should be attached to the Hawaii bill and the two acted on jointly. One Republican, Malone of Nevada, had switched to the Democratic side and given it a majority. While professedly against the admission of either Hawaii or Alaska, Malone declared it was only fair that both be considered.

Will the Administration now confess itself beaten in its own proclaimed purpose to pass the Hawaii statehood bill? It looks so, despite the fact that last week committee hearings were held on the bill. In view of the feebleness of the Republican effort—in contrast with its declarations—it seems likely that Hawaii will again be doomed to disappointment.

TWO COURSES are now open to the Administration. One is to bring the Hawaiian bill on to the floor despite the committee vote and use its influence to get it passed. The case for Hawaiian statehood is overwhelming. Only the feeblest arguments were advanced by its opponents in the two-day House debate—non-contiguity, communism, racial origins. The non-contiguity argument falls to pieces in the presence of modern communications which make Hawaii, and Alaska, nearer in travel time to the national capital than was any previous state at the time of its admission, to say nothing of instantaneous communication by radiophone. The Communist issue has been amply disposed of by the investigations of Congressional committees. The Oriental origin of the majority of Hawaiians distressed a number of Southern opponents. Representative Howard Smith of Virginia pointed out that we had never admitted a state in which Caucasians were in a minority. Others rang all possible changes on this theme. It was the first time the race issue had come out fully into the open in Congress.

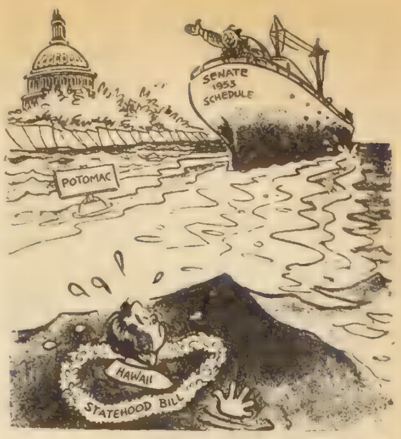
The fact is that no Americans have been more thoroughly integrated into the American spirit than the diverse ethnic groups of Hawaii. No Americans have more thoroughly demonstrated their patriotism and their true Americanism. Hawaiian units in World War II were the most decorated of any in our armed forces. Their participation in the Korean War has been out of all proportion to their numbers. To reject Hawaii's admission on the ground of the people's racial origins—and that is the real ground on which rejection would be based—would deal our efforts to conciliate the darker races of men a fatal blow. It would be a damning negation by deed of what we are professing in words.

The other course open to the Administration, one recommended editorially by the New York *Herald Tribune*, is to bring up the Alaskan statehood bill also. That would, I believe, insure the passage of both bills. It would rally the Northern Democrats and some Southern Democrats to vote for the Hawaiian bill. With the Republican support both bills would breeze through. Is there any reason why this should not be done?

A month after the Hawaiian bill passed the House, the House Interior and Insular Affairs subcommittee on territories held hearings on the Alaskan bill. All who wished to be heard were given an opportunity. No one opposed appeared, and its advocates gave an impressive factual demonstration of the validity of Alaska's cause. After the hearings the full House committee voted to report the bill favorably.

IT WAS AN amended bill. The Republican national platform, it will be recalled, indorsed statehood for Alaska "under an equitable enabling act." This language was the direct result of the character of the opposition to Alaskan statehood in the Eighty-second Congress.

Few attacks on statehood as such were made there, other than the time-worn arguments that have been used against almost every state's efforts to obtain admission. Instead, the opposition, directed from behind the scenes by the Alaska canned-salmon industry of Seattle, which works closely with Senator Butler, tried to show that the enabling act did not provide adequate support for the proposed state. In the 1952 debate Alaska was constantly reproached with the fact that 99 per cent of its land was still in the federal public domain, and that therefore Alaska, as a state, would be a vassal of the Department of the Interior. The bill before the Eighty-second Congress was in reality a more generous one than most states have enjoyed. In its earlier drafts it had granted the new state two, later four, numbered sections of land in every township. But since that might include much worthless land—tundra, marsh, mountain top—and also burden the state with the problem of administering widely scattered tracts, the Senate committee, under the chairmanship of Joseph C. O'Mahoney, had substituted a new and unprecedented formula which granted Alaska some 23,000,000 acres of land of its own choosing. This would have given the state an area as large as New England; in other terms, it would have given Alaska more land not in the public domain than is possessed by the four states of Arizona, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada. But the opposition still contended that this was only 7 per cent of Alaska's total of 375,000,000 acres and therefore inadequate. It likewise pointed out that this land would be of little practical value until surveyed, and that at the rate at which the federal government had been making surveys in Alaska it would take seventeen thousand years to complete the task.



Herblock, Washington *Post*

Aloha!

The fact, of course, is that federal land policies, against which the people of Alaska have protested unceasingly for the eighty-six years since the Purchase, are responsible. For more than thirty years—from 1867 to 1898—none of the nation's land laws were extended to Alaska. It was impossible for a settler to acquire title to a square foot of land. In the wake of the Klondike gold rush Congress applied the homestead laws to Alaska but largely nullified them by failing to appropriate funds for surveys. By that time these laws, drafted nearly half a century previously for the states, were no longer suitable for Alaska. Legislature after legislature, governor after governor, has pleaded with Congress for land laws that would make it possible to transfer some portion of Alaska's vast and relatively empty domain to private ownership. These pleas have been unheeded. That is why so much land remains in public domain. If Congress were to adapt the public-land laws to Alaska's needs, settlement would proceed apace. Members of Congress, opposed to statehood, use the stick of their own—or their predecessors'—shortcomings to beat Alaska with.

Now the 1952 Republican plank on Alaska meant—if it meant anything—that previous statehood bills had been inadequate and that the Administration would produce an adequate one. But no confirmation of this appeared in President Eisenhower's State of the Union message or in any subsequent statement or press conference. Alaska's aspirations have been wholly ignored at the top.

However, the House subcommittee on territories, under the energetic leadership of Representative John P. Saylor of Pennsylvania, amended the current bill to provide 100,000,000 acres of land for Alaska, plus $15,000,000 to defray the cost of surveys and other costs incidental to statehood. It granted the future state of Alaska title to the submerged lands for three miles beyond the low-tide mark.

This is certainly an "equitable" enabling act. One hundred million acres is an area as large as our second largest state, California. If the Republican high command was sincere in its past statements and platform pledge, its course is now simple. It will obtain a "rule" for the Alaskan-statehood bill in the House which will insure its passage there. In the Senate, given Administration support, the bill will have plain sailing. Both Hawaii and Alaska will thus achieve statehood—Hawaii in 1954, Alaska in 1956.

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WITHOUT SUCH a reasonable and sound policy neither Hawaii nor Alaska will achieve statehood—certainly not in the Eighty-third Congress. For Hawaii one more defeat will be tragic. For a quarter of a century Hawaiians have been working for the statehood that was implicitly promised them over half a century ago. If they are rebuffed again they can only develop a profound bitterness, a burning sense of injustice, of promises broken, of racial prejudice determining a national policy to keep them indefinitely, perhaps permanently, as second-class citizens, of pledges broken, of promises betrayed. It will be a sorry spectacle before the whole world, whose good-will and confidence we so earnestly seek and so sorely need.

The Alaska case does not have these tragic overtones. It is true that the arguments advanced against Alaskan statehood are groundless, the allegations in opposition spurious. Wholly selfish forces are operating to deny Alaskans their rightful heritage as Americans. The opposition to Alaska statehood arises almost entirely from absentee groups, principally in Seattle, who for years have been extracting profitable income from the territory and fear that statehood will mean increased taxation. They have of course their representatives scattered through Alaska who oppose statehood at Chamber of Commerce meetings. Precisely these same forces have always fought every increase of self-government. After the farcical gesture toward civil government called the Organic Act of 1884 they opposed any workable territorial government and even managed to delay creation of the office of delegate until 1906.

The principal enemy of Alaskan statehood, the Alaska canned-salmon industry with headquarters in Seattle, has consistently opposed needed revenue legislation for Alaska and kept lobbyists in both Washington and Juneau. It succeeded in 1912, when the present Organic Act was passed by Congress, in depriving Alaska of the control of its fisheries—a discrimination not visited on Hawaii or Puerto Rico. It has since resisted every attempt to transfer the fisheries to the territory despite the repeated pleas of almost every legislature, the governors, and the public generally. At a referendum held last fall the people of Alaska voted five to one for a transfer of the fisheries, but the canned-salmon industry has been sufficiently potent not only in Congress but in the Interior Department—yes, under Ickes, Krug, and Chapman as well as their Republican predecessors—to prevent such action.

The industry's opposition to the transfer of the fisheries is based on the assumption that with control of the fisheries the Alaska legislature would promptly abolish fish traps, elaborate stationary pieces of gear costing several thousand dollars to instal which intercept the salmon as they go up the rivers to spawn. The use of fish traps is opposed not only by the fishermen, who consider them unfair competition with their purse seines, gill-nets, and trolling gear, but by the people of Alaska as a whole. At a referendum called by the 1949 legislature the people of Alaska voted nine to one for their abolition, but the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior has complete control of the regulation and conservation of the fisheries and the referendum has been without effect. The general opposition to fish traps is based on the widespread belief that they are unduly destructive of fish. The steady diminution of the salmon runs in Alaska, which have now reached the lowest point in twenty years, can undoubtedly be partly attributed to their use. Fish traps have been abolished in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia.

NO SUCH powerful economic interests are opposing Hawaiian statehood. The large sugar and pineapple corporations, the so-called Big Five, are owned and officered by residents of the Islands. Absentee control is not a factor. One reason the Big Five want statehood is to prevent the threatened discrimination in raw-sugar and refined-sugar quotas which seriously menaces the insular economy. What opposition to statehood exists within Hawaii is based on the fear—much less strong than on the mainland—that persons of Oriental descent will increasingly dominate.

Statesmanship and good faith demand that President Eisenhower return to the position he enunciated in his noble and inspiring utterance of three years ago: "Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that 'America practices what it preaches.'"

MOSCOW PEACE DRIVE

Victory for Containment? . . *by W. A. Williams*

STALIN'S death and the subsequent changes in the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union have provoked a huge quantity of opinion and interpretation in the Western world. Through it all has run the view that American policy is responsible for most if not all of these developments. From the New York *Times* "Review of the Week" to the most recent book by Isaac Deutscher ("Russia: What Next?") the agreement is almost unanimous: containment has turned the trick. Closer examination of this view, however, may reveal that the facile equation of containment with developments in Russia is not so valid as it appears at first glance.

In its most persuasive form, as presented by Mr. Deutscher, the current line of reasoning is unequivocal: the Soviet peace offensive represents a "signal success of that [containment] policy." Deutscher reaches this conclusion via a keen analysis of Stalin's temporary failure to restrain the more powerful, capable, and ambitious of the non-Russian Communist leaders who operated in valid revolutionary situations. Tito and Mao Tse-tung are offered as prime examples of such men. Forced reluctantly to identify himself with these revolutions—primarily for reasons of prestige and theory—Stalin could not avoid, Deutscher continues, antagonizing the West. But containment, he asserts, forced these advocates of world revolution, and their supporters in the Kremlin, to accept Stalin's argument for socialism in one area. Thus World War III was at least postponed, and an opportunity created for reform in Russia.

Well argued as it is, this interpretation overlooks the negative consequences of containment. If we accept Deutscher's portrait of Stalin as the reluctant revolutionary, then we are right back with Stalin and Churchill during the years 1941-44, when both men sought to effect just such a non-revolutionary settlement in post-war Europe. As early as August, 1941, Harry Hopkins returned from his first trip to Moscow to report that Stalin was concerned with a clear settlement of Eastern European boundaries. Four months later the Soviets asked the British for a firm understanding on the Russian border of 1941, a line to which Stalin "attached fundamental importance." For his part Churchill argued that Russia should not be denied "the frontier she occupied when Germany attacked her" and pointed out that this "was the basis on which Russia acceded to the [Atlantic] Charter." But the United States refused to allow such a settlement, and the Anglo-Soviet treaty of May, 1942, ignored all boundary issues.

Thus the question remained open when the Red Army began its counterattack to the west after the victory at Stalingrad. By the summer of 1944 Churchill realized that some settlement had to be made before the continued advance of the Red Army carried Soviet power to the shores of the Mediterranean. When Washington again declined to participate formally in such discussions, Churchill went to Moscow alone. In a series of frank exchanges with Stalin during the first part of October, 1944, Churchill agreed to Soviet predominance in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary in return for joint authority in Yugoslavia and British control in Greece. These decisions were translated into action when the Soviets acquiesced in British intervention against Greek Communists in Athens and later, at

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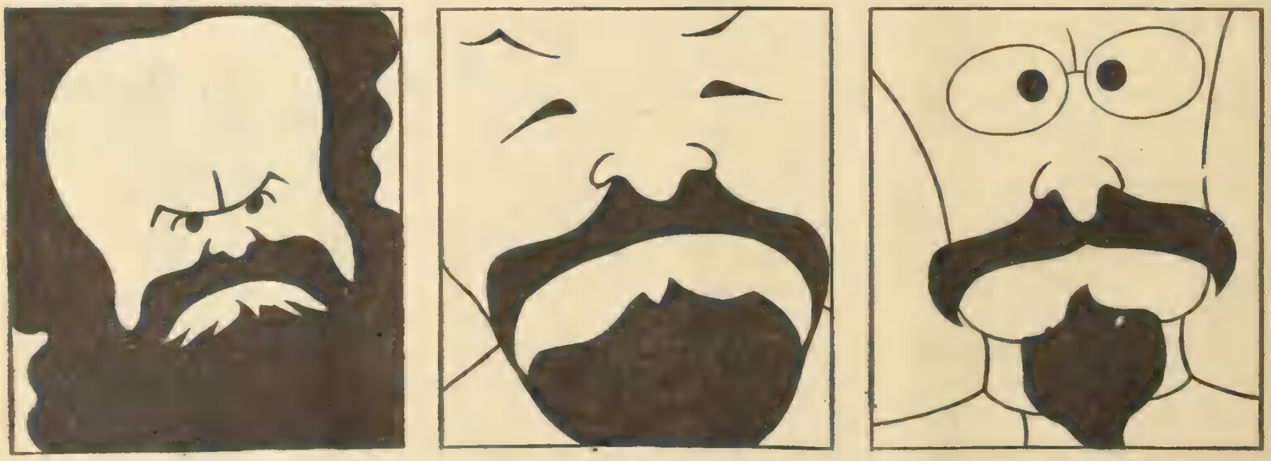
WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS, assistant professor of history at the University of Oregon, is the author of "American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947."

A History of the Soviet Union . . .



MARX LENIN TROTSKY

Yalta, when Stalin forced Tito to accept a subordinate position in the first post-war Yugoslav government.

The Churchill-Stalin agreements were in force, and had been honored, when the two men joined Roosevelt at Yalta in February, 1945. Stalin had two interdependent objectives at that conference: achieve security in Eastern Europe by winning American approval of the October pact with Churchill and by extending the understanding to include acceptance of the Curzon line in Poland; and obtain aid from the West for Russia's shattered economy. These considerations offer the first clue that more is needed to explain post-Yalta developments than merely the forcing of Stalin's hand by his avid revolutionary comrades.

For Washington's tendency, both before and after Roosevelt's death, to draw back from Churchill's policy, which was designed to facilitate Stalin's nonrevolutionary solution to the dilemma, only weakened Stalin's arguments against revolution. The paradox was that Washington's verbal intervention, and later more direct interference, strengthened those local Communist leaders, such as Tito, who were already opposing Stalin's insistence that they content themselves with no more than strong representation in new bourgeois governments. Russia's intervention in Rumania against a non-Communist government that failed to honor its reparations quota at a time when the Red Army was staging the assault on Berlin was militantly criticized by Washington, even though Stalin had ignored similar British action in Greece. And after the death of Roosevelt the protests of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes became more numerous and insistent. These acts of American intervention served to strengthen, not weaken, the arguments of both Stalin's associates in the Kremlin and foreign Communists who contended that only a total seizure of power and world revolution could provide security.

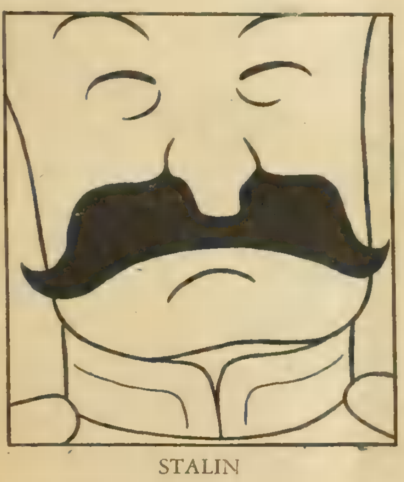
LIKEWISE, the failure of Washington to pursue the discussion of major economic assistance for the Soviet Union forced Stalin to depend on reparations. At the Tehran conference Roosevelt and Stalin spoke briefly of the importance of post-war economic relations, which Stalin hoped would be "greatly expanded." "I am sorry I did not get time," Roosevelt recalled, "to talk with the Russians about the whole question of reconstruction in Russia." But at Yalta the discussions went farther, with the Soviets clearly specifying their desire that Washington "would furnish the Soviet Union with long-term credits." Encouraged by these talks, Stalin applied formally for a six-billion-dollar loan to be used for rehabilitation and reconstruction. The State Department, however, "lost" the request, an oversight that did little to facilitate Stalin's efforts to negotiate a modus vivendi with the West. When Stalin emphasized the implications of losing a bid for a six-billion-dollar loan, Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith admitted that he "certainly had a good point there"; but no effort was made to reopen the discussion.

Stalin turned from the idea of a loan to that of reparations in kind—plants not products—as a solution for Russia's economic problems. That this policy was viewed as but another example of Soviet duplicity by the very people who lost the loan application can hardly be wondered at, since that was their *original* assumption—as revealed by Harriman's early recommendation to isolate Russia economically, the sudden and unilateral termination of Lend-Lease, and Forrestal's long search for a formal statement of both the assumptions and the purpose of the policy.

This, of course, came in the famous containment article by George F. Kennan. There the explicit goal was to effect a major modification in, or the total collapse of, the Soviet Union. Not only was Kennan's assumption that Soviet revolutionary expansion was a calculated policy far wide of the mark (Deutscher's book provides convincing evidence on this point), but his few words of caution about the need for tact and leaving open a door for Soviet retreat carried little weight in view of his main thesis, or when set against the language of the Truman Doctrine and Secretary of State Dean Acheson's constant cry for total diplomacy. The American containment policy scarcely strengthened Stalin's efforts to stabilize relations with the West and control the revolutionary fervor of his subordinates and foreign friends.

It may well be that this policy has actually led to a more ruthless and completely Moscow-directed consolidation of the area from the Elbe to the Yellow Sea. Certainly the character and tone of the Soviet Union's response to containment and to the Truman Doctrine indicate that this was the case. Whether one reads Soviet foreign-policy declarations

. . . *By Max Brandel*



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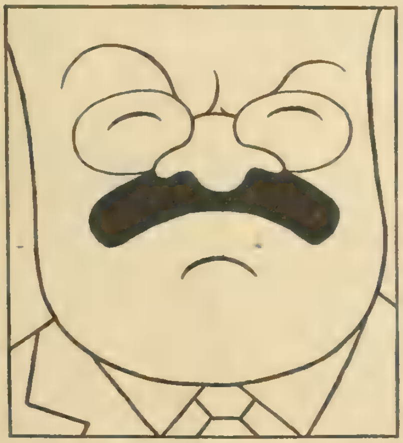

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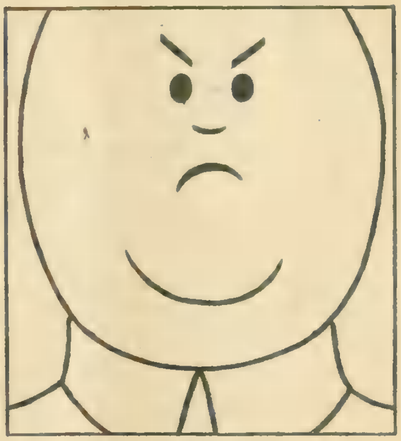


MALENKOV

of that period, keeps tally on the purges, or notes the use of Eastern European economies to supply Moscow's needs, one cannot help observing the extent of Russian control. Stalin's last testament also suggests such a conclusion, not only in its clear reflection of the continued strength within the party of those who advocated more revolution instead of less, but also in its picture of the integration of the Soviet-dominated area.

Perhaps these considerations explain Churchill's call for an end to the cold war and a return to the diplomacy of negotiation. Premier Malenkov has clearly indicated his desire to follow Stalin's earlier policy, but also his inability to do so unless the West abandons the objective of containment. The West's refusal to match Stalin's policy is risking the triumph within the Kremlin of those Soviet leaders who argue for world revolution. And that is to abandon the present to history. Churchill seems more confident that men can manage it for themselves.

ORDER OF LENIN

A Fable for Americans . . *by Malcolm Logan*

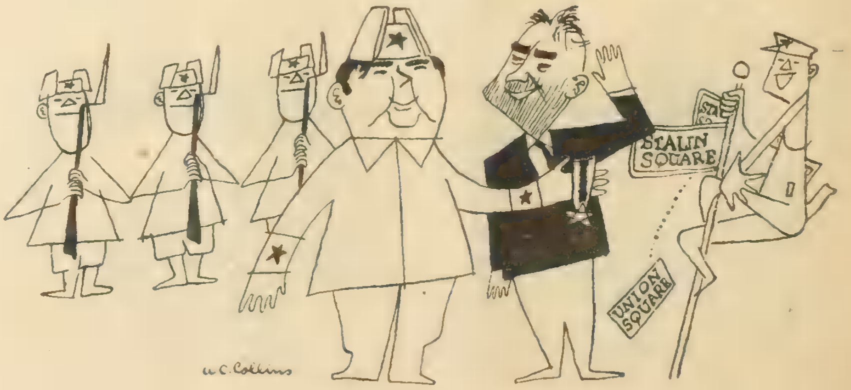
WHEN Oscar Slade was expelled from the Communist Party in the spring of 1964, he was given the full treatment. The *Daily Worker* denounced him as a Trotskyite, Titoist, right deviationist, diversionist, homeless cosmopolitan, and imperialist warmonger. He was also accused of wife-beating and the theft of three volumes of the Little Lenin Library from his section headquarters.

In due time Slade produced a book in which he confessed in great detail his sins as a Communist and exposed the machinations of the party. His reputation as a patriot and a man conversant with the great Communist conspiracy was enhanced by testimony he gave before the House Un-American Activities Committee, lecture tours, and magazine articles. Within a year an important newspaper employed him as its full-time anti-Communist expert.

For this new career Slade equipped himself with the published hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee, the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, and a subscription to the *Daily Worker.* From these sources he compiled an index of all persons who had ever been mentioned unfavorably by the House committee or favorably by the *Daily Worker* or whose names had appeared on the lists of any organization which had ever been called a Communist front. When any of these obviously subversive individuals joined an organization, signed a petition, or attended a meeting, Slade warned the nation of this new threat to American institutions. By the logic of guilt by association, anyone who belonged to the same organization, signed the same petition, or attended the same meeting was patently a Communist, or at least a fellow-traveler, and his name was also entered in Slade's growing index.

ONE OF THE FIRST major services which Slade rendered the anti-Communist cause was the disclosure that a high State Department official was an agent of the Cominform. The proof was irrefutable. This man had spoken at a banquet attended by three persons on Slade's index. They were (1) a college professor who had once signed a petition for continuation of rent control which had also been signed by a lawyer who had once contributed to the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was on the Attorney General's subversive list: (2) an engineer who had once belonged to a parent-teachers' association whose membership included a man who had attended a concert given by a pianist who ten years before had belonged to American Youth for Democracy; and (3) a business man whose nephew was employed by a man whose name had been mentioned at a hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee. (This reference, not quoted by Slade, was as follows: "*Q.* In the course of your Communist Party activities, did you ever meet Mr. Blank? *A.* No.")

Slade's shocking disclosure was taken up by a Senator whose term was expiring the following December. In a speech on the Senate floor, the Senator asserted that the State Department official accused by Slade was a known Communist who had packed the department with party members. The charge was so



MALCOLM LOGAN followed the Hiss trial and the trial of the thirteen Communist leaders as a member of the editorial staff of the New York Post.

grave, and the number of Congressmen who needed a popular issue so large, that the Un-American Activities Committee was enlarged into a special, permanent, bipartisan joint investigating committee of 300 members, charged with extirpating Communist influence from the government.

The original charges of Slade and his Senatorial champion were never proved and were forgotten as Slade produced new and damning evidence against other officials up to the rank of Cabinet officer. Soon Congress was devoting almost all its time to private and public committee sessions, flying trips to all parts of the country where Slade and other patriots had found evidence of subversive activities, and debates about the Red menace.

Anyone who came to the defense of an accused person was himself denounced by Slade, and assorted Congressmen were subpoenaed, investigated, televised on the witness stand, and of course entered in Slade's index. Eventually those citizens who held the quaint notion that an accused man had the right to a fair trial were so intimidated that they dared not speak, shunned one another, and abjured any cause with the slightest taint of liberalism.

Slade also revealed that great numbers of subversives had infiltrated the military services. The build-up of the armed forces was suspended while an enormously enlarged G-2, assisted by the F. B. I., began a loyalty check of every man in uniform. The cost of this was so great that Congress diverted to it all funds which had been allocated to military equipment. All training was suspended during the interrogation of the soldiers, sailors, and fliers.

WHEN national absorption in the hunt for subversives had reached its peak, the U. S. S. R. struck without a declaration of war. Disunited and unprepared, the United States was defeated. Those members of the Congressional committee who survived the hydrogen bomb attack on Washington were liquidated by the victors. So was the publisher of Slade's newspaper.

At a great victory celebration in Stalin Place, Marxograd (formerly Union Square, New York City), Oscar Slade was decorated with the Order of Lenin (2nd class), His citation said:

"On assignment from the M. V. D., Comrade Oscar Slade, posing as an anti-Communist, created dissension among the imperialist rulers of the United States, paralyzed the social-democratic 'liberals' and other enemies of the U. S. S. R. by 'exposing' them as Communists, diverted the energies of the imperialist military forces, and installed secret friends of Soviet Russia in government positions where they could frustrate the warmongers' treacherous efforts to oppose the Red Army of liberation. Comrade Slade thus contributed greatly to the downfall of capitalism."

COLONIALISM ON TRIAL

The Kenyatta Case . . *by Peter Abrahams*

[The Jomo Kenyatta trial is one of the most significant events in recent African history. Native Africans, as well as many of their sympathizers in England and elsewhere, consider that in the defendant's dock stands not only an individual native African leader but colonialism itself in all its aspects—political, economic, and cultural.

The writer of this article is one of the "Cape colored"—a person of mixed racial ancestry from Cape Province of the Union of South Africa—who is now working in England as a writer and radio commentator. His most recent book is "Return to Goli," an autobiography.]

London

JOMO KENYATTA'S appeal against his conviction of the crime of managing the Mau Mau terrorist society began last week before the Nairobi Supreme Court—a British court—in the small town of Kitale in Kenya. His counsel will again be D. N. Pritt, former left-wing Labor Member of Parliament, who defended him in the original fifty-eight-day trial, which ended last March. Kenyatta and five co-defendants were each sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for managing the secret society and three years for membership in it, the sentences to run concurrently.

For two months the courtroom in Kapenguria, in northern Kenya, was guarded day and night by soldiers and armored cars. Access to the court was by special permit which was granted only after the strictest security tests. The tense atmosphere surrounding the trial spread to the farthest corners of the colony as British troops prepared to deal with possible native demonstrations in support of Kenyatta.

Early in the case the brilliant Pritt clashed sharply with the presiding magistrate, R. B. Thacker. Pritt asserted that a fair trial could not be had at Kapenguria because it was a closed district and the public therefore could not attend. Nor could Mr. Thacker be expected to assure impartiality since he had previously expressed doubt of the reliability of one of the accused. Pritt also complained that there was no law library he could consult and that he had difficulty in getting witnesses into the closed area. He said that in forty-three years at the Bar he had never been treated like this. Judge Thacker thereupon declared Pritt in contempt of court. He then adjourned the trial so that the question whether what Mr. Pritt had said amounted to contempt of court could be decided. Pritt insisted that the conditions under which he had to conduct the defense amounted to a denial of justice. In the end the chief justice of

Kenya, Sir Hector Hearne, acquitted Pritt. This was a great moral victory for him, and he was cheered as he reentered the Kapenguria courtroom.

All during the exchanges between the lawyer and the magistrate the central figure of the trial, the burly, bearded Jomo Kenyatta, sat calmly listening and making notes, while outside the terrorists carried on their attacks and killings, and the government forces, bent on "restoring law and order," did the same. The substance of the case against Kenyatta was that ever since his return from Europe in 1946, he had used force to make people take oaths and conspired with the other accused to foster discontent and disaffection. Prosecution witnesses testified that they had been present at oath-taking ceremonies directed by Kenyatta. An official of the Limuru branch of the Kenya African Union, the only political organization of blacks in Kenya, now proscribed, gave what was perhaps the most damning testimony. At a public gathering of his branch of the union, he said, Kenyatta was addressed as follows: "We regard you as the president of the Kenya African Union, but many people in this part of the country say you are the leader of Mau Mau. It would be a good thing if you stood up in front of this large crowd and made it clear that you are not the leader of Mau Mau." But Kenyatta replied: "It seems to me that you know nothing about the Kenya African Union. At a time when we are fighting against Europeans you are fighting against your own people. That is why you are asking me now this question about Mau Mau. I am not going to answer it." In summing up, the magistrate attached great weight to this piece of evidence.

KENYATTA, on oath, denied having had anything to do with Mau Mau. Asked if he believed in violence as a political weapon, he replied: "I have no room in my heart for violence or the use of force. At my school I reprimanded any teacher who used the cane on the children." He said that at six public meetings in the Central Province—which includes Nairobi, much of the White Highlands, and the Kikuyu Reserve—he had denounced Mau Mau and warned the members of the Kenya African Union that if any of them belonged to it they would be expelled from the union. Asked about the attitude of the white settlers to him, he said: "Some of them think that Kenyatta goes about with a pistol in his pocket and an assegai and is a horrible man." In reality I am just an ordinary man trying to get better conditions for my people without hurting anybody." He described the racial barriers in Kenya as "diabolical and evil" and said that in Europe he had lived happily with his European friends and that blacks and whites should be able to do the same in Kenya once the color bar was removed.

Mr. Thacker in his summation rejected Kenyatta's statement that he had always used constitutional methods in his efforts to achieve self-government for Africans. "It is my belief," he said, "that soon after your long stay in Europe, when you came back to the colony, you began to organize the Mau Mau society, the object of which was to drive all Europeans from Kenya, and in doing so kill them if necessary. I am satisfied that the master-mind behind the plan was yourself. I also believe that the methods to be employed were worked out by you, and that you have taken the fullest advantage of the power and influence you have over your people."

WHAT IS THE TRUTH about this Kenyatta who insists he is just an ordinary man striving for the good of his people, and whom the judge described as the master-mind behind the terrorist organization?

I knew Kenyatta well in England during the war years, when he was lecturing to troops and others in behalf of the Workers' Educational Association. He was a good lecturer. He had a wry and slightly wicked sense of humor and an infectious laugh that compelled response. He was a good mixer and was popular among English intellectuals and ordinary folk alike. In his wanderings about Europe he had spent some time in Moscow, but he had as little use for the Communists in Britain as they had for him. Like most African Negro intellectuals he was a bitter opponent of colonial imperialism, quite as uncompromising as his friend Kwame Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the Gold Coast.

During the closing stages of the war a Pan-African Federation was formed in Britain to coordinate the activities of Negro groups working for African freedom. Kenyatta was elected president and Kwame Nkrumah, who had just arrived in Britain from the United States, became organizing secretary. After the Pan-African Congress in Britain in 1945, both Nkrumah and Kenyatta went back to Africa, one to become Prime Minister of his country after a period in jail, the other to go to jail with no prospect of honors ahead.

I BELIEVE that a comparison of the situations into which Nkrumah and Kenyatta stepped when they got back to Africa may help one to understand what lies behind the Kenyatta trial. The Gold Coast and Kenya are both under the control of the British Colonial Office, but in Kenya there are some 40,000 white settlers and in the Gold Coast none. This is the all-important point of difference. It brings out the terrible ambiguity of Colonial Office policy in Africa.

Because of the 40,000 white settlers Kenya, unlike the Gold Coast, has an official and unofficial color bar, and vast stretches of land have been declared "for Europeans only." Again, because of the 40,000 white settlers the Colonial Office will not make the gesture of statesmanship which it made when it unlocked the prison gates and Nkrumah walked out to form his government. It should be recalled that when Nkrumah was imprisoned he too was charged with forming secret societies and the like. The difference between the fates met by the two men arises from the fact that the Prime Minister was born in a country whose climate is not conducive to white settlement and the prisoner appealing his sentence was born in a country the white man covets. Moreover, as Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, declared in a moment of frankness some years ago, "The white man in Africa is not prepared, and never will be prepared, to accept the African as an equal either socially or politically."

When I stopped in Kenya on my way back from South Africa last year, I spent some time with Kenyatta. This was before the Mau Mau trouble had started. In the course of one of our conversations he said to me: "Tell me, man, would it be such a crime if I, the leader of the majority in this country, were to be made Prime Minister? Would it be such a crime?"

J. Alvarez del Vayo

France and Germany

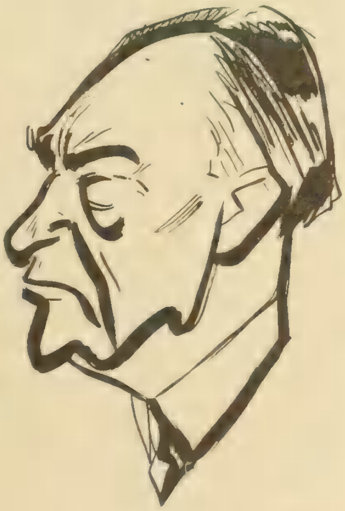
Paris

THROUGHOUT the long crisis which has just ended with the establishment in power of the "classic right," Germany was the underlying issue of the grave debate. Superficially other problems—Indo-China, North Africa, the share of France in the burden of common defense—were more in the foreground. But to a close observer it was clear that Germany's unification and its integration in the military system of the West remained at the root of the many pressing political difficulties which the formation of the Laniel Cabinet has only postponed.

One has but to see the film about which all Paris is talking these days, "La Vie passionnée de Clemenceau," to realize how the question of Germany weighs on this country. In the last moving moments of his life one worry disturbs the old warrior's serene eclipse—the world's failure to understand the meaning of Germany. His warning that the victory achieved in 1918 would be wrecked if Germany were allowed to rise again as a military power was ignored, and the world paid with the destroyed cities and the millions of dead of World War II. But even this terrible lesson has not been enough. Germany is again on the way to becoming the master of Europe, resurrected and rearmed by its late adversaries.

With respect to France, the normal trend of its foreign policy has been distorted by the dilemma in which the country has been placed of either renouncing American aid or yielding to American insistence on a rearmed Germany as the strongest pillar of the Atlantic coalition. Indeed, everything that looks so irrational in French politics today derives from the need to make all kinds of moves in order to delay the hour when France must say to America: "No, we don't want to be saved from the remote danger of a Russian assault at the cost of ourselves preparing the next German assault." Until the day when a strong popular government takes power and finds the courage to adopt a German policy in accordance with the deepest interests and instincts of France, we shall continue to witness a succession of smart tricks—"protocols" aimed at delaying ratification of the European-army treaty, feeble attempts to modify Washington's position, small concessions to Washington, governments coming in and going out.

IT IS EASY therefore to understand the intense interest with which the developments in East Germany were followed here. The more detached and solid reactions had to be sought outside Socialist and Communist circles. The French Socialists of course seized upon the Berlin riots to prove that throughout the Soviet area the workers were waiting for the chance to throw off Communist domination. The Communists retaliated by attributing the East German disorders to American *agents provocateurs*.



Chancellor Adenauer

Apart from the views of the "enemy brothers" (Socialists and Communists), the French attitude toward the Berlin events is rather realistic. Without minimizing the genuine dissatisfaction of the workers in the Russian zone, acknowledged by the Russians themselves, and the undoubted intervention of *agents provocateurs*, the best observers here have drawn two main conclusions: first, despite the impressive determination of the German workers to make their protest heard, there is not much chance of a successful revolt in territories occupied by the Russians or under Soviet control if the Russians want to put it down. In other words it would be a great error on the part of Western strategists to deduce from what has happened in East Germany that a successful uprising in the Communist world can be confidently expected or easily instigated. Second, the fact that the Soviet High Commissioner, Semyonov, is going ahead with measures of conciliation and reform offers the best evidence that Moscow's policy is geared to its fixed desire for a settlement of the German problem.

To the French government the postponement of the Bermuda conference may have been welcome. Too short a time has passed since the installation of the new Cabinet to permit a full examination of the conference agenda and the proper briefing of France's representatives, though the inclusion of Georges Bidault as Foreign Minister would have partly compensated for the inexperience of the new French Premier. But those Frenchmen eager to find a way out of the impossible international position in which France has been placed feel that the opportunity offered by the new Russian policy on Germany must not be missed. They see with relief that Moscow has finally recognized that to try to use Germany as a pawn in world politics is to play with atomic fire. That recognition paves the way for a Russian-French rapprochement in the tradition of both countries. At the same time it provides France with a useful opportunity to stage a strong comeback in foreign affairs and to reestablish unity of action with Britain by supporting London's effort to bring about a four-power conference, with Germany as the main issue.

BOOKS

Western Ways in Asia

AMERICANS AND CHINESE: TWO WAYS OF LIFE. By Francis L. K. Hsu. Henry Schuman. $6.

NORTH FROM MALAYA. By William O. Douglas. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

By Owen Lattimore

IN ONE of these books a Chinese sociologist, now in process of becoming an American citizen, discusses the status of the individual in America and in China in relation to his family, to earning a living, to government and politics. In the other a highly individual American, now in process of becoming an outstanding authority on the politics of Asia, discusses nationalism, revolution, and the foreign policy of the United States. From very different starting points the two men converge toward agreement on an important issue of policy: they both deplore Communist rule in China but do not believe that Chiang Kai-shek can overthrow it by force. They are not, however, in fundamental philosophical accord. Mr. Hsu believes that a tendency toward totalitarianism inherent in the Western "way of life" comes to the surface in times of stress, while Justice Douglas appears to hold, but does not explicitly state, the belief that the core of the Western tradition is libertarian.

Among Chinese who have written primarily for American readers Mr. Hsu is unusual in that he is a Manchurian Chinese whose experience in America was preceded by training in Europe. American intellectual, business, and missionary influences were weaker in Manchuria than almost anywhere else in China, and we have had few Chinese from that region in America. Mr. Hsu was born in South Manchuria and went to high school in North Manchuria; so that the first foreign influences to impinge on him were Japanese and Russian rather than Western. After education in Shanghai and Peking, he studied in London, traveled in Western Europe, returned to China for the bitterest part of the war of survival against Japan, did sociological field work in the southwest corner of China farthest distant from his native Manchuria, and came to America toward the end of 1944. He therefore reached this country as a mature sociologist with an exceptionally wide knowledge of his own country and a sophisticated knowledge of the West based in the first instance on Europe rather than America. These unusual qualifications are reflected in a book which has more valuable insights on both America and China than any of its sort that I can call to mind.

MR. HSU takes the American as "individual-centered" and develops the concept of a chain of crises as the child asserts its individuality against its parents, husband and wife assert their individuality against each other, and each lonely ego tries to establish itself in terms of job, community, and attitude toward government. The Chinese he takes as "situation-centered," with a life history of successive adjustments to his family's concern in his childhood, marriage, parenthood, employment, and career. His method of comparison is at its best in bringing significant details into sharp focus, weakest when it is applied to profound historical problems. Why did China not develop, before Europe did, an industrial capitalism of its own? Why did China eventually "go Communist" in a landslide, when after a century of concentrated Western influence it had never "gone Christian," or "gone democratic," or, in fact, "gone Western" in any important way or to any depth?

It is interesting that the mere attempt to answer these larger questions forces Mr. Hsu to depart to some extent from his simple confrontation of the "individual-centered" American and the "situation-centered" Chinese. It is also interesting that his discussion does not cease to be valuable and courageously willing to face facts for which there are no easy answers.

Where Mr. Hsu tackles politics only after he has laid a sociological foundation, Justice Douglas jumps straight into the hottest politics of several different societies. In a few short years he has made himself one of the most important American voices speaking to Asia and reporting to his fellow-Americans about Asia. With no knowledge of any Asian language, he has done this by the devastatingly simple method of casting aside all pride of position and protocol, going to see things for himself, and talking with everybody about everything. Presumably he is able to check a number of interpreters against one another. Certainly there can be no challenger for his world-championship title of "V. I. P. most difficult to hoodwink." There are appalling obstacles to finding out "what's going on around here" in strange countries where official guides and interpreters hold their jobs by their adroitness in leading visiting big shots down innocuous bypaths. Justice Douglas's ability to dig up facts on the most delicate and often painful subjects, and to talk about them frankly but not offensively, commands awe as well as admiration.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that in his quick brilliant forays Justice Douglas has fathomed some problems and sized up some countries more accurately than others. In his new book he deals with Malaya, the Philippines, Indo-China, Burma, and the Formosa-Korea complex. In Burma complete independence gave a shaky society the backbone to stand up against communism and start building what seems to be a libertarian society of its own. Burma, indeed, is a striking demonstration of the fact, which motherly mother-countries are so reluctant to admit, that the dangers of granting independence "too soon"—in other words, before they are ready to govern themselves in the way they were governed by their former rulers—are often less than the dangers of withholding independence until too late.

In the Philippines, in spite of continued victories in the field against the Communist-led Huks, the danger still

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OWEN LATTIMORE was political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek and deputy director of Pacific Information, O. W. I., during the war. He is the author of many books on the Far East.

threatens that unless the working farmer is relieved of the double burden of economic tribute to absentee landlords who do not risk a penny of their capital to improve the land and economic wastage through corrupt government, the roots of social revolution will continue to strike deeper than those of political revolution. In Indo-China, Justice Douglas clearly sees and frankly reports that if a successful front is to be built against communism it must be based on full independence from French control.

In Formosa, he quotes an Indian opinion that "Chiang-Kai-shek is the one man in the world who really *wants* war." Even for an American as highly placed as a Supreme Court justice it requires political and moral courage merely to quote such an opinion; but today Justice Douglas could add the name of Syngman Rhee as one who really wants war and is afraid that he cannot hold his position without the sanctions of war and international support. As for Korea, Justice Douglas has less to say about that country than about any other; but he does think that if peace can be made South Korea has "survival values," and he suggests, very diplomatically, that these are to be sought more in the "fight and spirit" of the Assembly than in "some poor examples" set by Rhee.

Malaya seems to have perplexed Justice Douglas more than any other country; and small wonder, for here there is no united colonial nationalism but the divergent loyalties of Malays, Chinese, and Indians. It is in Malaya that he comes tantalizingly near to, but never quite tackles, one of the most important paradoxes of colonial nationalism—the wealthy and energetic man of business, especially the Malayan Chinese capitalist, who does not himself become wholly revolutionary but does keep in touch with and even subsidize the most fanatical Communist revolutionaries instead of striving to lay the foundations of a system of free enterprise. Yet the answer is simple. In Malaya as in Indo-China such partial liberties and franchises as have been granted since the war have been intended to mollify the colonial conservatives under the increasing pressure of the colonial radicals. This treatment inevitably breeds cynicism: the colonial conservative has no alternative to the two-faced policy of trying to avoid a complete victory of radical revolution, while trying at the same time to keep it alive and in the field, because experience has shown that unless the radicals are alive and kicking, colonial rulers make no concessions to the conservatives.

NEITHER Mr. Hsu nor Justice Douglas discusses two historical phases that are close to the heart of the problems dealt with by both of them. In the first of these phases colonial imperialism, instead of rising to a climax as required by Marxist dogma, began to lose momentum at the end of the nineteenth century. This phase was marked by the failure either to divide up China or to conquer it outright.

The second phase involves a revolution in the character of war against underdeveloped countries. People who have learned to use the tommy-gun and to make grenades and simple mortars can now hold their own indefinitely against expeditionary forces with far superior equipment. Colonial empires were cheaply conquered by small forces and were enormously profitable. They can now be held only by large forces, and the expense is exhausting. This situation is the reverse of that in the West, where we think of military strength as an emanation of industrial strength. Apart from the idealism of which Justice Douglas is a brave and inspiring example, this new situation will force us in the long run to search for political and economic methods of persuasion as alternatives to military coercion in Asia.

New Books in Brief

Carlyle to Jane

THOMAS CARLYLE: LETTERS TO HIS WIFE. Edited by Trudy Bliss. Harvard. $5.

Carlyle's biographers have always had access to the more than seven hundred letters now in the National Library of Scotland. Many of these letters, however, filling some four hundred closely printed pages in the English edition, are here published for the first time. Intimate, newsy, flavorsome, and yet less wildly extravagant in style than their author's formal compositions, they may well seem humanly interesting to many who no longer find "Sartor Resartus" or even "The French Revolution" very readable.

The period covered reaches from 1827, the year after his marriage with Jane Welsh, to May 20, 1866, the day before she died in her carriage. The earliest, therefore, are from a young man who had gone to London to get his first book published and was not being very enthusiastically received; the last are from the established Prophet whose disposition had not been improved by success and who grumbled a good deal about the invitations to great houses which he nevertheless accepted. Samuel Butler made the remark that it was very kind of God to marry Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh to each other, thus making two instead of four people unhappy. Taken by themselves, however, these affectionate letters do little to support the legend of the pair as tormenters of each other as well as of themselves.

Roman Art

ROMAN PAINTING. Text by Amedeo Maiuri. Skira. $15.

This latest addition to the series The Great Centuries of Painting is, with the companion volume on Etruscan Painting, which appeared last year, the most valuable. Both offer for the first time a fully representative selection of work reproduced in good color plates, of which there are eighty-four in the present volume. Both offer a fully developed text by an authoritative scholar, and in both instances the field is sufficiently unified to lend itself to a comprehensive survey. This unity is lacking, for example, in single centuries of European painting, which are always marked by strong overlays of the past alongside daring adventures into the future and by national and regional trends which differ so sharply that any survey necessarily breaks up into a catalogue of types.

Within the general framework of Roman art, however, Professor Maiuri makes clear the historical development from pre-Roman funerary traditions to the cumulative discovery of the visible world. He sets off the nobler allegorical tradition, inherited from the Hellenistic

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past, from the local and popular idioms, both in wall painting and in mosaic. He brings recently excavated work into relation with the long familiar corpus of painting in Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other centers. With great clarity he explains the various processes which Roman painters developed.

Among the merits of this volume are its usefulness as a measure of the classical inspiration of later painting and its suggestion that there is little that is new under the sun. These brilliant plates evoke suggestions of artists as varied as Raphael, Caravaggio (still lifes), Poussin, Piranesi, Magnasco, Tiepolo (caricatures), Picasso of the early 1920's, and Eugene Berman.

Farmers' Dilemma

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE. By Theodore W. Schultz. McGraw-Hill. $5.50.

This book is a mine of factual data about American agriculture. Much more than that, it applies to its facts the cool, clear logic of economic analysis in a manner that is unusual in discussions of this subject. It concentrates upon two of the chief problems of our time—the economic future of the undeveloped areas of the world and the economic stability of agriculture. No reader can help feeling how complex these problems are and how far from solutions we remain. An illustrative dilemma must suffice here. Farmers and other Americans value the family farm. They also want protection against the vagaries of the business cycle. Mr. Schultz demonstrates that the farm capable of protecting its owners against economic vibrations must be so large as to resemble a commercial enterprise rather than the traditional family farm.

It is a pity to be forced to add that this is an unnecessarily difficult book to read, verbose in exposition and contaminated with unneeded professional jargon. It remains the very best treatment of the problems of agriculture available.

This Is the Moon

A GUIDE TO THE MOON. By Patrick Moore. Norton. $3.95.

A popular account of what is now known about the moon—essentially sober because its author is an F. R. A. S., occasionally a bit giddy in passing reference to the imminence of exploration by human visitors because he is also a Fellow of the British Interplanetary Society. Of course he may be right at that, and in any event his opinion does not adversely affect the book as a whole. Perhaps because of his special slant there is relatively little stress on the moon's motions and a great deal on its topography and other physical characteristics. Readers who like to keep up with popular science and have been told in some recent books that the "craters" are certainly meteor scars may want to know that Mr. Moore dismisses this theory as completely untenable and insists that they are the volcanic phenomena we all used to believe them. He also inclines to the view that there is a very thin atmosphere around the moon and that the topographical features are not as completely exempt from physical changes as is sometimes assumed. Very easy reading and suitable even for those who find most popular science too much for them.

Early War Correspondents

REPORTERS FOR THE UNION. By Bernard A. Weisberger. Little, Brown. $4.50.

Mr. Weisberger is perhaps guilty of cultural chauvinism in suggesting that war correspondence was an American invention, since seven years before the Civil War such notable figures as Sir William Russell and E. L. Godkin, later founder of *The Nation,* were sending the London press regular dispatches from the Crimea. However, it is true that the Civil War was the first conflict extensively reported by professionals with the aid of such new inventions as the telegraph. By December, 1862, for instance, Bennett's *Herald* had thirty reporters on various fronts and was spending $2,000 a week to obtain spot news.

At that time the distinction between news and opinion—one still more honored in theory than in practice—was largely disregarded. "A newspaper reader's view of the war," Weisberger remarks, "depended on the politics of his paper." The *Herald's* dispatches constantly glorified McClellan; those of the *Tribune* as persistently disparaged him. There are other familiar notes here about the relation of the press to the Big Brass. Generals often quarreled with reporters, sometimes chased them out of camp, occasionally threatened them with hanging. They also quickly learned to make use of the press to attack each other and blow their own trumpets. All this makes amusing reading, but one feels that the author has overemphasized the worst examples of wayward journalism.

Soviet Writers

MODERN RUSSIAN LITERATURE. From Chekhov to the Present. By Marc Slonim. Oxford. $6.80.

This is the second volume of Mr. Slonim's admirable survey of Russian literature from its origins to the patriotic war. The great figures of the earlier period are missing here, though Chekhov, Gorky, and Alexander Blok are among the central personages of the modern period. The book traces the glittering array of literary schools and aesthetic movements which marked the end of the century and the onset of the revolution—the modernists, the mystics, the Marxists, the Seraphim Brotherhood, the decadents, the symbolists, the acmeists. As in "The Epic of Russian Literature," there are delicate and acute profiles of the innumerable other writers who gave the epoch its diversity, violence, and color almost up to the final period of socialist realism and "proletarian hegemony" in the 1930's. The period of the revolution itself is brilliantly treated in brief compass. And what is surprising is the vitality of the Russian literary temperament under the developing dictatorship, even when the cost of expression was liquidation. Taken together, Mr. Slonim's two volumes are the best available guide to Russian literature as a whole.

The Russian Soul

THE FIDDLES OF AUTUMN. By Ilya Surguchev. *ON THE HIGHWAY.* By Anton Chekhov. Both newly translated by David A. Modell. International Press. $2.50.

Revised versions of two out-of-print translations. The very early Chekhov sketch is rather crude apprentice work; "The Fiddles of Autumn" on the other hand is the most popular play by one of the best-known members of the last prerevolution generation. Surguchev is obviously no Tolstoy or Chekhov, but despite the fact that he is facile rather than profound and sentimental rather than tragic it is easy to see why this particular play should have run for two seasons at the Moscow Art Theater. The theme is the "dangerous age," the story a very Gallic-Russian one about a woman who hands her young lover over to her stepdaughter when she realizes that her autumn is near. If the setting were English or American it might seem forced and banal. For us it is saved from being either by the pervasive exotic atmosphere and by the glimpses it gives into the famous Russian soul. Tolstoy would have drawn a fierce moral; Chekhov would have poked sly fun at its characters. Surguchev takes them pretty much at their own valuation and is sentimental in a not unfavorable sense of the term.

Science Primer

MR. TOMPKINS LEARNS THE FACTS OF LIFE. By George Gamow. Cambridge. $2.75.

The author of this little book is professor of theoretical physics at George Washington University. Some of the subjects he undertakes to treat are among the most complicated and esoteric in modern science, including, for example, the mechanism of the gene and the meaning of negative entropy as a distinguishing characteristic of living matter. On the other hand, the "now children" method of popularization has seldom been more extravagantly developed, and Professor Gamow seems to have achieved the odd ambition of combining the fictional technique of "Peter Rabbit" with the preoccupations of the scientist at home on the border lands of the knowable. This will doubtless appeal to the taste of some, but others will be inclined to suspect that those who need to be babied so outrageously had better develop some of the characteristics of mental maturity before concerning themselves with such esoteric matters. Incidentally Professor Gamow appears to be a very thoroughgoing mechanist and a bit given to implying that his prejudices are more nearly universal among scientists than is actually the fact. Reading him one would never guess, for example, that Einstein said recently in an interview, "Physics . . . has often seduced the biologist into interpreting biological phenomena too primitively."

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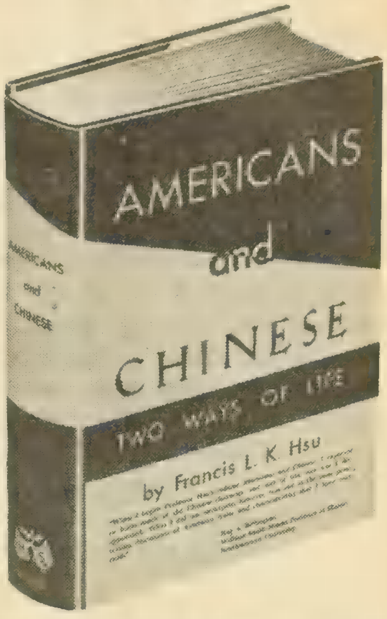

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Theater

Harold Clurman

Tel Aviv

TWO recent experiences have made me think anew about the special nature of the theater. When I saw "Peer Gynt" two weeks ago in Jerusalem it did not seem to me at all the same play I had seen on several previous occasions.

Though I flatter myself that I can differentiate more accurately than most theatergoers between the word text of a performance and its stage context, I must confess that had I written about Ibsen's play on the basis of my earlier views of it I should not have said any of the things I thought when I saw it recently. The productions were different—so the plays were different.

What, then, is a play? I am now inclined to say, though it may sound like a wilful paradox, that there is no such thing as a play apart from its specific performance before an audience. The theater is always spoken of with a certain deprecation—which I consider philosophically light-minded—as an ephemeral art. What is meant by this is that the only things that remain from a theatrical experience are a memory and a literary text. What strikes me now is that the theater is even more ephemeral than we had supposed. The play we read in the library disappears in the theater, absorbed in a context which not only transforms it but can never possibly be wholly the same on two successive occasions. And that, I believe, is an essential part of the theater's power and glamour.

The book-minded are usually horrified at such a statement. What I am talking about, they may expostulate, are a few decorations, the addition of living figures to the dramatist's writing, some paltry lights, colors, gewgaws—lamps by which we see the writer's work in what may be gayer and socially more stimulating circumstances than a reading provides. A play to such people is nothing but a text dolled up.

This does not correspond to the facts. When we see a fool play Hamlet we are that evening in the presence of a foolish play. There is little point in terms of our actual experience to say that "Hamlet" is really a great play, because what we are doing is talking of something we discovered through an experience outside the theater—which is merely supplementary information in relation to what we have directly perceived. Very few of the "classics" would seem good or even entirely intelligible to us if we came upon them as new plays.

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7/11/53

It is certainly not Shakespeare's fault that his plays very often are turned into gibberish on the stage. It only stresses the fact that the play in the theater is what we actually behold, not what we have read or may later read. The theatrical production has its own identity, always new, and creates its own meaning with every performance.

This momentarily disquieting concept becomes sharply distinct to a critic who also happens to be a director. Some years ago I wrote what many people thought disagreeably insensitive and impudent remarks about Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra." (It is beside the point at the moment that Shaw some time after writing the play said things about it that showed he did not hold it in the same high esteem that most American reviewers do.) What I cannot avoid remarking is that whatever my feelings about the three productions of the play I have seen or about Shaw's script per se, I am now directing the play enthusiastically.

The question suggests itself: why should the critic's point of view be different from that of the director's, particularly when they are the same person? The reason is that the critic speaks only of what he sees on a particular occasion or what he judges the worth of the play text might be if he could possibly contemplate it apart from its production, or what he thought when he read it. The director sees the play script not as a piece of writing with a fixed value but as a *potential.*

The director asks: What can be pleasurable or important in the production of this text for the particular audience to whom I plan to present it? Some texts make better plays in one country than in another; often a text dies as a play in one house and lives in another. What actor, actress, or company will play this text? Have we not seen the life of a play alter through the acting of certain parts by equally talented but differently disposed artists? We have seen texts which might be described as trash from a literary standpoint become truly creative on the stage through the embodiment given them by extraordinarily talented actors or by a director. We remember texts becoming inept plays in the theater through a so-called excellent (actually ruinous) set. We recall texts which failed to make an impression not because of intrinsic defects but because they did not suit the temper of the time chosen for their presentation.

For the theater, the fine play on the shelf is only a promise and a hope. What makes a viable stage play is a most complex and miraculous set of circumstances toward which the director advances as to a calculated risk. It is, I repeat, part of the theater's glory—as it is its very soul—that its delight, inspiration, aesthetic and cultural validity depend on a mysteriously fragile and happy concordance of elements.

Records

B. H. Haggin

CONTINUING its reissues of Weingartner recordings, Columbia gives us a coupling of two of his finest performances—of Handel's Concerti Grossi Op. 6 Nos. 5 and 6. Unfortunately the sound varies with the condition of the 78s used in the dubbing: the first two movements of No. 5 are full and bright, the rest thin, wooden, and noisy; the first movement of No. 6 is muffled, the rest brighter, but with a pronounced surface hiss. The orchestra is the excellent pre-war London Philharmonic.

Another record offers a group of Weingartner's recordings of Wagner. A buoyant performance of the "Siegfried-Idyll" with the London Philharmonic and a fine performance of the wonderful Introduction to Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde" with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra are well reproduced; but the Rhine Journey and Funeral Music from "Die Götterdämmerung" are conducted ineffectively by Weingartner, played poorly by the orchestra, and reproduced badly by the record. The Introduction to Act 3 of "Tannhäuser" also is on the record.

In addition Columbia gives us a coupling of the old Beecham-London Philharmonic performances of Mozart's Symphonies in E flat (K.543) and G minor (K. 550). I once thought the performance of the G minor good, but came to dislike the chirpy phrasing—notably of the impassioned opening statement; and I prefer Mozart's revised version with clarinets to the earlier one without them that Beecham plays. The performance of the E flat is a product of the Beecham powers at their height. As for recorded sound, the E flat requires drastic cutting down of bass, and loses brightness at times; and the G minor is quite poor.

Tchaikovsky not only completed the Overture-Fantasia "Romeo and Juliet" but wrote an uncompleted duet for tenor and soprano in which he used some of the thematic material of the instrumental piece. As completed by Taneiev it is sung well in French by Raymond Manton and Jean Fenn with the Los Angeles Orchestral Society under Franz Waxman, and turns out to be an effective bit of writing in Tchaikovsky's operatic style. Mr. Waxman sees fit to give it to us with its introduction further, and superfluously, introduced by the opening section of the Overture-Fantasia; and the duet from Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" is on the reverse side (Capitol).

C. B. S.'s summer replacement for the New York Philharmonic on Sunday afternoons this year is portions of the European and American music festivals; and the June 7 broadcast was concerned with the recent festival in Florence. The production there of Prokofiev's opera "War and Peace" was pronounced by C. B. S.'s James Fassett an outstanding event of the century; and you would expect him to use the entire hour and a half to give as much as possible of this outstanding event that American music-lovers were intensely interested in, and none of the time for still another performance of Menotti's "Amahl" or Rachmaninov's "Vocalise." But it was "Amahl" and the songs—interspersed

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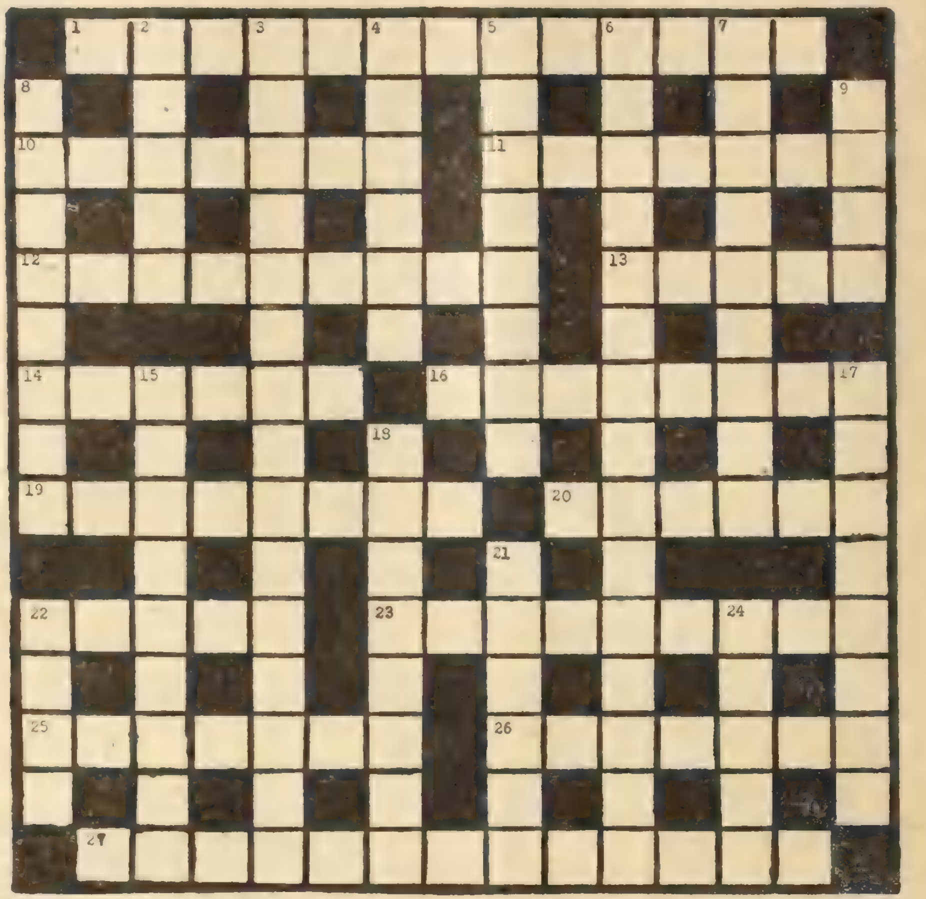
Crossword Puzzle No. 523

BY FRANK W LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Horse trade, for example? (It's a commonplace swap!) (5, 8)
10 Rubber man? (7)
11 Water buffalo that vaguely suggests a reindeer? (7)
12 They're intellectual, if blue. (9)
13 More like a day in June—yet more raw than a day in January? (5)
14 See 9 down.
16 More like a boat—but harder to see through? (8)
19 Creaming mixture. (8)
20 Approachability. (6)
22 You might make a Greek letter thus, in Latin. (5)
23 Does it make a Japanese respectable? (9)
25 Compliment which reputedly wasn't worth a cent. (7)
26 Relatively spare when it makes a coat less heavy. (7)
27 Divide and divide up—the whole darn thing! (4, 3, 6)

DOWN

2 The poet seems to have sat up in the manner indicated. (5)
3 An auditor might be, but a big one should imply a good draft. (8, 7)
4 Implying a ringer wouldn't be the perfect answer! (6)
5 Not a hen, for certain! (8)
6 Implying art separates the bearing from the bearer. (8, 7)
7 Bargained for a material change. (9)
8 What makes the wort in bad gins? (8)
9 and 14 across. If aces, they're hard to beat, but can be tied. (4-2-4)
15 You might find him so entangled in a hair-do, what was dropped here won't be easily forgotten. (9)
17 Go to sleep, Father! (4, 4)
18 (18)
21 On your foot—and the right one at the right one. (6)
22 Counterpart of a beverage. (4)
24 Use foil as a barrier. (5)

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 522

ACROSS:—1 BASSO PROFUNDO; 9 ADOWA; 10 BRAKEBAND; 11 KREMLIN; 12 TALLIER; 13 MEETS; 14 REST STOPS; 16 TEST CASES; 18 PALAU; 19 SHEARER; 21 POLLACK; 22 ODD MAN OUT; 23 TANGO; 24 WATER MOCCASIN.

DOWN —1 BLACKSMITH SHOP; 2 SMOKELESS; 3 ORACLES; 4 ROBIN; 5 FLAUTISTS; 6 NEEDLES; 7 OKAPI; 8 ADDRESS UNKNOWN; 14 RESERVOIR; 15 OIL PAINTS; 17 CURRANT; 18 POLITIC; 20 ENDOW; 21 PATIO.

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with liberal quantities of Mr. Fassett himself and an interview with Menotti—that got most of the time, leaving about twenty-five minutes for three meager excerpts from Prokofiev's huge work. Mr. Fassett kept impressing on us the fact that the excerpts had been recorded for us at a rehearsal, and they may have been all that was rehearsed that day; but you would think that for an outstanding event of the century he would have stayed for the performance.

Nor was Mr. Fassett's own inept performance his first in my experience. I recall among others an occasion a few years ago when he had just begun to put on his little personal show in these broadcasts—when the program included a medley from "Oklahoma" and his intermission guest was Richard Rodgers. Mr. Fassett supposed that some would question the inclusion of this music on the program; but as supervisor of C. B. S. programs of serious music he considered the term "serious" meaningless unless it included "Oklahoma" and "Yankee Doodle." With this contention he was striking an attitude—showing he was no snob. But actually he was demonstrating his unawareness of what it isn't snobbery to be aware of: that a Picasso "Guernica" postscript is different from a Peter Arno cartoon; that each has its own quality, its own value, its own perfection; and that one wouldn't put them in a show together. Amusingly enough, only a few minutes after he had proclaimed himself no snob Mr. Fassett referred commiseratingly to what happened to Mr. Rodgers's tunes as they were whistled by every delivery boy. And one's heart warmed to Mr. Rodgers when he said soberly: "There's no better sound to a composer's ear than a delivery boy whistling his tune."

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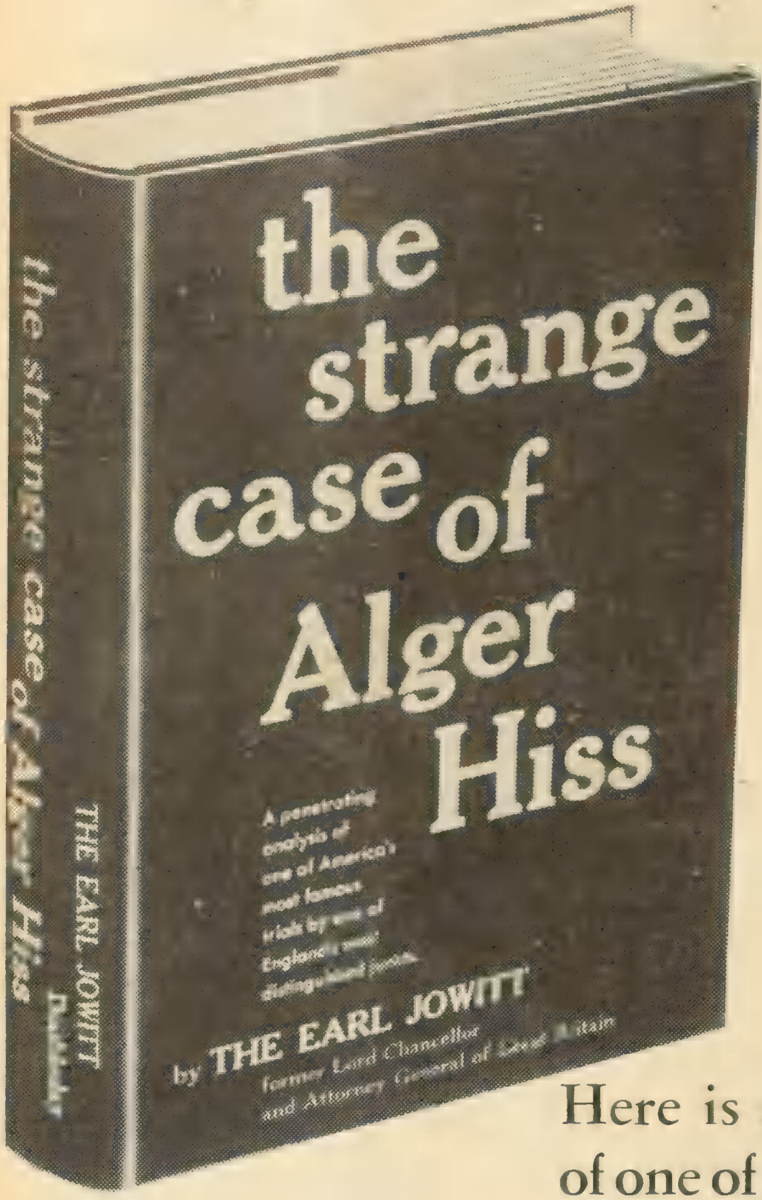
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VERY YEAR SINCE 1865

Around

the U.S.A.

Industrial Revolution by Vacuum

Pomona, Cal.

AT PRESENT an industrial revolution is going on in Southern California's mammoth backyard vegetable garden, the crop-rich Imperial Valley. It has been brought about by a new process for getting lettuce and perhaps other vegetables to the table at considerably reduced cost. And it has resulted in the displacement of thousands of skilled, well-paid, union-represented American citizens by unskilled, low-paid imported Mexican workers.

The new process begins in the field and is continued in the packing-house, where a vacuum cooling system is being substituted for the use of ice. The biggest argument for the vacuum process is that it is cheaper than the standard pack. Growers admit, however, that the saving thus far has not been passed on to the consumer.

The lettuce is now being cut, trimmed, and packed in cartons in the field by unskilled, 70-cents-an-hour hands, most of them Mexican nationals brought here under a labor contract between the U. S. and Mexican governments. The cartons are then loaded on trucks and hauled to the Vacuum Cooling Company plant in El Centro. There an oversized mechanical monster known as a fork lift removes the entire load in a single operation and trundles it into a block-long shed fitted with four vacuum-cooling tubes, each eight feet in diameter and sixty feet long. Standard-size fork lifts transfer the cartons to small flat-cars which are pulled in trains into one of the boiler-like tubes. Thermostats are inserted into the lettuce, the tube lids are hydraulically slid into position, and the powerful vacuum pumps are turned on. In eighteen to twenty minutes a single tube cools two-thirds of a box-car load of lettuce from field temperature—50° to 80°—to the near-freezing mark of 35°. The chilled lettuce is then put in refrigerated railroad cars for shipment to Midwest and Eastern markets.

■ Though the vacuum process was first attempted commercially in 1949, it did not compete seriously with the ice-pack system until this year. Prices on the Eastern lettuce market during 1953 have been abnormally low; the vacuum process is cheaper and therefore growers have had to use it to avoid financial disaster. For example, in January of this year crates containing forty-eight heads of lettuce were sold in New York for two dollars. The cost to the grower of raising, harvesting, and shipping lettuce by the ice-pack method is about $2.50 a crate. By the vacuum method it is about $2, which at least enables him to break even. During the worst of the price slump the vacuum company was running at capacity and handling more than 50 per cent of the lettuce dispatched from Imperial Valley to Eastern markets. Before that it handled about 25 per cent.

Though the market price has since climbed to $3.50 a crate, officers of the company are confident that the switch to the carton-and-vacuum process will continue. In 1949 it had one small pilot plant in Salinas; today it has large plants in Salinas, Watsonville, El Centro, Santa Maria, Blythe, Holtville, and in Phoenix and Yuma, Arizona.

Meanwhile, skilled packing-shed workers are jobless or subsisting on part-time pay checks. They say their replacement by cheap imported labor is part of a definite program aimed at destroying them and their unions. The situation is so delicate that it could develop into a crisis between the United States and Mexico. Ben Perry, business agent of Local 78 of the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers (C. I. O.) in El Centro, says: "Our union is all in favor of progress, and we're not objecting in any way to the use of the vacuum refrigeration method. As a matter of fact, the vacuum workers belong to our local; so we're definitely in favor of that. But we're not going to stand for this cheap slave-labor system—using 70-cents-an-hour Mexican workers to take the jobs away fr [illegible] zens, men and wom [illegible] acking work t sup [illegible]

N [illegible] 3,200 trimmer and p [illegible] ed in Imperi Valley [illegible] sheds at the peak of the s [illegible] r, however, some sheds h [illegible] and others have operated [illegible] days. Perry claim his member [illegible] ame the Mexicans who also [illegible] They blame the growers for [illegible] the Mexicans to skilled and s [illegible] ed work they are forbidden to [illegible] r their work contracts as appro [illegible] by the two governments.

■ The agreement under which members of the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association employ 7,000 Mexican nationals states that "in no event will they be employed on work other than as agricultural workers . . . they will not be employed on any type of skilled work or semi-skilled work." The union contends that both the trimming and the packing of lettuce require training and skill and are really factory-type operations. An efficient man packs forty crates of lettuce, almost two thousand heads an hour. Mexicans average six hundred heads an hour or less. The difference in speed is certainly an indication of the skill required. Moreover, packers and trimmers are covered by federal social security, just as are factory workers, while agricultural workers are not covered. By transferring the factories to the fields, the growers dodge social-security payments.

The El Centro and Brawley offices of the California Employment Service are receiving 500 applications a week for unemployment insurance, 400 of which are from trimmers and packers. While this is only 100 more than last year, Thomas M. Finney, manager of the two offices, points out that part-time workers are not on the unemployment rolls. People who have lived in Imperial Valley for years say they have not seen the situation so bad since 1930.

What is most needed at present is an investigation which would reveal that the labor contract between the Mexican government and the United States is being violated.

AUBREY B. HAINES

[*Aubrey B. Haines is a free-lance writer in California.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Opportunity for What?

When Premier Malenkov announced the purging of Lavrenti Beria, Interior Minister and Deputy Premier, he threw a heavy monkey wrench into the Washington deliberations of the three men chiefly responsible for Western foreign policy. Secretary Dulles talked glibly about the "great opportunity" presented by the "new convulsion" sweeping Russia. But since nobody knows, as this week begins, what the downfall of Beria means or portends, the Foreign Ministers are carrying on their talks with a huge question mark standing at the end of every avenue of discussion. Does the disappearance of one of Russia's ruling *troika*—previously regarded by many as its most powerful member—mark the start of the disintegration of the regime? Or will the dictatorship weather this as it has previous purges? Will Moscow's softer policy be reversed or go on? Meager reports from Washington give no hint that the conferees, hedged in by these uncertainties, are prepared to deal positively with the major issues before them.

Yet it is a fact that a new opportunity exists—an opportunity to agree on a course of action so firmly grounded in solid Western interests and a will to peace that it will remain valid whatever happens next in the Soviet world. This is the time, we believe, to abandon the practice of basing our own policy on guesses and hopes and fears about Moscow's shifting policy. If ever we are to assume responsibility for ending the cold war, the brutal events in the Kremlin would seem to offer the "great opportunity" to do so.

A Time for Talks

Regardless of Beria's downfall, the factors which dictated Moscow's "soft" policy toward the West still exist, as Alexander Werth suggests on page 44. Among those factors is the resistance in the satellite states, which can perhaps be repressed but cannot be converted by repression into the cooperative effort required to support Russia's economic needs and buttress its frontier. They include a growing need for trade and a reduced burden of armament so that the Russian people can be given some of the promised economic benefits that have been sacrificed to the needs of the cold war. They include, perhaps above all, the desire of Moscow to prevent the rearming of Germany as part of the Western defense system. An end to the cold war would also, Kremlin orthodoxy maintains, produce economic collapse in the West, increasing the attraction of communism among the masses.

Beria may go, his henchmen may be purged, but these factors remain and will probably continue to direct Soviet foreign policy. With Moscow's attention fixed on the internal struggle, there may be no immediate move for talks on Germany; the Soviet chiefs can afford to wait and let the strong tide toward unity in Germany and against German rearmament in France continue by its own momentum.

In this moment of pause the statesmen of the West should make a positive move. Sending food to Eastern Germany is just a propaganda gesture—so patently, that it has been robbed of any humanitarian aspect. What is needed is a direct offer of German unification on the basis of free elections, and an early conference to settle this and other outstanding issues between West and East. The United States has been using every possible device of stalling and diplomatic pressure to put off this question, with the result that Washington is today regarded as the enemy of German unity as well as the champion of German rearmament. The chance has come to take this particular play from the Russians.

Invite Tito to Washington

In any attempt to formulate a positive policy, Mr. Dulles and the other Western leaders would do well to give careful attention to Marshal Tito's remarkably frank interview with a representative of the United Press. "I do not believe," the Marshal said, "the Soviet Union will ever renounce its basic aims. But I do believe that right now they are in a phase of great accumulation of pressures resulting from the weaknesses and mistakes of the past, and that the leaders of the Soviet Union must make great changes. These are real and not just tactical maneuvering, and they are not yet ended. But further development depends not only on the Soviet Union but also on what is done by the Western countries. I would advise them to take advantage of this phase to settle important international problems such as Germany and Austria. But they should not ask any 100 per cent change

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within the Soviet Union or ask the Russians to give up all their basic aims."

This sound and timely advice prompts us to suggest that President Eisenhower invite Marshal Tito to Washington for personal talks. The Marshal has an expert and intimate knowledge of Soviet diplomacy; he has first-rate sources of information; he knows Eastern Europe; and he knows the people as well as the policies of the Soviet Union. Such a visit, moreover, could hardly fail to strengthen American-Yugoslav relations. We convey a somewhat better impression at short than at long range and Tito should see us close up, in our shirt sleeves. It might quiet our nerves, too, to discover that the Marshal, who is a Communist of his own sort, has neither horns nor whiskers. Here is a man who could tell us a lot of things we need to hear.

UNESCO'S Compromise

Our Foreign Editor reports from Paris: A new item in the catalogue of discontent with current American attitudes was the opposition registered at Paris to the choice of Dr. Luther Evans, former Librarian of Congress, as new Director-General of UNESCO. He was opposed not as a person, since his reputation as a scholar and a liberal is generally acknowledged, but frankly as an American—a representative of policies regarded with fear and dislike. Since the Soviet bloc is not part of UNESCO, the feeling reflected no sinister Kremlin line.

The opposition was sharp enough to have served as a warning to the United States delegation. Obviously it did not. Twenty-four hours after Dr. Evans's election, the Americans introduced a resolution designed to coordinate the personnel policy of UNESCO with that of the United Nations secretariat. In other words, it would have made it possible to establish in UNESCO the witch-hunting procedures and controls which had been imposed on the headquarters staff in New York by the McCarthy committee and the Department of Justice—against which *The Nation* steadfastly fought.

In Paris the protest was general and strongly expressed. UNESCO has its own constitution and staff regulations. In the debate M. André Marie, French Minister of Education, used all his finesse and power of persuasion to convince the Americans that their demand would create serious misunderstanding. The Swiss delegate, M. Piaget, fought hard to prevent the hand of McCarthy from reaching across 3,000 miles into UNESCO's Paris headquarters. Finally a compromise resolution was adopted requesting the Director-General to submit to the eighth session of the general conference a report on the whole subject of loyalty. Time, at least, was gained, since the next conference is scheduled for 1954 in Montevideo. Delegates in the corridors were heard to remark, "Maybe in the meantime the Americans will cool down."

Cracks in the Wall

THREE storm clouds on last week's horizon spell serious trouble for Senator McCarthy and his backers.

On the by-now-celebrated book-burning episode, the Senator from Wisconsin has suffered a severe setback. To be sure, not much forward yardage has been gained; the Administration has merely reaffirmed a major policy directive of February 3. But the pained cries that Senators McCarthy and Mundt have been emitting are the best proof that significant ground has been regained in the battle against censorship. "Ridiculous" says Senator McCarthy of the new directive; "utterly silly" echoes Senator Mundt. The February 3 directive hardly deserves to rank with John Milton's "Areopagetica" but it does affirm, in clear and vigorous language, that the suitability of books for use in overseas libraries should be determined by their contents and not by the political views or behavior of their authors. Mild as this may sound it is rank heresy to Senator McCarthy who is strongly addicted to the *ad hominem* fallacy; he has forgotten that even the Catholic Index bans the book, not the author.

COMING in the wake of Howard Rushmore's brief sojourn in Washington as an official inquisitor, the removal of Dr. J. B. Matthews as consultant extraordinary to the McCarthy committee represents a resounding defeat for the high priests of the anti-Communist movement. For years Matthews has been the master-mind of the Hearst newspapers' anti-Communist intelligence. When Rushmore, an underling in the same service, was dropped by McCarthy after scarcely two weeks' service, J. B. was rushed to Washington by the anti-Communist professionals anxious as always to maintain the closest possible liaison with the inquisitorial committees. But for all his mastery of Arabic, Dutch, Malay, Sudanese, Persian, Sanscrit, "and many other languages," J. B.'s tenure of office in Washington was even briefer than Rushmore's. If Matthews had been hired especially to set up a situation which would enable the President to blaze away at McCarthy as at a duck in a midway gallery, he could hardly have come up with anything better than the sentence: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." For once the President lost no time in pulling the trigger while the target was still in view. And there can be no doubt that he hit the target this time: "Generalized and irresponsible attacks," he said, "that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America. Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency."

In the wake of the President's statement, McCarthy quickly accepted Matthews's resignation only to have Democratic Senators McClellan, Symington, and Jackson resign in protest after the full subcommittee, by a vote of four to three, had given the chairman sole power to engage or discharge staff members. Well timed, the resignations will tend to solidify the opposition to McCarthy in the Senate. As Senator McClellan's walkout indicates, the Dixiecrats are beginning to be annoyed with McCarthy. Senators Maybank and Robertson were offended by his behavior during the quizzing of Dr. Conant, and Senator Byrd lost little time in backing up his colleagues by demanding that Matthews name names or "stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow-Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain."

Vastly irritated by these setbacks, McCarthy has now trained his guns on targets close to the President: Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Dr. Robert L. Johnson, retiring Director of the International Information Administration of the State Department, who is scheduled to appear before the McCarthy committee to answer for the reaffirmed policy directive on the overseas library program. The attack on Allen Dulles is tantamount to an open declaration of war. John Foster Dulles was, of course, one of the sponsors of Alger Hiss for the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment. The Hiss case, moreover, is central to McCarthy's latest razzle-dazzle. For he wants to question William P. Bundy, a son-in-law of Dean Acheson, now a C. I. A. official, because he contributed $400 to the Hiss defense fund. Thus the Hiss case, which so persistently bedeviled the Truman Administration, has now come home to roost in a White House occupied by a Republican President. C. I. A.'s legislative liaison officer has told Senator McCarthy that the policy of the agency is to instruct its personnel not to appear before Congressional committees. Vice-President Nixon, the Administration's ambassador to the Know-Nothing wing of the Republican Party, will have a hard time to negotiate a cease-fire between the Administration and Senator McCarthy on this acrimonious issue of long standing.

THE CAMERA-EYE now focuses on Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's appearance before the Velde committee in Washington on July 21. Events of the past week have invested the hearing with extraordinary importance. Under any circumstances, Bishop Oxnam would be a formidable adversary, but he will speak in Washington with the virtually unanimous backing and support of the Protestant church movement, thanks to Mr. Matthews. Here is one witness whom the committee will have to treat with a measure of respect and whose testimony will be fully carried by the nation's press, radio, and TV services. His appearance should strengthen the hand of the Administration if it is now determined, as seems likely, to force a real showdown with McCarthy. It would be difficult to imagine three better or sharper issues on which to stand: book-burning, the freedom of the church from vicious smears and probes, and the Executive's responsibility for its own personnel. If the Administration will hold this line it will win. Whether it makes the attempt, however, may well depend on how many people will take the trouble to let the President know that the moment has come for him to give battle. McCarthy's great wall of fear and bigotry has not been breached but there are cracks in it.

The Beria Case

By Alexander Werth

Paris

HOWEVER sensational Beria's liquidation may be, suggesting conflict of extreme gravity in the Kremlin, in itself it explains nothing. Only his trial and confession—unless, as is possible, the trial is *in camera*—will explain the role he has played since Stalin's death or, at least, the purpose of his liquidation.

Nevertheless, certain recent events are worth recalling. After the arrest of the doctors *Pravda* launched a scarcely veiled attack on Beria, charging his police with lack of vigilance. It looked as if Malenkov had cooked up the "doctors' plot" in order to get rid of Beria, a dangerous rival, while Stalin was a sick man whose death was foreseeable. If this theory is correct, then it seems that the plan failed largely because Stalin's death came earlier than was expected, and Beria and Malenkov found themselves together at the head of party and government—a façade of unity being essential at that moment.

Soon afterward there followed the spectacular domestic liberalization measures—the quashing of the case against the doctors with its implicit denunciation of intolerable police methods, the amnesty, and the promise to revise the criminal code, all seemingly emanating from Beria's department. Were the measures taken against the better judgment of Malenkov, who reputedly knew most about Stalin's own plans? Naturally it is foolish to sentimentalize Beria, who is a ruthless police officer. Nevertheless, he is a police officer who by reputation is a cunning politician with his ear glued to the ground. He understood public sentiment; in the closing years of Stalin's life he desired relaxation of the spartan legalistic austerity of the regime. He enjoyed wide support among party, police, and army, and no doubt was anxious to make himself even more popular through the liberalization measures which, thanks to his supporters, he was able to impose upon Malenkov. That Malenkov was unenthusiastic about the new program is perhaps suggested by the fact that the Soviet press consistently played down the amnesty decree and by his complete silence on the whole development.

Meanwhile did the mass of Soviet citizens give Beria credit for the alleviating measures, making him unduly popular—in the view of his rivals—throughout the country? Or was there a growing opposition to him from the "pure Stalinists"? If the latter, the opposition could hardly have challenged Beria on the domestic front, where the new liberalism was proving exceedingly popular. On the other hand, the opposition could and did become violently vocal when "liberalism" seemed to be leading to disastrous results abroad. The important concessions in East Germany starting a strike wave which was utilized by the League of German Youth and other trouble-makers in staging the Berlin riots, and the panic with which the Grotewohl government then began to "give up everything in handfuls" must have aroused the most violent reaction inside the Soviet Communist Party and brought to the surface its latent loyalty to the dead Stalin, who—according to the party—would never have allowed all this to happen.

A sensation must also have been caused by the sudden ousting of the faithful Rakosi of Hungary and his successor's denunciation of "excessive industrialization." *Pravda* played down the Hungarian affair as if it were a shameful episode. It is to be noted that the *Pravda* report on Hungary appeared *after* Beria's arrest, which seems to have taken place on June 27, following the Berlin riots.

AMERICA'S stand-offish attitude toward negotiations with Moscow during this period must have strengthened the feeling among Beria's opponents that much was being thrown away—Hungary, Germany, and so on—without anything to show in return. A sharp turn-around therefore seemed necessary—and a scapegoat. A scapegoat especially, since there must have been a desire all along to oust Beria sooner or later.

The way the accusations against Beria have been accompanied by protestations against the build-up of a single "personality" in Russia appear rather suspicious. Malenkov may actually be planning gradually to assume supreme power. Anyway, Beria's fall is likely to discredit the whole idea of "group leadership," which in any case has never worked in Russia, and will build up Malenkov as the faithful guardian of Stalin's heritage.

It does not follow from all this that the Russians will harden their attitude toward the West. On the contrary, the desire for a Korean truce and for a German settlement seems as strong as ever; only there is a revolt against the idea of throwing away trumps like Germany and Hungary before any big-power talks.

Will Beria's fall, considering the powerful support he had from party, police, and army, lead to a vast purge? Or will Malenkov be satisfied with the stampede of Beria's former associates to drop him, as the "unanimity" of the Central Committee's decisions seems to suggest?

As seen from Europe, the gravest danger to peace is not events in Russia but the false interpretation which might be given them by Washington.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Socialist Malaise

Paris

THE French Socialist Congress, meeting this year at Asnières, a small Socialist town near Paris, had to take a position on two issues affecting the national and international policy of France—eventual Socialist participation in the government and how the party will vote when the National Assembly passes on the European Defense Community treaty. I have attended the lengthy debates of "a party in crisis in a nation in crisis," to quote Robert Lacoste, leader of the "opposition" within the party. While this definition was rejected by most of the congress orators, the party's position is certainly not an easy one.

Its principal difficulty arises from its composition. The Socialist Party in theory and by tradition is a party of workers; yet its working-class membership has been deserting more and more openly in the last few years, and the ranks have been filled by professional people—teachers, civil servants, intellectuals. It would be absurd to say there remain no Socialist workers. In the north of France, particularly, near the Belgian border, a flexible and empirical socialism has maintained its hold on the masses and successfully resisted all Communist assaults. But one set of figures is enough to prove the general case. Of the 105 Socialist deputies in the present National Assembly only 3 are workers; of the 96 Communist deputies 33 are workers.

As regards the first major issue before the congress—the question whether or not to participate in the government—the Socialist leaders are in a dilemma. If they join a People's Front with the Communists, they risk losing the semi-bourgeois semi-socialistic voters who today support the Socialist ticket. If on the other hand they take an anti-Communist line and collaborate in a government with parties unfriendly to the workers they risk losing their remaining working-class support.

The result of this situation is a pronounced Socialist malaise. Robert Lacoste, who was much criticized for having spoken of "a party in crisis," accurately diagnosed the symptoms—"the loss of labor, artisan, and peasant membership, while the Communist Party does not suffer such losses and the C. G. T. is registering gains in the factories." This is the actual truth; while the Communist C. G. T. is gaining every day in France, its rival labor organization, the Socialist Force Ouvrière, is constantly losing ground, although it is headed by Léon Jouhaux, a leader with fifty-five years of union activity to his credit. In spite of all the stories of slave labor in Russia and workers' rebellions in East Germany, the French workers remain faithful to the C. G. T. because it fights with more determination for higher pay and against the rising cost of living. "Insufficient wages, unemployment, disorder in production, and a housing crisis," to quote Lacoste again—this situation underlies the Socialist malaise.

WHAT CAN the Socialists do in the face of this dilemma? Of the well-known leaders only one, former Premier Paul Ramadier, courageously advocated seizing the first available opportunity to return to the government—not, of course, the government of M. Laniel but a less reactionary one. "The party must flee from isolation, for isolation is death," he said. The other leaders, especially Guy Mollet, secretary general of the party, prefer to wait and see whether the Socialists cannot regain their former strength by remaining in opposition, a stand which helped them in the municipal elections last April. Mollet places his hopes in a "Social Democratic Front," a formula originated in the congress as an alternative to the "People's Front" so as to obviate the necessity of an alliance with the Communists. But after two days of debate on domestic issues nobody seemed to know what the "Social Democratic Front" really meant.

The second part of the congress was dedicated to foreign policy. Jules Moch summed up his argument against the pro-German policy of certain powers by saying: "We refuse to join a crusade for the resuscitation of the Europe of Charlemagne, Napoleon, and Hitler. That Europe, which may be a Vatican Europe and will certainly be a Europe under German hegemony, is the worst of all possible Europes. It represents something quite different from the birth of a true brotherhood of peoples and bears in itself a serious risk of war."

I wish certain Americans who regard criticism of Washington's foreign policy as Communist propaganda could have witnessed the ovation which greeted Jules Moch's warning against a "European army" in which German participation would predominate. Since the Socialist Party has, after all, 105 deputies in the National Assembly, the other parliamentary groups, including those of the right center which two weeks ago voted M. Laniel into office, must have been impressed by the firmness with which Moch declared that "a ratification of the treaty now would be incompatible with a policy of peace." The former Socialist Defense Minister added: "Between a will to negotiate, though without excessive confidence, and an accelerated armament race with all the risks that implies, my choice is clear."

Over the congress hovered the imminent possibility of further Russian moves intended to create an international atmosphere in which a Big Four conference would prove irresistible. But the Socialist assembly was even more impressed by the developing opposition, in the most divergent political quarters, to a Washington policy which yesterday rejected negotiation because the Russians were too strong and today tries to justify its continued refusal on the ground that the Russians have become weak and so must be pressed harder than ever. The French Socialists realize that to identify themselves with such a policy would mean suicide as a party.

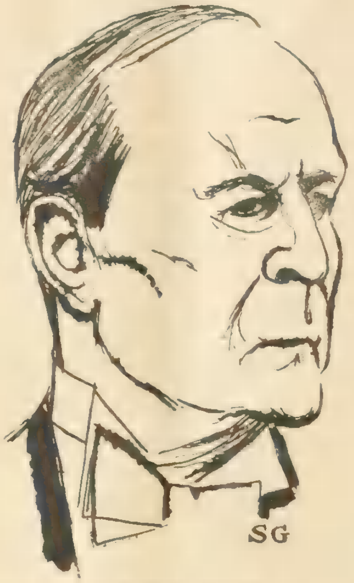
STRANGE HISS CASE

A Book Stirs Memories . . *by Ira Wolfert*

NOW it is the Earl Jowitt, Britain's opposite number in standing although not in duties of our own Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who joins a most exclusive company—those disinterested bystanders who doubt that Hiss is guilty of the crime which aroused Senator McCarthy to get into the act, made Nixon Vice-President, and landed Hiss himself in jail. [See Charles Alan Wright's review of "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss," by the Earl Jowitt, on page 54.]

Until recently I felt alone in this company. But things seem to be happening. Some weeks ago I was lifting my face to my television set in the customary attitude of prayer, imploring it to let out something worth a nickel at least of the $300 it had cost me, and to my confusion it did. The author of "Heresy? Yes, Conspiracy? No"—Professor Sidney Hook—was meeting his critics, one of whom was Professor Broadus Mitchell. Mitchell, at least on my television set, has a Southern accent which cannot be called un-American by anybody who can be proved to have been alive after 1865. But suddenly he used it to announce, "I believe Alger Hiss is innocent."

It happened during a discussion over what to do about non-conformists in a day when nobody can define what he means by Communists but everybody is eager to hang them anyway, and I had taken to brooding despondently over the shambles so distinguished an intellectual as Hook was making of himself. At Mitchell's electrifying announcement I sat bolt upright in my chair and Hook recoiled in his. He looked as if he had been hit by a .45-caliber bullet, although it may only have been the coaxial cable. I can report that it took my television set a long time to regain Hook's voice. He seemed to be gulping. Then a cry emerged from him, "That's all right, that's heresy." He appeared to be very gratified with himself for not believing that heretics should be burned.



The Earl Jowitt

Memory plays queer tricks sometimes. I was suddenly reminded of a conversation I had during the Little Steel strike of the mid-thirties with a steel baron, the undisputed ruler of his inland community. He had fomented a riot in order to quell it with the shots and shells and clubs of drunken deputy sheriffs and was explaining to me how by that process he had saved America from red ruin. He had to speak loudly to make himself heard above the cries coming through his office window of broken and hysterical men and women and the clanging of the ambulances carting them off to the hospital. After listening to him politely for a while, I said, as an experiment, "I think you stink." For a moment he lost his voice. Then his eyes turned red and he shouted at me, "That's all right, that's free speech." Then he puffed his chest out and looked around proudly. He was very gratified with himself for believing in free speech.

Lord Jowitt does not go so far as Mitchell did in the one simple declarative sentence. It is the duty of an English judge at the conclusion of a trial to charge the jury not only with the law involved but with a review of the evidence, and this is what the former Lord Chancellor and Attorney General of Great Britain has done in "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss." He reviews in tranquil, judicious tones—with the old-fashioned conservative's traditional and very militant suspicion of psychiatric testimony—the full transcript of the second Hiss trial, plus relevant evidence to be found in Whittaker Chambers's "Witness" and in the case of Julian Wadleigh, confessed transmitter of documents who had access to Hiss's unguarded office and its even less guarded waste-basket.

It is a fascinating way to write a book, and the author does not let his method down. He places each reader in the position of a juror, and I cannot imagine that any reasonable man who undergoes his treatment in the climate of common sense rather than in the climate of our times will fail to feel that the government did not prove its charges, not by direct evidence nor by circumstantial evidence nor by the combination of the two used by the prosecution.

IT IS CERTAIN that Hiss would never have been tried had there not been circumstantial evidence to corroborate Chambers's direct evidence. The circumstantial evidence has been considered overwhelming, but one who reads Lord Jowitt's book will not be overwhelmed by it. The point about circumstantial evidence is that it is more trustworthy than eyewitness testimony, but only when it indicates guilt in a manner so damning as to permit no other reasonable explanation.

The circumstantial evidence against Hiss consists chiefly of the famous pumpkin papers—four of them in Hiss's own handwriting, others of them transcribed from State Department documents on a portable typewriter owned

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IRA WOLFERT, newspaperman and novelist, was the winner of a Pulitzer Prize as a war correspondent. Simon and Schuster is bringing out his latest novel, "Married Men," in October.

by Hiss, and the remainder photographic copies of State Department documents. Lord Jowitt shows how the possession of these documents by Chambers can be explained reasonably without ruling out the presumption of Hiss's innocence.

It was part of Hiss's duties as assistant to Francis B. Sayre, head of the Trade Agreements Section, to read through the State Department's great daily mass of incoming dispatches and to report orally to his chief on all relevant material. Chambers swore that the four memoranda he had in Hiss's own handwriting "were about documents which had passed under his [Hiss's] eyes quickly, and which for some reason or other he was unable to bring out." Hiss swore that they were notes to himself, made for purposes of refreshing his recollection during his oral reports to his chief, and that afterward he threw them into his waste-basket.

THE ONE CIRCUMSTANCE to support Chambers's explanation of how he came by them is the undisputed fact that he did have them. But it is also a fact that a comparison of the incoming dispatches and the notes Hiss made from them shows that they could have served the exact purpose Hiss maintains they did serve; they related exclusively to trade-agreements matters and made no mention of other material in the dispatches that would have been of far more significance to the Russians. Finally, the Communists did have at least one convert in the State Department—Wadleigh—who had been wandering about for years picking papers off desks and out of files and waste-baskets.

The photographic copies of the documents in Chambers's possession need not have come from Hiss. It would not be unreasonable to conceive of them as having come from the same source as the handwritten notes. The originals of the typewritten documents might also have been delivered in the same way, but in that case an explanation must be found, first, for how they came to be typewritten at all and, second, for how they came to be typed on a machine once owned by Hiss. (My own feeling is that the courts were justified in giving little credence to the defense theory that a replica of the Hiss typewriter was forged.) They are lengthy documents, and no explanation has ever been produced as to why Hiss or his wife should have gone to the tedious labor of typing a copy when a camera could have done the work just as satisfactorily in the twinkling of a shutter. But Lord Jowitt does cite a reasonable explanation of why Chambers himself might have done it. Chambers, an admittedly unstable man, hysterical at the time and in fear of his life over his break with the Communist Party, was seeking what he himself calls a "lifeline." Documents implicating Hiss, whom he had met and for whom he had formed an attachment during Hiss's work on the Nye committee and his own work as a free-lance journalist, could have been thought useful for such a purpose by a mind as tortured as the one Chambers was afflicted with at the time. There is direct evidence by Chambers himself that he was acutely aware how readily documents can be traced back to their typewriters if not to their typists.

But whether or how Chambers came into possession of the Hiss typewriter long enough to type out these documents is a matter on which there is no evidence at all. However, I remember a case of a man charged with possession of policy slips. In the course of a raid by police on a policy bank in Harlem he was found seated at a table among others engaged in the work of sorting and adding the slips—a misdemeanor. His hands happened not to be in physical contact with the slips when the police saw him, and his explanation for his presence at the table was not exactly that he was there waiting for a street car, but he did say he was there only to visit a friend. The judge ruled that since there was no evidence to prove that he could not have been there for that purpose, he must be acquitted. Nor is there any evidence that Chambers could not somehow in some unexplained way have got hold of the Hiss typewriter. Neither, for that matter, is there any evidence that Hiss could not have been the traitor Chambers alleges he was. But it is upon Hiss that the presumption of innocence must legally rest.

ALL THE circumstantial evidence and the direct evidence, Lord Jowitt shows, can be picked apart in this fashion. Why then did the jury refuse to presume Hiss innocent? One who feels as I do that the jury was wrong must turn to his own knowledge of life in our day for an answer. In the early part of World War II, I was in the South Pacific as a newspaper correspondent, with green troops. Green troops are always much more jittery than veterans, and the jungle magnified fears the way a sewer magnifies sounds. The nights were the worst, and I remember being told by otherwise sane men who were convinced of the truth of what they were saying that the Japs came at night to stand over their foxholes and sprinkle dirt down their necks and let loose insects at them. I heard similar stories about the Germans from green troops in France, and, whether it was in the South Pacific or in Normandy, I found hysterical men determined to believe anything, no matter how incredible, as long as it justified their fear.

I left the newspaper business when the war ended and then returned to it briefly and covered the grand-jury proceedings which resulted in the indictment of Hiss. I recall one witness, unsure of his rights, who stopped off on his way to the proceedings and picked a lawyer out of the classified telephone directory to help him. The lawyer was a conscientious young man and walked with his client over to the courthouse to continue his advice to the last minute.

GRAND
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At the courthouse the client disappeared into the grand-jury room and the lawyer was immediately surrounded by the press, among them an ex-Communist who has since become one of Senator McCarthy's aides, or perhaps it is Senator Jenner's. Anyway, he is now one of those Washington high-up hot shots, saving us all from red ruin. The lawyer said what was true, that he had no knowledge of the way in which his client was connected with Chambers or

Hiss or whether his client was or was not a Communist. The press thought it might get a hint by asking whether the lawyer was acting for other Communists. The question was clumsily phrased, and the lawyer, with a friendly smile, asked, "Do you gentlemen want to inquire into my personal political beliefs?"

The ex-Communist got his answer in first. "Oh no, of course not," he sneered. "Then you'd quote the Fifth Amendment on us."

The lawyer was quite startled. "No, I wouldn't," he protested. "I'd answer if you'd ask me."

But very few heard him. The majority were chasing after the ex-Communist, who was walking away angrily. "Wha'd he say? What happened?" the reporters kept asking him, and finally he was able to control his anger sufficiently to reply: "Aah, he's one of those Fifth Amendment guys." The ex-Communist had convinced himself of the truth of his own charge, and the poor lawyer wandered forlornly from group to group protesting that the charge wasn't true. But he had a great deal that was material to gain from denying the charge and the ex-Communist had nothing at all that was material to gain from having made it, and therefore nobody believed the lawyer.

I felt the same apprehension over the ex-Communist as I had over the troops, as one has over a child weeping with terror of the dark. "I'll turn on the lights; see, there is no darkness," you tell the child. "The darkness is hiding. It'll come back when you turn off the lights," screams the child in even greater terror; and what do you say then?

LATER, when the grand jury was disbanded, there was confusion among the press. It seemed for a moment that no indictment had been returned. The *Daily Worker's* reporter was triumphant; the ex-Communist and other red-baiting reporters were in despair. "Sure there's an indictment," said the United States Attorney, John F. X. McGohey. "Haven't you boys got a copy of it?"

There was then an emotion in the air that I had never encountered before except in the war. In the jungle one spent the nights lunging at things that turned out not to be there. There was a kind of ecstasy in discovering at last that one thing you had reached out to fight was not a shadow but was actually an animal or a Jap. So it was in the courtroom where the indictment of Hiss was handed up. The anti-red reporters had on their faces the terrible look that comes to a bedeviled man when he discovers that the knife with which he has been lunging at phantoms has at last sunk into human flesh.

Perhaps the truth about Hiss's relationship to Chambers will never be known. I think not even Chambers himself can know it now any more than the ex-Communist can ever know that the lawyer would not protect himself with the Fifth Amendment or the troops can ever know that the Japs were not standing over their foxholes dropping dirt down their necks to torture them. When someone points at the darkness and describes it with real fear, it takes great stanchness, or a strong light, to presume the darkness harmless. The strong light was absent in the Hiss case, and it would appear from Lord Jowitt's book that the jury did not face its darkness stanchly.

DOLLAR DILEMMA

Europe's Trade Stagnates . . *by Fritz Sternberg*

THOUGH the United States is still enjoying prosperity and still expanding its production, Western Europe, while not in a state of crisis, is showing a definite trend toward stagnation.

Through their fifth five-year plan, launched in 1951, the Russians propose to increase total national income 60 per cent, industrial production 70 per cent. This means an annual industrial increase of about 14 per cent. The countries of Western Europe, including Britain, have set themselves a more modest goal. They propose to raise their production about 25 per cent during these five years, or 4 to 5 per cent a year. If this goal should be attained, their industrial growth would still be less than one-half Russia's; and it is certain that it will not be attained, even if America's present prosperity continues. The stagnation which began in 1952 is not the result of chance factors which can be easily overcome. Nor can a vigorous effort to combat it be expected.

In the past, when Europe was the world's factory, there was a certain degree of synchronization between the rise of European industrial production and the rise of foreign trade. Foreign trade absorbed from one-fourth to one-third of Europe's total production. In this respect the European economy still differs fundamentally from that of the United States and Russia. The foreign trade of the United States, which ran to fifteen billion dollars a year in 1951 and 1952, contributes only about 5 per cent of the national income, and in Russia the proportion is even smaller. On the eve of World War II Russia's share of world production was more than 10 per cent, but its share of world trade was only 1 per cent. The increase in Russia's foreign trade after the war is due solely to its increased trade with the countries of Eastern Europe and with China. Thus Europe today must compete with two world powers in whose economy foreign trade plays a much smaller part than in its own.

Another crucial point is that Europe's

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position in the world's economic balance of power has seriously deteriorated. The underlying political factors are familiar; their economic consequences have so far been only imperfectly recognized. They may be described briefly as follows:

1. Before World War II Europe was able to pay for about 32 per cent* of its imports with revenue from capital invested abroad. Having lost most of its foreign capital during the war, it has been able in recent years (taking into account the shifts in the price level) to pay for no more than 9 per cent of its imports in this way.

2. The revenue from what is left of Europe's overseas investments is just about sufficient to amortize the debts it incurred during the war to the United States and Canada. Thus *98 per cent of Europe's imports must now be paid for by exports.*

3. The decisive shift in world-trade prices has various causes, not the least being the decline of the old colonial imperialism. Numerous Asiatic nations have become independent states or are struggling for their independence and require for themselves a large proportion of their foodstuffs and raw materials. Prices of such commodities have therefore risen more than those of industrial products. In consequence, the countries of Europe, in order to import the same volume of goods as in 1938, would have to increase exports by 44 per cent over that year and by 80 per cent over the present.

What this change means in terms of closing the dollar gap was indicated by the "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War": "Alternatively expressed, Western European countries needed to achieve in trade with outside areas export increases or import reductions totaling about $8,000,000,000 (valued in present prices) from the 1938 levels of their trade." To stem the deterioration in their foreign-trade balances European countries have increased their exports 40 per cent, but this has closed only half the gap. The "Economic Survey" says: "The 40 per cent increase in the volume of exports to other areas from 1938 to 1951, though substantial, was itself not sufficient to cover the deterioration in the terms of trade, the loss of property income, and the diminished scope for invisible earnings." The gap remaining has been covered by American aid.

THE CHARACTER of the new Administration and the composition of Congress make it unlikely that in coming years American aid will be maintained at its present level. What, then, will happen? Well, Europe can always achieve a state of equilibrium by reducing imports; but such a solution is easier on paper than in reality, for it would intensify social tensions. In 1938, the last year before World War II, European imports were not at a very high level, for Europe, like America, had not fully recovered from the depression; today they are below even the 1938 level. A further reduction would cause a decline in production, mass unemployment, and a lowered standard of living. Of the four major European powers, only Britain, thanks to the Labor government, has experienced a slight rise in living standards over the pre-war level. Throughout continental Europe the pre-war standard has at best been barely regained. Hence any further deterioration might have an explosive effect.

"Europe—The Way Ahead," the fourth annual report of the Office of European Economic Cooperation, correctly states:

> The panaceas for closing the dollar gap which entail lack of economic progress, large unemployment, or living standards so low as to threaten social stability do not face the real issues. Hence the problem cannot be resolved simply by drastic curtailments of Western Europe's imports from the dollar area to the present level of its dollar earnings. Apart from the serious consequences of such a course for segments of American agriculture and industry, it would mean for Europe a disastrous denial of most essential agricultural and industrial goods now obtainable only from the dollar area.

If drastic import limitations would only worsen Europe's situation, what is the solution? Theoretically it is to increase exports to such a degree that the present import volume can be maintained as the basis of an expanding economy. But is it likely that exports can be increased sufficiently in the near future to cover the present dollar gap? What are the possibilities?

It would be possible, first, to increase European exports to the United States, but "Trade, Not Aid" is as yet a slogan not a policy, and the Eisenhower Administration apparently does not intend to take any decisive action this year to increase American imports from Europe. Contrary to a widely held view, European exports to America have declined considerably since World War II. In 1951, when they were at their post-war peak, they were still lower than in 1929, though American production in 1951 was twice as great as in 1929. Figures for individual years should deceive no one with respect to the over-all trend, and direct action on the part of America will be required to change this trend. If in a time of peak prosperity such action has not been forthcoming, there is little reason to expect it later.

A SECOND POSSIBILITY is to increase European exports to Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. What is the situation there? Europe's imports from the Soviet Union and the satellite countries amounted in 1938 (at 1948 prices) to $3,150,000,000, in 1948 to $1,150,000,000, and in 1951 to $850,000,000, or $2,300,000,000 below the pre-war figure. It should be borne in mind that the total European foreign-trade deficit is well over $4,000,000,000. Should Western Europe's trade with Eastern Europe, exports as well as imports, regain the pre-war level, more than half of this deficit would be eliminated. These figures show plainly just how fatal to the economy of Western Europe has been the loss of the East European market. Whether the downward trend of recent years will be halted

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*All figures in this section are taken from the "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War," Geneva, 1953.

in the immediate future, let alone give way to a rise, is of course preeminently a political question.

There remains a third possibility—such an increase in total international trade as would offer both America and Europe a real chance to acquire new markets and increase their exports. Recent studies have shown that if the American economy during the next decade expands as rapidly as in the last half-century, the United States will be under the necessity of importing raw materials in far greater volume than heretofore. If it should organize large-scale capital exports for this purpose, and if part of the necessary machinery and capital goods should be supplied by Europe, this triangular development might furnish the basis for an increase in world trade and mitigate Europe's difficulties to some extent. For such a program to have any real effect in Europe, however, certain conditions must be fulfilled. The formidable difficulties are well summed up in another passage in the "Economic Survey."

> A major step forward in working out an integrated pattern of trade would be taken if European countries, the overseas countries affiliated with them, and the United States could fix the general outline and over-all magnitude of a long-term development program, followed by the elaboration of specific projects. To serve the purpose indicated, such a development program would need to meet several criteria: (a) it should be reasonably firm as to the total investment contemplated and its scheduling over the period; (b) it should give European countries an even chance to provide the capital equipment and other goods financed with dollar loans; (c) it should be co-ordinated with other development programs, such as the Colombo plan and the investments undertaken by France and Belgium in their dependent territories; (d) it should seek to effect an equitable balance between the development of dollar-earning and dollar-saving exports of foodstuffs and raw materials from the overseas countries and the industrial-development aims of these countries.

While it is theoretically possible that such a program might some day be carried out, the next few years are not likely to see any practical action to enable the countries of Europe substantially to increase their exports. As long ago as 1949, when optimism about the effects of the Marshall Plan was still the order of the day, I wrote (in "Living with Crisis"), "Europe will not be economically independent in three to four years. It is absolutely unrealistic to count on an economically independent Europe after this relatively brief interval. The sooner this is generally realized, the better." By 1955 ten years will have elapsed since the end of World War II—ten years of European economic dependence on the United States. Vigorous common action on the part of the United States and the countries of Europe would be necessary to overcome the present stagnation and restore Europe's economic independence, but there are no signs that such an effort is under way.

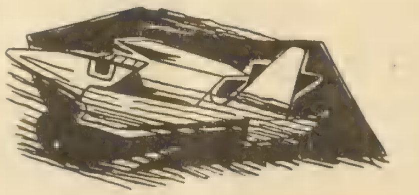
RELUCTANT ALLIES

Danes Fear McCarthyism . . *by Erling Bjol*

Copenhagen

IS SOMETHING still rotten in the state of Denmark? Some military planners in the Pentagon probably think so, for the Danes are behaving like rather reluctant allies. A few months ago the government's decision to extend the period of military service to eighteen months, on the insistence of General Ridgway, occasioned rebellious demonstrations by several garrisons. More important, on June 23, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Hans Hedtoft, after months of wavering, announced that he would not consent to the establishment of foreign air bases on Danish soil. Since a majority for the bases cannot be obtained in the Folketing without his party, he has blocked one of the projects agreed on at the NATO Lisbon conference.

The plan was that two air bases should be built at the airfields of Tirstrup and Vandel in Jutland which by the end of 1954 should be ready for 200 United States planes. American ground troops to the number of about 4,000 were also to be stationed in Jutland. Negotiations concerning the bases have been going on for at least a year. When the plan was first made public last summer, it was hailed in Denmark by the leaders not only of the two government parties—the Agrarian and the Conservative Party—but also by the Social Democratic opposition. The arrangement was generally considered a valuable contribution to the defense of Danish territory. Of course the Communists opposed it, as did one other small party, the neutralist Liberal Party, which holds 13 of the 149 seats in the Folketing. The Single Taxers were not able to make up their mind about the matter. The three parties in favor of the bases, and generally speaking of the Atlantic alliance, had an easy majority in the Folketing with their combined 118 votes—the Conservatives and Agrarians have 59 seats, and the Social Democrats also have 59.



On second thought, however, the Social Democrats and the Agrarians became more hesitant. They saw that the Norwegians were unwilling to change their policy of not allowing foreign troops on Norwegian territory in peace time, and they began to have misgivings about the popular reaction to foreign

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ERLING BJOL, a Danish journalist, has been contributing to The Nation *for several years.*

Declaration of Independence

Because of what is termed its "vulgarizing effect" upon the people the invasion of Scandinavia by American "commercialized culture" has aroused energetic opposition among intellectuals, who in Scandinavia, as elsewhere in Europe, are a powerful force in shaping public opinion. It is largely their influence that is responsible for the "creeping anti-Americanism" in all three countries.

Many Scandinavians fear the international results of America's present foreign policy less than the destructive effect of American standards on European cultural traditions. This attitude derives from their unshakably individualistic view of life and explains the Danish people's pleasure in the appointment of an eminent and respected scholar who has been connected with the Communist Party to the chair of American literature at the University of Aarhus. The appointment, made by a predominantly conservative government, is considered a kind of declaration of independence inasmuch as it runs counter to what is termed "McCarthyist trends."—*From a communication to* The Nation *by Frederica Kirchner, an American journalist now living in Copenhagen.*

troops in Denmark. If the Norwegians had taken a different attitude, there would have been less reason to fear this reaction, for the Danes are inclined to follow Norway's lead in foreign policy.

In the negotiations with NATO officials the Danish authorities cautiously suggested that British or Canadian forces might arouse less opposition than United States troops. Justly or unjustly, British and Canadian soldiers are believed to behave better than G. I.'s. The NATO officials replied that it was not practicable to have other than American troops stationed in Denmark. The Danes raised another point. They said that Denmark could not be effectively defended unless more NATO troops were stationed south of the border in Schleswig-Holstein. They were told that no forces were available for that purpose.

THE NEGOTIATIONS seem to have been stalled by a disagreement on the question of command. From what has been said in the parliamentary debate following Mr. Hedtoft's sensational announcement it appears the Danish government wanted foreign troops in Denmark, like Danish troops, to be under NATO's Northern Regional Command, while the Americans insisted that air-base units should be under the direct command of the United States air force.

In his decisive statement of June 23 Mr. Hedtoft said: "The experience of Iceland shows that the stationing of allied troops in a small country can easily cause serious antagonism in the population. . . . To me it is obvious that the stationing of foreign troops in this country would not increase the broad popular unity behind the Atlantic Pact to which it must be our task to contribute." Why, it may be asked, did the Social Democrats not fear this popular reaction until now? One reason is purely political. The general elections last April showed that the Conservatives, who had been the most outspoken advocates of the American air bases, had lost strength. The Socialists, on the other hand, gained two seats. Again, when the new constitution was voted on at the end of May, it barely obtained the necessary percentage to become law, and it was apparent that many Socialist voters had abstained to show their disapproval of a hotly debated section which allows the government to yield part of the country's sovereignty to "international organizations." Other provisions of the new constitution had long been urged by the Socialists, and their action could only be attributed to their dislike of too rigid commitments to NATO.

After the April elections the victorious Socialists did not conceal their desire to take over the government, but they could only do so with the aid of the Liberals, who refused to cooperate. The Liberals made it clear that the Social Democrats could count on their support later—that is, after the first general election under the new constitution in September—if the Socialists changed their policy toward NATO.

One should not assume that the Social Democrats have changed their minds about the air bases solely to please the Liberals. The decisive factor is the voters' growing objection to the idea of having American troops and planes stationed in Denmark. This development may be due partly to the "new" Russian policy, though Danes do not put much faith in the sincerity of the recent Russian line, to judge from the poor results obtained by the Communists at the last general election. In fact, Mr. Hedtoft announced his new position while the Russians were hunting down German strikers in Berlin.

Much more important than Malenkov's peace offensive is the change of government in the United States. The antics of Senator McCarthy are devastating to the prestige of the United States, and Mr. Dulles's "liberation policy" has had almost equally unfortunate consequences. "How would we be sure that American planes based in Denmark, only a few hundred miles from Russia, would not be used to 'liberate' the countries behind the Iron Curtain—particularly since the Americans apparently do not want to put them under the same command as the Danish defense forces?" Preoccupation with this question, more than anything else, has made the Danes unwilling to grant the air bases. Mr. Hedtoft admitted that bases might become desirable in "another international situation."

SEASCAPE

I watch the oncoming wave
in the slow sunlight,
fluid spine long sharpening to
sun gleam, to delicate laced spume,
till it reaches the shore rocks, hurrying
to outrush its running brothers.

I watch the oncoming wave
advance, a green column
subtly fighting in its shoreward flow,
sucking the strong counterthrust
of the riptide pull, the undertow
it conquers and is conquered by.

I watch the oncoming wave
lazily rise, swell, move like a
live cordillera, till in a last
urgent spasm it explodes to
fragments on the receiving rocks,
embraced, caressed, and killed.

EDWIN ROLFE

NO LONGER A JUDGE

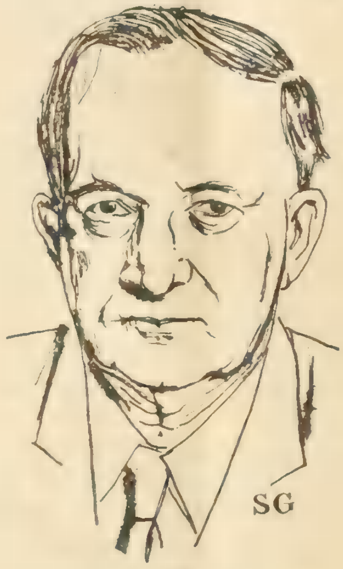
An Ex-Jurist Tells Why . . *by Delbert Metzger*

I HAVE in my time associated quite intimately with many judges. Of course, they are not all alike—they could not be. A judge, like other human instruments of government or justice, is or comes to be the product of his environment, his education, his experience, and, yes, his prejudices. Many judges, moreover, lean heavily on the secret advice of others.

Unfortunately, the whole history of our law has been an attempt to conceal these facts; to make the public accept a judge as a kind of legal oracle—indeed, too many judges acquire what we might call an oracle complex. Yet occasionally some judge admits the falsity of the well-built fiction that a judge centers his attention on impersonal rules of law and is otherwise uninfluenced, and comes out with a decision that is the product of his application of these rules to the facts in the case.

Chancellor Kent, in a charming burst of frankness, once wrote: "I saw where justice lay, and the moral issues decided the court half the time. I then sat down to search the authorities. . . . I might once in a while be embarrassed by a technical rule, but I almost always found principles suited to my view of the case." How true this is of many judges! How often they do exhaustive research only to justify a preconceived opinion or inclination!

Of course we know that if the law were blindingly certain, the Supreme Court could not split five to four or six or seven to two, as it does with growing frequency in cases involving the rights of free speech and conscience. We may recall that only a few years ago a majority of the Supreme Court gave life and meaning to the First Amendment, even when applied to persons holding unpopular political opinions or to militant trade-union leaders. But as the late Chief Justice Hughes once remarked, the Constitution is what the judges say it is.



Judge Metzger

How to make or keep judges courageous, sensible, and just in their views and acts in hysterical times is an unsolved problem, calling for the earnest and continuing efforts of thousands of lawyers. Federal judges, whose independence and mental courage the Constitution sought to protect by having them appointed for life, seem to be swayed by fear and hysteria to as great a degree as those who are appointed or elected for limited terms. Many persons believe that all judges should be elected for limited terms. Others believe they should be appointed for probationary terms and afterward reappointed. The Missourians have worked this idea into quite a complete plan. California has devised a somewhat similar plan, and I understand Illinois is about to adopt one. My own view is that the lawyers of the country or of a given section should have much more to say about the selection of judges than the legislators or executive officers of the government and more than the voting public.

We know that when the Constitution was first framed it was for the most part a plan for the creation of a democratic republic. When it went to the people they said, "What about our rights, our guaranties and protections?" It took ten years to force through the first ten amendments, called the Bill of Rights, but it was done. Honest, liberty-loving lawyers did most of the work.

I believe that loyalty to our beloved America means loyalty to its people and to its traditions. I distinguish between office-holders in power at a given time, any time, judges as well as others, and the people, in whom all power rests under the Constitution. It seems to me that what is too frequently demanded today is loyalty to office-holders. America, to perpetuate the grandeur and glory of a democratic republic, must get back to due regard for the inherent rights of its citizens: the right to criticize governmental activities, the right to read any book and listen to any speaker, the right to bargain freely, and the right to think and live as intelligent and free men, enjoying all civil rights intended by our Constitution. Let us put democracy in practice in our own country before we worry about reforming the political ideas of people of foreign nations.

THERE EXISTS today, as much as ever before, an urgent need for courageous lawyers to speak out against infringements by Congress and the courts on the Bill of Rights, and against the curbing of civil rights generally. During the infamous Palmer raids of the 1920's many distinguished lawyers and jurists pointed out that behind the façade of the anti-red crusade an assault was being

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JUDGE DELBERT METZGER was appointed to the United States District Court of Hawaii in 1939 and served until the closing days of the Truman Administration, when he failed of reappointment because of his decisions in political cases. Early this year he received an award from the National Lawyers' Guild for his "outstanding contribution to the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

made on the principles of American democracy. In May, 1920, twelve prominent attorneys had the courage to publish a profoundly significant sixty-three-page pamphlet entitled "To the American People—Report upon the Illegal Practices of the U. S. Department of Justice." Among them were Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard Law School; Felix Frankfurter, then professor of law at Harvard; Zechariah Chafee, Jr.; and Francis Fisher Kane, who had resigned from his post as United States Attorney at Philadelphia in protest against the raids.

Lewis Freeland Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, was called before the House Rules Committee and his impeachment demanded because, after investigation, he had canceled 2,500 warrants that had been issued. Post turned the committee hearing into a trial of his accusers. Later, in his book "The Deportation Delirium of 1920," he said: "The whole Red Crusade stood revealed as a stupendous and cruel fake, and had the facts, as they were then thrust upon my attention, been generally known, public condemnation of the Department of Justice and its cooperating agencies would have been swift and sure." He exposed the anti-labor purpose behind the raids.

THIS IS apparently the basic purpose today—to wipe out the gains made by American workers under Franklin D. Roosevelt. The danger today is that with the McCarrans, the McCarthys, and the Francis Walters ready to smear anyone who comes to the defense of the Bill of Rights so few have the courage to speak out. I cannot agree with Judge Learned Hand that the advocacy of their ideas by 30,000 American Communists, out of a population of 160,000,000, constitutes a "clear and present danger" to the people of the United States. As to Hawaii, is it rational to suppose that sixty persons advocating unorthodox political and economic ideas can be a "clear and present danger" to the political life of a territory of half a million people? What I have said, I suppose, makes it clear why I was not reappointed to my federal judgeship, particularly when judges who preside over Smith act trials where there are convictions are promptly promoted and Smith act prosecutors are made judges.

Censorship Preview

By Jeanne Riha

THE United States army ran an extremely popular information and educational center for the people of Tokyo during the occupation. It was almost always crowded; students brought along their rice and chopsticks, polished off a fast meal at noon without interrupting their reading, and stayed on for afternoon study.

After the occupation ended, the center was transferred to the American embassy and was renamed the American Cultural Center. On the night of June 16, 1952, almost exactly a year before President Eisenhower was to give his blessings to State Department censorship, fifty Japanese college students, as well as my husband and myself, got a preview of the department's version of intellectual freedom.

We were at the center for a regular semi-monthly meeting of the International Students' Association. At these sessions students chose newsy topics and batted them back and forth in English to give both their English and their brains a workout. The army had let them run the show themselves. They had always chosen their own subjects, chairmen, and meeting dates. We had never seen an American official taking part.

But that night the American librarian of the center attended. In fact, she opened the meeting with a brief talk, the substance of which was that America was using the building as a guest of the Japanese and that obviously it would be discourteous for a guest to make unfavorable remarks about a host. Therefore, she concluded, the United States henceforth would not permit any speaker to criticize the Japanese government.

"That's why we have to ask you not to discuss internal political activities in this building," the librarian said. "Please don't take it that I'm trying to curtail freedom of speech."

There was a moment of startled silence. Then the students turned to one another and giggled, stared, wrinkled their noses in puzzlement. Soon hands began shooting up all over the room and embarrassing questions popped.

Were international affairs all right to discuss? Oh, yes, it's just internal politics that are taboo.

But in discussing international affairs, isn't it necessary to discuss Japanese government policies? Japan and its internal politics are part of the world picture, after all. There was no answer to that.

A friendly young fellow challenged the librarian's statement that the Americans were guests in the Japanese house. They were more like brothers, he thought. A less friendly young man asked what right the American government had to tell people what they could discuss. The same point was made by others.

"I'm very sorry," apologized the librarian. "I know you feel disappointed, but I really have no alternative and I hope you'll enjoy talking about something else."

The students then asked her to go over their proposed topics for the next discussion. "Point one is rearmament," noted the librarian. "That is a controversial subject." Thus point one was ruled out. "Social welfare in Japan—nothing wrong with that [brightly]; always room for improvement in a country." (But bitter internal politics raged then on aid for veterans and their widows.) "Trade with Red China—that's another one I think we ought to avoid." (As international as it was internal.) "Advancement of women—that's all right."

The librarian finished her censoring and covered the roomful of murmurs with an uncomfortable laugh. "Well," she said, "let's try it for a while and see how it works." But it was already obvious how it was going to work.

The students began the topic for the day: "What we gained and lost from the occupation." The first speaker mentioned the winning of freedom of speech and assembly. There was an outburst of giggles that required no interpretation.

JEANNE RIHA, a journalist, traveled through the Far East last year.

BOOKS

Turning Point of Our Time

THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS. By the Earl Jowitt. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

By Charles Alan Wright

THE strange case of Alger Hiss is made the stranger, and the more baffling, by this new commentary. The Earl Jowitt, who was rewarded for a lifetime of service to England's Labor Party by appointment to the highest judicial post in that country, shows himself here to be a shrewd and capable lawyer and a graceful writer. But by pointing out problems and inconsistencies hitherto unobserved in this most celebrated criminal case of our day, while at the same time offering no sure answers to the questions which have been manifest in the case from its outset, he has only added to the bewilderment of those who have sought to know the truth about Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss.

Jowitt himself does not claim to know the answer to this case, nor does he share the view of many Americans that the verdict of the jury has settled beyond cavil Hiss's guilt of the crimes of which he was charged. Jowitt is a passionate defender of the jury system. He points out, however, that the publicity which the Hiss case received before it went to trial was not conducive to a calm and unprejudiced hearing of it by the jury, and he argues that the trial was so long, complex, and filled with largely irrelevant issues that the jury could not fairly be expected to reach the right answer on all the matters laid before them. This latter point is, I think, particularly well taken; I have elsewhere shown, by comparison of contemporary newspaper accounts with the official transcript, that trained reporters, writing while matters were fresh in their mind and with all the benefits of having taken notes and interviewed the lawyers, frequently missed the significance of or reported inaccurately parts of the evidence. How, then, could we expect better from the lay people who sat on the jury for several weary months without such advantages?

LORD JOWITT'S principal contribution to an understanding of this difficult case is his repeated insistence on putting first things first. Hiss was charged with having lied when he denied giving State Department documents to Chambers. It is on this charge, and on the documents with which Chambers supported it, that the case must stand or fall. The disposition of an old Ford with "a sassy trunk," the supposed trip to Peterboro, the conversation with Hede Massing, the prothonotary warbler—all these are interesting and significant, and Jowitt treats them with care. But in doing so he puts them in proper perspective; again and again he insists that it is on the documents that we must center our attention. And after concluding that no jury would be justified in believing uncorroborated statements of Chambers, and that these miscellaneous incidents do not furnish such corroboration, Jowitt makes the most searching sort of examination of the origins and contents of the papers which Chambers produced from a dusty dumbwaiter shaft, and with which he sealed the doom of Hiss.

This analysis of the documents raises for the first time in public a line of argument which until now has been fully presented only in the brief on Hiss's appeal. Why, if the four memoranda in Hiss's handwriting were intended for the Russians rather than working notes as he contended, are they hastily written and overwritten, some of them with more than one pencil? Why do they refer to matters which would have been of interest to Hiss's boss and make no mention of other material in the documents on which they are based which would have been of great interest to the Russians? How does it happen that some of the documents supposedly copied on the Hiss typewriter never went to his office? Would Hiss have pilfered another office to obtain for photographing a carbon copy of a certain document when the original was on his desk?

These troublesome questions were largely ignored by the prosecution at the trial of Hiss, and properly so. For the documents themselves, some in the defendant's handwriting, others typed on his old Woodstock, stood, as Mr. Murphy put it, as "immutable witnesses" to the crime. In the absence of any credible explanation as to how Chambers could have got them other than from Hiss, it is hard to avoid concluding that Chambers's story must have been true. The defense offered no such credible explanation at the trial; though even with the case in such a posture Lord Jowitt is apparently bothered enough by the questions just posed about the documents that, as a juror, he would have come in with the old Scottish verdict of "not proven."

HERE Lord Jowitt has been needlessly hampered by self-imposed limitations on his study. He confined himself to the trial record and to Chambers's book and did not examine the mass of additional data which the defense gathered last year for an unsuccessful motion for a new trial. Had he considered these data, he would have known that the possibility of forgery by typewriter has now been demonstrated, and thus that the internal evidence of the documents which points away from the likelihood of their having come from Hiss is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that they seem to have been copied on the Hiss typewriter. This refusal to consider all available data has served Jowitt ill in another respect. He is disturbed, and rightly so, by the indications that the jury accepted Mr. Murphy's suggestion in his closing argument, absolutely unsupported by a word of evidence, to compare peculiarities in the typing of the documents with peculiarities in some letters typed by Mrs. Hiss, and to conclude from this that Mrs. Hiss was the typist. Surely it would have been interesting in this connection to point out the affidavit by an F. B. I. expert, made in

---

CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT, associate professor of law at the University of Minnesota, attended much of the second Hiss trial and commented on it in the Minnesota Law Review *and other journals.*

connection with the motion for a new trial, that in copying work of the sort involved in the documents it is not possible to identify the typist by peculiarities in the typing.

FOUR POINTS which Jowitt makes have been largely ignored in previous studies of this case. Chambers said that the first papers Hiss gave him were secret State Department papers obtained while Hiss was working for a Senate committee. Jowitt shows that every factual detail of this Chambers story is demonstrably untrue, and, most crushing, that the papers supposedly given were not secret at all but a matter of public record which it was Hiss's job to give to newspapermen. Hiss, it will be remembered, claims that he knew Chambers as George Crosley, a free-lance writer who planned to do articles about the committee. Jowitt devotes much attention to the question of names and concludes that Chambers did in fact use the name of Crosley. And he points out the many inconsistent stories Chambers told about collecting Communist Party dues from Hiss.

Finally, Jowitt examines the evidence about Donald Hiss, a brother of Alger, who was said by Chambers also to have been a Communist, and concludes: "If ever a man was cleared of the aspersion cast upon him, that man was Donald Hiss." The conclusion is too strong. Donald Hiss was "cleared," in Jowitt's view, by the government's failure to challenge, at Alger's trial, Donald's unqualified denial of Chambers's charges against him. Might not Mr. Murphy properly have supposed that his hands were full enough proving the guilt of the Hiss that was on trial without setting out after a Hiss who was not on trial? The matter of Donald Hiss is a loose thread in the Chambers story, but had I been Lord Jowitt, I should have waited for someone to pull on it before feeling so sure that it is enough to unravel the whole fabric.

The book might also be more convincing if its author were not so competent a lawyer. A poor lawyer learns from law books; a good lawyer takes his teachings from human experience. Time and again Jowitt passes judgment on incidents in this case in terms of what he has learned about people and behavior in what must have been a very full and observant life. The most striking example of this comes when Jowitt remarks that it is "most extraordinary" that if Hiss were a spy he should have been such a fool as to hand over documents in his own handwriting. "In the course of a long life in the law I have often thought that as a general rule the wicked people are not foolish, and the foolish people are not wicked. This is a case in which, at one and the same time, a man is being very wicked and very foolish." Again Jowitt wonders, if Hiss were guilty would he have brought a libel action against Chambers and instructed his lawyer to press a demand that Chambers produce any documents he might have? Would he have had an attorney in the Department of Justice notarize his signature on the transfer of a car if it were going to a Communist organizer? Would he have given the incriminating typewriter to his maid's children after he knew Chambers had broken from the party, rather than disposing of it more effectively? Would he have initialed documents as having come to his desk before handing them to Chambers to be photographed? These are interesting thoughts, although one cannot but reflect how difficult the lot of police departments would be if criminals were not usually fools.

THE BASIC objection to this line of inquiry is that no hypothesis about the Hiss case fits normal patterns of human behavior. If Hiss is guilty, then he did conduct this sordid spying in a manner remarkably foolish for so intelligent a man. And we must be equally puzzled by Chambers's repeated assertions for nine years that Hiss, though a Communist, had not been a spy, as well as by such bizarre conduct as hiding the microfilm in the pumpkin. But he who would claim that Hiss was framed by Chambers must, in Jowitt's phrase, bat a sticky wicket indeed. On this hypothesis we must suppose that Chambers schemed for years to destroy a casual acquaintance who had helped him out, and that he chose for his means a method, forgery by typewriter, which until a year ago had been thought quite impossible. We must suppose this, further, though we know of no motive

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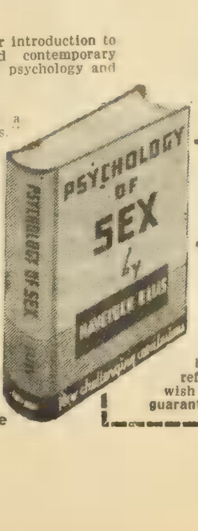

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which would have impelled Chambers to such villainy. Lord Jowitt avoids this problem by relying on the evidence of Drs. Binger and Murray that Chambers is a "psychopathic personality." Though uttering a fervent prayer that evidence of this character will never be admitted in English courts, he says, "Having read their evidence, I must admit that I am sufficiently impressed no longer to be influenced in my judgment by the apparent absence of motive on the part of Chambers." I agree that this evidence could well be the key to the case, and that the ridicule with which it has been fashionable to treat it in this country is unfortunate. But a critic who is thus able to reject normal human instincts and behavior as a criterion against which to test one hypothesis should not be over quick to discard a conflicting hypothesis because it is inconsistent with normal behavior and instincts.

It is for these reasons that I think no amount of analysis of the existing data, no matter how carefully and perceptively done, will solve the Hiss case. This extraordinary drama is not likely to yield to ordinary lines of attack. Only a confession by one of the principals or an accomplice can put an end to the doubts which must assail partisans of both protagonists, as well as ordinary citizens without such an allegiance to whom this strange case marks one of the great turning points of our time.

New Books in Brief

"Different" Folksongs

AMERICAN FOLKSONGS OF PROTEST. By John Greenway. University of Pennsylvania Press. $6.75.

Mr. Greenway has taken great liberty in calling this volume "American *Folksongs* of Protest." Very few of his 226 selections are true folksongs—that is, songs in oral tradition, of unknown authorship, expressive of people moving from place to place and adapting themselves to new environments. Undaunted by what folklorists have always used as a guide in evaluating material, Mr. Greenway has made his own definition. The "folk" are no longer the sum total of people living in a community but the working class only, and what's more, "the C. I. O. worker, not the A. F. of L. worker, who is labor's aristocrat." Within your own frame of reference it is easy to label phenomena, and this is what Mr. Greenway has done.

The stories about Woody Guthrie, Ella May Wiggins, Aunt Molly Jackson, and Harry McClintock are fascinating; the data on Negro songs, quite poor; the general documentation of the songs, excellent. It would have been nice if more melodies were printed; however, many of these songs are simply new words set to familiar tunes. Mr. Greenway has included a bibliography of phonograph records which is good to have, but practically all of them are out of print.

This is a different kind of "folksong" book, itself a protest against many of the others. The author has an interesting point of view, but a folklorist will have trouble swallowing it.

Witty and Worth While

THE SISTERS MATERASSI. By Aldo Palazzeschi. Translated by Angus Davidson. Doubleday. $3.50.

This exceptional novel, translated with true regard for the spirit as well as the letter of the witty and evocative Italian text, is a *must* for all readers of good fiction. Palazzeschi here recreates the world of the Florentine luxury trades and the special world of the frustrated old maids, his protagonists.

Into their orderly household the sisters bring the orphaned teen-ager, Remo, son of their fourth sister, who had married and gone to live near the Adriatic coast. The spontaneous combustion that Remo's beauty, selfishness, and just plain cussedness create forms the main subject of the novel. The vignettes of customers who come to order exquisite lingerie from the sisters have a Boccaccesque flavor which Palazzeschi alone seems to have inherited from the stones of their native city.

A reading of "The Sisters" is an experience proving that wit is not necessarily incompatible with social comment and that good literature need not be confined to heavy themes. If the Florentine satirist has a moral, it seems to be this, that—providing they offer in exchange enough amusement to others—the naughty inherit the earth.

Elizabethan Actor

THE PLAYER'S BOY. By Bryher. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

"Bryher" is a gifted if somewhat precious Englishwoman whose earlier novel, "The Fourteenth of October," described the Norman invasion of England in 1066. Here she studies the collapse of the Elizabethan spirit in another fresh contribution to the historical-novel genre. The novel is made of five lyric episodes in the life of a player's apprentice. The wider picture of Elizabethan society in decay—and the rise of the Puritan merchants—is quite brilliantly conveyed in a moving elegy of the actors and artists who are unable to sustain their vision when their society has ceased to support them, or to care for the "open" life. There is nothing left for them but to pass away; the great figures of the past are sick and dying, or else Elizabethan heroes like Sir Walter Raleigh are sent to the scaffold by iniquity. The new generation of actors—the apprentices of the tale—are forced into compromise or trade in order to live; the glamour and hope of the Elizabethan period fade from their lives. But the player's boy of Bryher's narrative still remembers the time when he had felt as though lifted into the sky "to tread in a golden globe, where neither Fate nor fear could touch us." The parallel with our own period is obvious—and somehow rather ominous.

Life of Josh Billings

UNCLE SAM'S UNCLE JOSH. By Donald Day. Little, Brown. $4.

A century ago extravagantly eccentric spelling and grammer was generally considered an essential ingredient of American popular humor. The result has been that the humorists of the period, and especially Josh Billings (Henry Wheeler Shaw), are today virtually unreadable. In this volume selections from the writings of Josh Billings, with the more absurd vagaries eliminated, have been put together with connective passages to form something approximating an autobiography. Copious examples of his so-called wit and wisdom follow; these turn out to be neither very witty nor very wise, but close enough to it to keep the reader hopefully skimming.

Woman's Lot

WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Mirra Komarovsky. Little, Brown. $4.

Professor Komarovsky is chairman of the Department of Sociology at Barnard, and with more than a quarter of a century's teaching experience there she has had ample opportunities both to study and observe the changing attitudes of women and toward women as seen through the alembic of her undergraduates. Thus she brings to her subject not only the wide reading of a mind well trained in the social sciences but an intimate experience of the problems of young women in a rapidly moving world.

Her book provides an invaluable analysis of women's dilemmas and the source material relevant to the better understanding of them. It also contains some of the most intelligent recommendations for the improvement of the lot of the female in our society—and incidentally that of the male—to be found anywhere.

Casals and the Prades Festival

By Joseph Fontbernat

Prades, July 5

THE fourth Prades Festival is in full swing. The concerts are held in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and reflection—contrary states of mind reconciled only by the miracle of Casals. The festival is taking place, as last year, in the famous Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa on the slope of Mount Canigou, most majestic peak of the Catalan Pyrenees.

It has often been asked why Pablo Casals, director and inspirer of the Prades Festival, refuses to play anywhere else. What reasons does he give for this self-imposed withdrawal?

It is common knowledge that the great Catalan 'cellist, who supported unconditionally the Spanish Republic and the autonomous government of Catalonia during the Spanish civil war, took refuge at Prades at the end of the war. In 1946 he gave concerts in Paris and London. These concerts represented, in his mind, his farewell to the public before going back to his beloved Catalonia. But his political illusions soon vanished, and it was then that he made his famous statement: "I will never again play in the capitals of countries which maintain diplomatic relations with Franco Spain." Casals has kept this promise in a way which accords with the sublime and uncompromising character of his art.

Pablo Casals was born at Vendrell, a Catalan village by the Mediterranean, near the Roman city of Tarragona, in a countryside where Roman roads and triumphal arches recall ancient glories. As a child he received an excellent musical education from his father. One day he made himself a musical instrument from a scooped-out calabash. This was his first 'cello and his birth as a 'cellist. By the time he was twelve his playing astonished his friends. Since he was not rich, not even the son of a bourgeois, he began to earn his living early, playing at a Barcelona cafe.

One day at the end of his performance a man came up to him and said: "All the triumphs will be yours and we shall all envy you." This was the great Albéniz, who straightway asked Casals to accompany him to London. Casals refused, saying that he needed more study. Albéniz then gave him a letter of recommendation to Count de Morphy, teacher of the Queen of Spain and master of music at the court. Casals's mother kept this letter in her desk for four years; she made use of it only when Casals started on the great adventure of his first journey abroad. It was from his mother, a true daughter of the imperial city of Tarragona and its strong-willed people, that Casals inherited his prudence, his determination, and his capacity for reflection.

CASALS WAS not yet twenty when he went to Brussels. The Queen of Spain had made him a grant to enable him to study at the Belgian Conservatory, which had a world-wide reputation. The arrival of the country boy, awkward in his Sunday clothes, created a sensation among the other students, who tended to regard themselves as young eagles.

"Let's see, Little Spaniard, it seems that you have a good deal of talent. It also seems that you are the talk of Madrid and Barcelona. Perhaps you will play some Spanish dances for us." This was the greeting of his professor, delivered in a mocking tone which annoyed the young man from Catalonia. "What can you play?"

"Everything," replied Casals.

"Even 'Les Souvenirs de Spa'?" (This was the war-horse of the Belgian school and a most difficult piece.)

"Yes, sir," replied Casals without the least hesitation.

The students laughed, enjoying in advance the joke their professor was about to play on the "little Spaniard."

"But you seem to have no 'cello; I suppose you can play it on any instrument?" the professor went on, still in a joking mood.

"Yes, sir," replied Casals.

He took an instrument offered to him by a student, sat down, tuned it, and the spell was on. Nobody laughed any more. The professor realized how ridiculous he had made himself. When Casals had finished, the professor called him to his office and mumbled some excuse. He offered him the coveted Grand Prix of the conservatory. Casals refused. That very evening he left Brussels, his stipend, and his easy life and went to Paris, where he did not know anybody.

He applied for the position of second 'cello at the Folies Marigny and got it after playing the Saint-Saens Concerto. A little later he fell ill and in his misery decided to return to Barcelona. There he spent some time at odd playing jobs, until his reconciliation with Count de Morphy, who gave him a letter of recommendation to "Monsieur Lamoureux of Paris."

Charles Lamoureux was at that time

JOSEPH FONTBERNAT is the former director of the Barcelona Philharmonic Orchestra, the Symphony Orchestra of Catalonia, the Deodat de Severac Choral Society of Toulouse, and the Catalan Choir of Paris.

passionately preoccupied with preparations for the first Paris performance of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde." The old master was sick and in bad humor when Casals appeared before him. Lamoureux took the Count's letter, started reading it and muttered: "He has talent; sure, everybody has talent."

Casals, who did not want to repeat his Brussels experience, interrupted him: "Monsieur, you needn't worry. All I wanted to do was to present this letter to you and now it is done. I will go." And he went.

"Young man!" Lamoureux called after him. "Come back tomorrow with a pianist. I like you."

The master was in no better mood the next day. He was busy writing, but at least he deigned to listen to Casals: "Play something for me, say the Lalo Concerto."

Then he turned his back on him and continued writing.

A second time the miracle occurred. At the first notes the old master stopped writing. He listened motionless, enchanted. When the piece was finished, he embraced Casals and said: "You have genius."

A few days later Casals played at the Lamoureux Concerts, then given at the Théatre du Château d'Eau. Paris acclaimed him. The "little Spaniard" became the greatest 'cellist of all countries and all times.

This is why in 1945, when the war was over and he believed he would soon return to Spain, he went to Paris to play the Lalo Concerto with the Lamoureux Orchestra at the Salle Pleyel. It was in homage to old Lamoureux, who had welcomed him so many years before.

In 1949 he received some munificent offers from America. He refused them all. It was then that the great violinist, Alexander Schneider, went to Prades and asked him: "Since you don't want to go to the public, would you play if the public came to you?" Casals agreed, and the Prades Festival was born.

THE FIRST FESTIVAL was held in the church of the little Roussillon town and was dedicated to Bach in honor of the 200th anniversary of his death. The occasion had its extraordinary aspects. Art lovers from all over the world came to Prades to hear the illustrious exile. Many Catalans crossed the border secretly and in peril of their lives in order to attend. Among them were bishops, politicians of all parties, and a shepherd who arrived with his flock, saying: "This is something which will never be seen again. And so, old as I am, I came down from my mountain because I don't want to miss it." Catalonia was united in paying homage to Casals; it was an event of a rare and precious quality.

In 1951 the festival took place at Perpignan in the palace of the kings of Majorca. Casals placed his podium on the very spot where the throne of the king of Aragon had stood. For fifteen days the capital of Roussillon became the capital of music.

But it was last year that the festival found the setting that suited it best: the famous Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa. Some monks from Urgell first built on this site a poor church of earth and wood. Later on the sanctuary enjoyed the favor of clerics like the Abbot Oliva, one of the dominant figures of medieval Catalonia. A curious detail: the actual cloister of the Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa is to be found in the garden of a New York museum, to which a rich American had it transported stone by stone. The cloister that visitors to the festival admire so much is a reconstruction, the work of the great Catalan architect, Joseph Puig i Cadafalch.

When the festival is over, Casals will return to the retreat he has chosen. His legend will continue. Actually, his whole life has something of a legend about it, both in its simplicity and in its naturalness. Everything he does bears the seal of perfection. His triumphant world tours, the honors showered upon him by the great of all nations, and the admiration bordering upon idolatry which his compatriots, especially the humblest, have bestowed upon him, have never made him deviate by a single inch from the straight path. He has always made his own selections and has vigorously separated the good from the bad. Whether he plays his 'cello, directs his orchestra, composes, or plays his piano, he does everything with exquisite care and with a perfection that is invisible but is there all the same. So much for the artist. As for the man, he is all that and more, if possible. This Catalan of Spain is a model of human dignity and a living symbol of loyalty and honor.

In the studio of his house at Prades, next to a portrait of Beethoven, hangs one of Don Quixote, indicating that Casals is ever ready to defend a just cause. One of his favorite sayings is: "I love the language of my fatherland and I remain faithful to its marvels." This, indeed, is why he is now in exile.

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Record Notes

LISZT: "Todtentanz"; Jacquinot with Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); fair performance (with Rimsky-Korsakov's Piano Concerto).

MENDELSSOHN: Concertos for Violin and Orchestra in E Minor and D Minor; Menuhin with Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwängler and RCA Victor Symphony under Menuhin (Victor); the performance of the E Minor is quite poor, that of the engaging youthful D Minor somewhat better, recording of both harsh.

Incidental music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; Reiner with Robin Hood Dell Orchestra (Victor); wooden performance.

MOZART: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, K.219; Heifetz with London Philharmonic under Sargent (Victor), fair performance.

Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra, K.365; Amparo and Jose Iturbi; Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, K.466; Jose Iturbi; both with RCA Victor Symphony under Iturbi (Victor); performances of a brazen brutality that has to be heard to be believed.

"Così Fan Tutte"; Hassler, Plumacher, Nentwig, Weikenmeier, Hoppe, and Kelch, with the Stuttgart Tonstudio Orchestra and Chorus under Dünnwald (Remington); a small-scale performance which yet lacks wit, grace, elegance; Plumacher and Nentwig sing fairly well, the others badly.

Overtures to "Don Giovanni" and "The Magic Flute"; Krips with the London Symphony (London); stodgy performances.

Requiem Mass: Cianella, Okerson, Carringer, and Keast with the Robert Shaw Chorale and the RCA Victor Orchestra under Shaw (Victor); the soloists are uniformly inadequate, the chorus only fair, and the over-all effect without refinement or power; recording cloudy and badly balanced.

String Quartet, K.159; Griller Quartet (London); a fine small work; the performance has this group's characteristic gracelessness.

SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 4; Monteux with San Francisco Symphony (Victor); good performance.

SIBELIUS: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Heifetz with Beecham and the London Philharmonic (Victor); Stern with Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic (Columbia); both effective performances; Stern has the benefit of up-to-date recording, but Heifetz's older performance is well-dubbed (the Heifetz performance with Chausson's Concerto; for Violin, Piano, and String Quartet; Stern's with Sibelius's Four Historic Scenes).

STRAUSS: Burleske for Piano and Orchestra; Jacquinot with Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); effective performance (with Dohnanyi's Variations on a Nursery Theme for Piano and Orchestra).

Alpine Symphony; Konwitschny and the Orchestra of the Munich State Opera (Urania); good performance.

Ein Heldenleben; Krauss with Vienna Philharmonic (London); fair performance.

WEBER: Overtures to "Oberon" and "Euryanthe"; Böhm with Vienna Philharmonic (London); good performances.

ROBERT E. GARIS

Letters

Discrimination in Levittown

Dear Sirs: I am having my wife write this for me because I am a completely paralyzed polio patient confined to a respirator for the past four years. But in spite of my condition I feel a sense of outrage at the situation of a good friend of mine, William Cotter, whose back yard adjoins mine in Levittown. He lives there as a guest of the tenant, who is away on a trip. The house represents a decent place for the Cotter family, Bill, his wife, and five children. Before they moved into this house they lived in inadequate quarters in Port Washington.

Mr. Cotter applied for a Levitt rental and was granted one before the owners discovered he was a Negro. When they sent him an acceptance of his application he gave up his Port Washington apartment. He has since tried to rent or purchase a home time and again and has always been refused. The last time, in fact, he was bluntly told he was "undesirable" because of the color of his skin. This past week the lease on the premises he occupies expired, and already the management has demanded that he vacate immediately.

Last week my wife went to the buying office to see about purchasing our home, which has been altered to fit my particular needs. While there, she asked why the Cotters were having such difficulty buying a home, remarking that they were well liked in the neighborhood. She was told that the Cotters would never be allowed to buy a house in Levittown, and if we felt differently, we needn't buy one here either. In indignation, my wife wrote the management a letter protesting against their decision concerning the Cotters. She took it around to the closest neighbors, and all of them were glad to sign it.

Mr. Cotter, an automobile mechanic,

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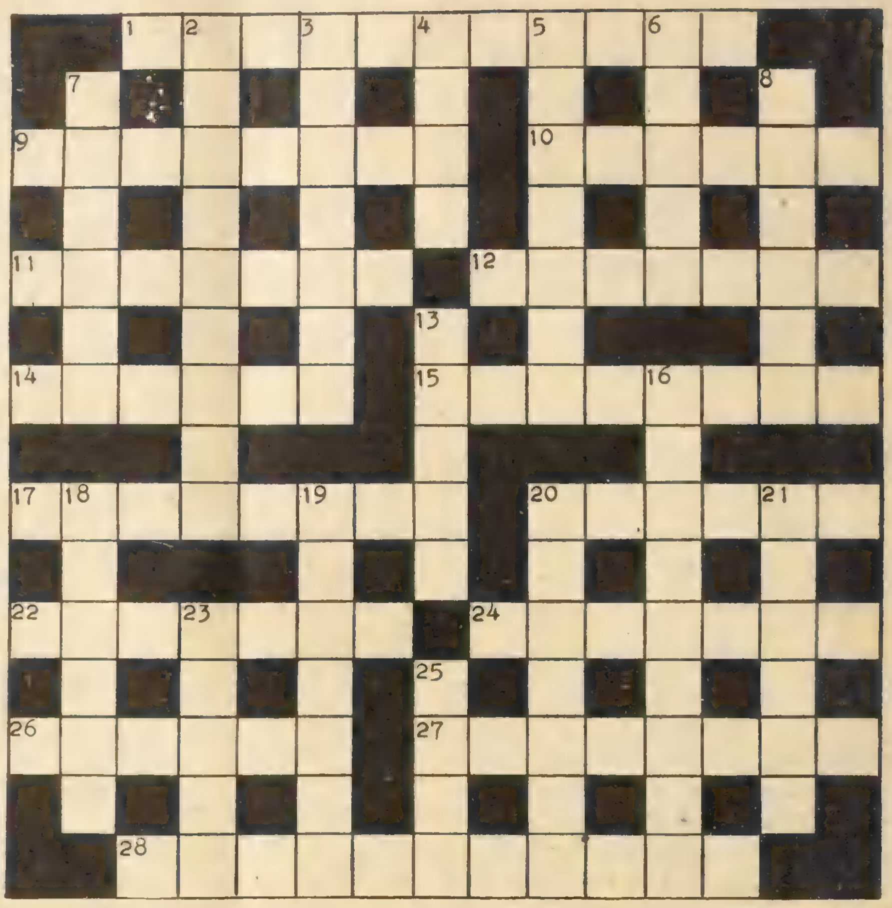
Crossword Puzzle No. 524

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Pretty soft! It's the answer to 17-20. (6, 5)
9 For a clue, take me back out of 22. (8)
10 and 18 down. Just the bird to go with a Chinese sickle, perhaps. (12)
11 Barely scratches the surface with Henry's official. (7)
12 You should be able to recognize nine out of ten Alps. (7)
14 Quakers like swans, perhaps. (6)
15 Introduction from Pilate. (4, 4)
17 and 20 across. Looking around for non-extremists? (It's a selling point, too!) (8, 6)
22 If the tempo weren't without cover, it might be a way to give 9. (7)
24 Dies out, if not under cover. (7)
26 and 25 down. They produce classes of mountains. (10)
27 Figures go on with 28, in a way, if uncrossed. (8)
28 Camels taste bad, when Tom and his family show up! (7, 4)

DOWN

2 If you do, the nap is evidently too heavy. (9)
3 and 23. Gay stage work, featuring Captain Macheath. (7, 5)
4 The words of 15 begin with this sound. (4)
5 Charmingly simple. (7)
6 Almost any London shop should carry it. (5)
7 "Errors, like ______, upon the surface flow;
He who would search for pearls must dive below." (Dryden) (6)
8 The lowest tomb to make a ship. (6)
13 One of the simple machines might be the flying kind. (5)
16 Does it imply an equivalent of "tally-ho!" in the deer-chase? (9)
18 See 10 across.
19 If you referred to this as a nice tax, it wouldn't be strictly accurate. (7)
20 Critical sort of curve. (7)
21 23's is a period of time. (6)
23 See 3 down.
25 See 26 across.

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 523

ACROSS:—1 STOCK EXCHANGE; 10 MASSEUR; 11 CARABAO; 12 STOCKINGS; 13 RARER; 16 CRAFTIER; 19 GERMANIC; 20 ACCESS; 22 MUSIC; 23 HONORIFIC; 25 TRIBUTE; 26 THINNER; 27 PART AND PARCEL.

DOWN:—2 TASSO; 3 CHECKING ACCOUNT; 4 ERRING; 5 COCKSURE; 6 AIRCRAFT CARRIER; 7 GABARDINE; 8 SMASHING; 9 and 14 FOUR-IN-HAND; 15 HIROSHIMA; 17 REST CURE; 18 EIGHTEEN; 21 INSTEP; 22 MATE; 24 FENCE.

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has been a good neighbor and more. He has helped with the manual chores of our household, which because of my condition I am unable to do. His religious and moral attitudes have been a source of inspiration in my troubled life. His children are well liked and well integrated into the community. We, the neighbors of Mr. Cotter, cannot believe that it is the American way of doing things to deny a man a home because of the color of his skin. Nor do we feel that we can teach true democracy to our children when the very homes we live in are segregated in this way.

LAWRENCE ALEXANDER

Levittown, Long Island

Paternal Thanks

Dear Sirs: Thank you for the space you gave Maury, Jr., in your June 20 issue [The Texas Brand in the Library, by Maury Maverick, Jr.]. It is pleasing to the Maverick family and for that matter, I believe, pleasing to the people of Texas.

MAURY MAVERICK

San Antonio, Tex.

Apology Accepted

Dear Sirs: I feel that I must apologize to *The Nation*. For several months I passed it up for no good reason. Then I picked up the June 6 issue containing the brilliant analysis of the Fifth Amendment by Redlich and Frantz and the first of the editorial series on McCarthy (The Present Danger). It was like taking a deep breath of clean mountain air. I promise you that I shall never have to apologize again.

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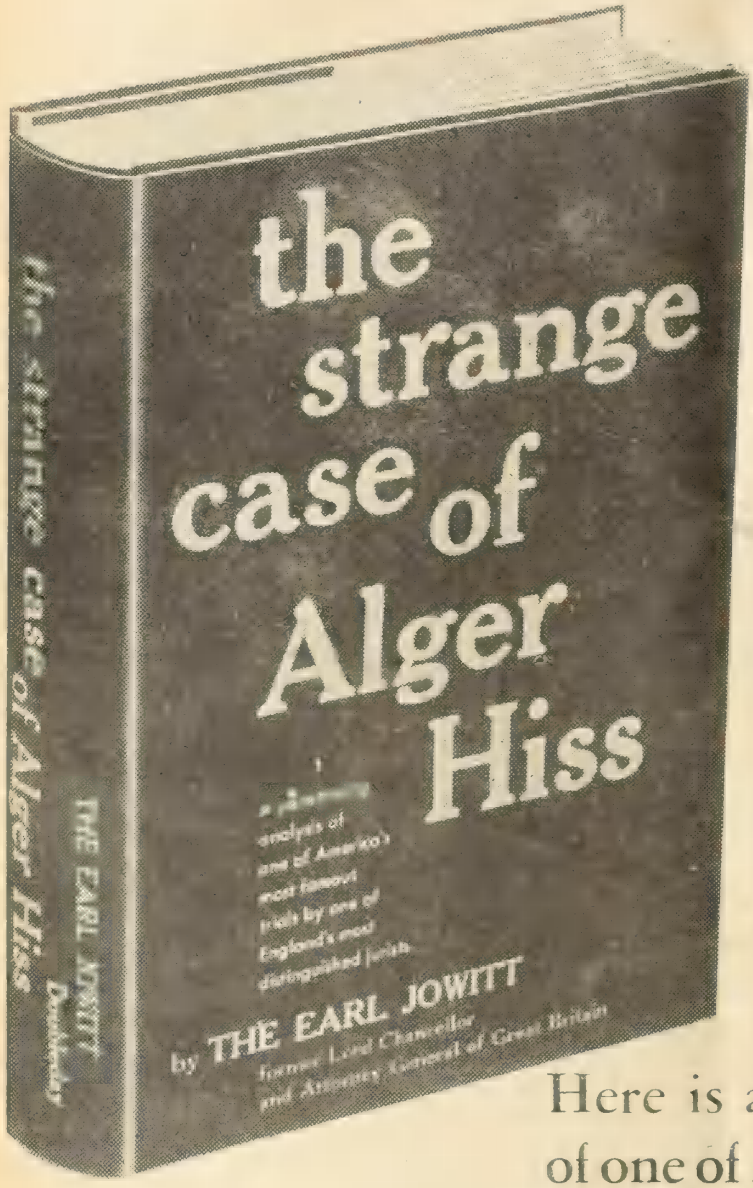
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Protestant Social Policy

IT'S NOT UN-AMERICAN

by F. Ernest Johnson

The Labor Press	*Ben Pearse*
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EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

FRIEND of ours complained the other day that Americans don't care much any more what happens to civil liberties and other such things. What he needed, we told him, was a shot in the arm—the kind you get looking at letters from *Nation* readers. Wish we had room to publish many more letters than we do; but we want everybody who writes us to know that the letters are warmly appreciated by the editors.

Sending a fine piece on Latin America (scheduled for August publication), Waldo Frank, one of America's distinguished authors, writes us: "The premise of specific articles must be sound; this means the organ in which the articles appear must be sound—and that is why I shall be glad to write for *The Nation*. . . . Not in my time, at least, has *The Nation* seemed to me so important as it is now."

The Leland Olds series on the grab for atomic power by private companies was placed in the *Congressional Record* by Congressman John Blatnik. . . . Senator Estes Kefauver notes that Bruce Catton's piece about the attacks upon T. V. A. and similar projects was "very good and certainly timely." . . . In his staff bulletin, "Notes on Current Reading," Dr. Karl Menninger praises Howard K. Beale's recent *Nation* article (Teacher as Rebel) as "superior . . . commended to all teachers." The Beale piece drew wide comment, including a front-page column by William T. Evjue, editor of the Madison *Capital-times*.

Mrs. Marie Sien Halpenny, from San Antonio, Texas, tells us more about the fight down there against efforts of self-appointed guardians of the American way of life to "brand" books in that city's libraries. Mrs. Halpenny, a writer herself, is chairman of the American Activities Committee that was formed by many of San Antonio's leading citizens to prevent "book-burnings." Another Texas reader, Lorette Malone, says she's been taking *The Nation* for years and regrets that we can't reach millions of people the way the "one-party" press does. (We deplore it too.) M. S.

Letters

Wrong Emphasis Charged

Dear Sirs: The Nation's new book-review policy of covering one book or a small group of related books more than adequately and giving only brief notices to others must place a great burden on the editor in charge. It must be very difficult to absorb and evaluate the constant stream of current literature and come up with the "most significant" for the big review each week. Reader disagreement on this score must perhaps be expected, but I want to register a difference of judgment with the editor on June 6.

In the issue which teamed Peter Viereck and Sidney Hook in the forefront with an extensive summary, Scott Buchanan and Bertrand Russell were dismissed to the rear with a paragraph each. Now I cannot speak for Mr. Russell's "Impact of Science on Society," which I have not read, but I have read Mr. Buchanan's "Essays in Politics," and it seems to me that *The Nation's* comment misses the point. The brief review makes vague reference to what actually is a scholarly and penetrating examination of our economic and political system, of the origin and growth of what has become our irresponsible corporation structure in America, and of the breakdown of the institutions of consent necessary to a self-governing society. Mr. Buchanan tells us to look beyond our T. V. A., the most advanced corporate body in America today, and suggests some of the ways we may do it.

The reviewer's conclusion on this? "In the light of the deep-rooted frustration and apathy everywhere apparent in American society today," he writes, "one may feel a degree of skepticism about the possibility of such a remedy."

I wonder if it has occurred to the editor that no small part of this "deep-rooted frustration" may be caused by journals that inflate the confusions of Messrs. Viereck and Hook, and consign a Buchanan to the intellectual bull-pen. . . .

I have little to say against the review job John W. Ward did on the Hook and Viereck books, but I am wondering if knocking down intellectual straw men is a luxury sport that liberals intent on doing some real stuff in the mid-twentieth century should afford. One expects more from *The Nation* . . . if it is to be a positive force in the peaceful revolution that many of us hope for in American life. Buchanan is throwing out some ideas that I believe can really help us to progress. . . . It seems to me that *The Nation* has a responsibility in this direction too.

Swanton, Vt. BERNARD G. O'SHEA

. . . and the Defense

Possibly *The Nation* erred in not carrying a full-length review of Dr. Buchanan's book, although, as Mr. O'Shea kindly admits, the task of selection is a difficult one, especially for a journal of such limited dimensions. In any case the editors fully recognize their responsibility to bring to the forefront works which develop ideas that "can really help us to progress." Perhaps Mr. O'Shea's excellent letter will serve as an adequate supplement to the brief comment we carried on "Essays in Politics."

We would not agree, however, that the treatment of the Hook and Viereck books was merely knocking down "intellectual straw men." Both authors are controversial figures with enough standing in the literary and academic world to warrant analysis and, in this case, sharp attack.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Don't Cry, Baby

Dear Sirs: Regarding the very worthwhile recent symposium of young writers, may this as yet unpublished writer add a word?

James Jones was coming close to the truth when he said that the trouble with writers today is that they are so unlike the Elizabethans. This is true, of course, but it is like saying that the trouble with some bush-league outfielder in Coal Mine, Pennsylvania, is that he's not Mickey Mantle.

There is no question that the vitality of our writers, as of our other creative artists, is getting a wonderful veneer of neutralizing agent on the analyst's couch, or if not there, then in the rarified dogmatization chamber wherein the Gospel according to St. Marx is handed on, or if not there, then from Rome via special pipe line to the Big Boss himself. . . .

Jones is absolutely right when he speaks of the tragedy of the American writer today. He is a by-product of a tragic period when writers are absolutely the last left to try to spark the dying

(Continued on inside back cover)

Volume 177, Number 4
New York, Saturday, July 25, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Truce Is the Pay-Off

If the Communists sign a Korean truce on the basis of General Harrison's professed confidence in Syngman Rhee's willingness to "collaborate," they must want a truce badly. The terms of the Robertson-Rhee agreement have not been made public and the radio-TV report presented to the country last week by Messrs. Dulles and Robertson told the Communists in effect that they could buy a truce-in-a-poke or go on fighting. As for Dr. Rhee himself, he has given no assurances beyond indicating that he will refrain from disrupting the truce for ninety days. After that, he considers himself free to begin "unifying Korea by force"—which is to say, invading North Korea.

The power put into last week's bloody drive southward was at first taken to mean that the Communists were not buying the truce as qualified by Syngman Rhee. But apparently they are buying it, in which case their advance could have been intended as a costly demonstration of what would hit the South Koreans if Dr. Rhee should sabotage the coming armistice.

The truce, of course, is the pay-off. If it is signed no one will be inclined to cavil over details. But it seems to us that the U.N. should keep an eye on the unregenerate and uncommitted president of South Korea. He can still make trouble, and in our opinion he intends to.

The U. N. and the Truce

Suppose the Rhee regime should attack or threaten the neutral commission appointed to supervise the truce? Suppose it should interfere with the Indian troops assigned to police the prisoner-of-war exchange? Suppose no agreement is reached during the ninety-days grace Rhee has generously allowed for the political unification of Korea, and he sends his ROK forces north across the armistice line? A three-years' war resulted from North Korea's aggression against South Korea. Will the United Nations allow a South Korean attack on North Korea to go unpunished—especially an attack made in defiance of an armistice to which the U.N. is a party? When is an aggression not an aggression—when it is against a Communist state?

These questions unfortunately are not academic. Mr. Robertson expressed confidence in President Rhee's "intention to carry out in good faith his assurances" to him. This may be the State Department's view, but the U.N. should insist on certain safeguards. First of all Syngman Rhee should be required to sign the truce. Second, whatever penalties are to be imposed upon the Communists in case of a violation should apply automatically to the South Koreans as well. With matters such as these unresolved the quicker the U.N. General Assembly is called into session, the better the hope for peace in Korea.

Blackballed

Comments in a *Wall Street Journal* story of the previous day may well have goaded C. I. O. President Walter P. Reuther into releasing to the press on July 15 a copy of a letter he had written to Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams on May 5 concerning the President's refusal to accept his suggestion that John Edelman be named Assistant Secretary of Labor. "The mighty C. I. O.," to quote from the *Journal* story, "has fallen to the lowest political estate in its history. . . . The giant union's once-potent voice in national councils is fading to an almost unheeded whisper." The Edelman case would seem to confirm this appraisal. No issue was raised about Mr. Edelman's competence or his loyalty; nor was it contended that he was a security risk. What the Administration feared, as Mr. Adams frankly admitted, was "what certain people in Congress" might make of the fact that Mr. Edelman had managed the La Follette-Wheeler campaign in Pennsylvania in 1924!

But by treating the C. I. O. like a disfranchised share-cropper, the Administration may be inviting trouble. This fall the C. I. O. is scheduled to launch a million-dollar-a-year program of monthly television and daily radio newscasts to step up the tempo of local political action. By blackballing the C. I. O.'s sole nominee the Administration may have precipitated a rebellion that might otherwise have been delayed until the 1954 political season was far advanced.

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"Good Old American Tradition"

Senator McCarthy is a specialist in simple situations: those who are not for him are against him; whatever is not black must be white. Last week the Senator faced a new situation and was as puzzled by it as a dog would be with a bone that jumped and did cartwheels. The Senator encountered two witnesses who declined to co-operate with him but refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment. Moreover, one of them—the mild-mannered editor of the *Monthly Review*—looked him in the eye and said, "I am a Marxist and a Socialist." Harvey O'Connor, the other heretic, declined to answer The Question on the ground that it was beyond the scope of the committee's powers, irrelevant to any valid legislative purpose, and clearly precluded by the First Amendment. After denying that he is or ever was a Communist, Leo Huberman refused to answer any further questions "concerning what I think, or what I believe, or with whom I associate. That, in accordance with good old American tradition, is my own business."

In this instance Senator McCarthy's preference for the simple situation is likely to deceive him. He will discover, if he presses charges against either man, that there are a great many people in this country who know, admire, and respect Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Huberman. He will discover, too, that important sections of the labor movement, both here and abroad, will be deeply disturbed by this harassment of two men who have long and distinguished records in the field of labor education and as labor historians and pamphleteers.

We note with greatest regret the death of Thomas Riggs, Jr., assistant professor of literature at Princeton University, who struck his head on a rock when diving and was instantly killed. Not long ago Mr. Riggs agreed to serve as *The Nation's* poetry critic. His first and only contribution, an excellent commentary on five contemporary poets, appeared in the spring book issue.

Mr. Dulles Thinks Twice

Washington

THE Eisenhower Administration and more particularly the State Department have had second thoughts about the meaning of Lavrenti Beria's downfall. The "guidance" given by the Administration to the American press and public soon after the spectacular news came from Moscow was a mess. There is a certain defense for editors and other journalists who under stress of deadlines rush snap judgments into print, but no such compulsion thrusts itself upon the State Department.

On the morning after the Beria news broke, Secretary Dulles called into his office the department's top advisers and leading members of the staff engaged in research on Soviet affairs. The questions asked that morning were those being asked everywhere in the less rarified atmosphere outside:

Was the key to Beria's disgrace to be found in the international situation, notably in the deterioration of the Communist position in Berlin, East Germany, and other satellite areas?

Or was it to be sought on the Soviet domestic scene, perhaps in Beria's relationship to agricultural issues or the national-minorities problem?

Was there a third explanation—namely, that policy played a minor, possibly even a negligible, part and that the struggle for personal power was the real issue?

Finally, what conclusions should be drawn concerning the future course of Soviet foreign relations?

The results would have been better if the group in Mr. Dulles's office had waited at least a few hours before attempting even a tentative judgment. The men seated there had before them only the terse communiqué of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party announcing Beria's removal, and a fragment of *Pravda's* editorial. But Mr. Dulles was to sit down that afternoon with Lord Salisbury and M. Bidault to open their series of meetings, and since the Beria story was sure to be in the front of their minds, he felt he must start the Foreign Ministers' discussion with comment on the Moscow developments.

His advisers in the morning plumped for the theory that Beria's ruin must be ascribed to events abroad, especially to the Communist troubles in East Germany. Viewing Beria as the exponent of Russia's softer line, Mr. Dulles brought to the Foreign Ministers' meeting a belief that the Kremlin would now return to its former tough, aggressive behavior.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT experts rested their conclusion on two major premises. As far back as 1938 Beria had been brought in to halt the great purge after his predecessors, Yezhov and Yagoda, had died before firing squads. That in itself seemed to label Beria as "softer." Moreover, reports reaching the United States intelligence services during the war, though never confirmed, had indicated that Beria was urging a separate peace with Germany—again the softer line. Second, in the immediate past and since Stalin's death Beria's pronouncements had stressed the liberty of the individual and the theme that outstanding differences with the West could be settled by peaceful negotiation. And in reversing the verdict against the Kremlin doctors, Beria had come out against the promoters of racial discord.

It was in this setting that a high United States official emerged from the Foreign Ministers' first session and talked to American journalists behind closed doors. It was here that the press got its "authoritative" indication that Dulles, Salisbury, and Bidault were in harmony in believing the Beria purge probably foreshadowed a return to a harder, more aggressive policy in Moscow. This prediction was then splashed in headlines across almost all American newspapers. It was of little avail when a member of the British delegation informed the correspondents that there had obviously been confusion between the opinion Dulles had expressed at the meeting and the views of his British and French colleagues.

Newsmen were not told about a touch of acerbity which developed over another aspect of Mr. Dulles's remarks at the same meeting. The Secretary of State announced that Ambassador Charles Bohlen had pulled off a major scoop by reporting the purge of Beria several days before it was officially revealed by Moscow. Salisbury and Bidault blandly replied that the British and French embassies in Moscow had also conveyed this information to their governments well in advance of its official disclosure. Nobody bothered to remind Mr. Dulles that ever since June 27 the world's press had been speculating about Beria's vacant chair at the Bolshoi Theater at the performance of the "Dekabristi" ballet on that date.

WHAT REALLY is striking about these items is that the State Department has now abandoned its first interpretation of the Beria affair and reversed its own conclusions. The department's experts no longer maintain that Beria's eclipse marks the end of the Kremlin's softer policy. They have awakened to the truth that since his arrest on June 27 there has been a series of conciliatory moves within the Soviet bloc.

Hungary's concessions to its restive people came on July 4. A lesser concession by the Prague regime on July 6 annulled the sharp penalties for workers' absenteeism. It was after Beria's downfall, too, that the Rumanian government abolished farmers' debts to the state for failure to deliver grain and cattle quotas. These and other manifestations clearly supported the earlier signs that a more accommodating mentality in the Kremlin had resulted from a collective decision and that Beria was simply carrying out the wishes of the dominant Communist leadership. By this time the State Department's experts also had before them the complete *Pravda* editorial on Beria, reaffirming the Soviet government's declaration that "all unsolved international questions under dispute can be solved by negotiations among the interested countries" and foreshadowing continuance of "the new peaceful initiative by the Soviet government."

Events had given Beria an opportunity to move into the spotlight as the great conciliator. There was no hint in his public demeanor that the softer policies being applied emerged from the balance of power among party, army, and police. Beria had been presenting himself as the creator, not merely as one of the executors, of the policy of accommodation Specialists on Russia in the

State and Defense departments and the Central Intelligence Agency swung to the conclusion that Beria had "played his humane line too fast and too hard" to suit Malenkov, Molotov, and Bulganin.

The Washington experts had switched their position 180 degrees. They had discarded their earlier assumption that the disorders in East Berlin and East Germany provided the primary reason for liquidating Beria. Nor did they now accept the "internal" explanation—Beria's possible involvement in the debate on whether the Soviet peasant should be deprived of the right to sell part of his produce on the free market. In his article in *Bolshevik* last year Stalin had taken a stand against this method of supplementing the farmer's income and had advocated a barter system.

Washington officials also attached less weight to the role of the national-minorities problem in Beria's fate, although in one sense, they agreed, that issue—with several others—could have speeded his fall. By opposing the incitement of national and racial antagonisms, by helping to halt russification of the Ukraine and the Baltic states, Beria had again been promoting his own popularity to a degree which Malenkov and his colleagues found threatening. Beria appeared to them far too agile in capitalizing on the collective "appeasement" policies to strengthen his personal position in the country.

Finally came the changes in the police structure. The M. V. D. (Ministry of Internal Affairs) and M. G. B. (Ministry of State Security)—the two great police organs—were again merged after Stalin's death, and Beria once more was put in charge of their formidable combined apparatus. The same pattern was followed in all the Baltic republics, in Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Kazakstan. As this happened, Beria's cronies moved to the top. This explains the *Pravda* editorial's passage charging him with putting the M. V. D. before the party and government and selecting M. V. D. workers on the basis of "personal loyalty to himself."

So the top intelligence units of the Eisenhower Administration finally reached the conclusion that Premier Malenkov was waging the same fight to gain control of the state and party machine as Stalin had waged after Lenin's death almost thirty years ago. A personal struggle for power is seen as the base of the Malenkov-Beria conflict. The firm belief in Washington today is that the Kremlin will pursue its softer policy. The next test of this thesis will be the Western Foreign Ministers' meeting with Molotov in late September or October.

SUMMER IN PARIS

A Season of Surprises . . J. Alvarez del Vayo

Paris

NOW that the National Assembly has granted Premier Laniel a reprieve by voting new taxes and new economic and political powers for his Cabinet, I shall take time off to comment on a few interesting events of a different sort. Not even the worst political crisis can obliterate the Paris of art and intellect or dull the French taste for their unique values.

France has not yet made a complete political and economic comeback since World War II, but in the sphere of culture its recovery has been extraordinary. During the last two months, whenever I have had time, I have taken in interesting lectures at the Sorbonne, visited the theater, and seen several of the best art exhibitions of our time. In painting France still sets the pace.

There was an excellent retrospective show at the Petit Palais devoted to the Barbizon school, Courbet, and the Impressionists—Manet, Monet, Sisley, Renoir, and their followers. After the recent death of Raoul Dufy, an exhibition of his paintings traced the whole course of his interesting evolution from his early period of monumental conceptions, through the time when he was under the influence of Cézanne, until he developed a style so personal that it cannot be confused with any other—a delicate mixture of elements of painting and drawing at the service of an imagination which leads us through villages gay with flags, small harbors, ships, horse races, and street music into the very heart of France. All this, together with the memory of the man himself, friendly and understanding, with hardly an enemy, gave the exhibition a quality of profound sadness.

Naturally a Picasso exhibition, whenever it occurs, towers above all others. Any public appearance of Picasso is a sensation. The way in which even the people most opposed to his politics respond to the multifarious activities of this man of genius is in itself proof of the difference in the artistic atmosphere of Europe and America. It is not easy to imagine President Eisenhower lending the authority of his presence to the opening of an exhibition of a Communist painter. But it was President Einaudi of Catholic Italy who ceremoniously opened the Picasso exhibition in Rome. I had the good fortune to see this exhibition in which Picasso, through all possible forms of art, from the rigorously classical to compositions boldly anticipating the work that might come after him, displayed the full measure of his genius. All Rome paid homage to a painter whom an Italian critic, in a moment of exuberance, called the "Michelangelo of our time."

Picasso has also held an exhibition in Paris which, while less comprehensive, included the most widely discussed of his recent productions—the two grandiose murals on the subject of war and peace. Here the painter of the Dove of Peace becomes a master of imprecation, cursing war with a force not equaled since Goya. From the pictures shown in Paris the struggle against the dehumanization of our epoch emerges as one of the most powerful motifs in Picasso's present work. In the anti-war painting the machine triumphs with the glorification of the new weapons by the warmongers. Every piece of metal created to kill men, every atomic technician at the service of destruction, is given a brutal and diabolic expression. But the future is also there, with the irresistible desire for peace destined to triumph over the machine. The dove and the lamb soar and leap in the midst of a gay humanity celebrating the victory of life over death. And beside this work, so characteristic of his recent years, stands Picasso himself, a man who constantly renews himself, becoming ever more vigorous and audacious. The Paris exhibition was not only an artistic success: the paintings brought more than a quarter of a million dollars, a sum no other artist can approach today.

PARIS IS ALSO a great international music center. The past season offered five or six fine orchestras, conductors like Furtwängler and Münch, soloists like Bockhaus and Arthur Rubinstein. The outstanding novelty was the Stravinsky opera, "Rake's Progress," with a libretto in the mood of Hogarth.

The season presented another surprise. The international piano and violin competition, inaugurated two years ago under the auspices of the famous French violinist Jean Thibaud, resulted in a triumph for the Soviet Union. Nelly Chkolnikova, who won the first prize for violin, was hailed by French critics as an artist of the rank of Heifetz and Menuhin. She is twenty-four years old and still a student at the Moscow Conservatory. Another Soviet violinist won the second prize. In the piano competition, when the first prize was also about to go to a Soviet artist, the jury engaged in a diplomatic maneuver to give him the second prize and the first to a competitor of another nationality. This

brought violent protests from sections of the public and the press. It required all the tact of Marguerite Long, who shares patronage of the competition with Thibaud, to end the incident. It was really impressive to see the most anti-Communist and anti-Soviet Paris newspapers arguing, in the name of artistic integrity, that the Soviet performers should be judged on their merits. The great Russian violinist, Oistrakh, and the pianist, Oborin, gave a series of recitals and played to crowded halls.

The Comédie Française and other theaters had a successful season, presenting works of Sartre, Mauriac, and others, but the great attraction was the Théâtre National Populaire. Its manager-director, Jean Vilar, assisted by an excellent company and employing new stage techniques which create a contact between the artists and a public hitherto unacquainted with good theater, has been producing plays in the provinces and the suburbs of Paris in large popular halls with great success. He uses a black background and a special kind of illumination which lends an enchanting air of legend and mystery to the action on the stage. His first big success was with "The Prince of Homburg," by Heinrich von Kleist, whose dreamy romanticism offered a great challenge to his talent as director. The brilliant acting of Gérard Philippe established this play and opened the way for new productions: "Lorensaccio," the revolutionary drama of the youthful De Musset; Shakespeare's "Richard II"; and finally the great success of recent months, another German play, "The Death of Danton." Its author, Georg Büchner, led a peasant uprising in Hessen in 1833. The play drew applause from the reactionaries and criticism from the left, starting a new controversy over the role of Danton in the French Revolution.

Even the staid French Academy had its exciting moment this season. The star turn was provided by Marshal Juin. His election to the Academy was not only a social event of the first magnitude but a political act which stirred all the passions that divide France today. In the few things Marshal Juin has written, mostly introductions to pamphlets, he has openly defended a tough policy toward anti-colonialist movements. His opponents also accuse him of marked coolness toward the Resistance during the struggle for liberation. His NATO post and his passionate defense of the Atlantic Pact have made him a focus of public controversy.

JUIN'S speech accepting membership in the Academy naturally aroused great expectations and he did not disappoint them. Utilizing the circumstance that the Tharaud brothers, whom he succeeded as a member and whom according to tradition he had to praise in his speech, had spent a long time in Morocco, he raised once more the thorny issue presented by that country. To the applause of a conservative audience, he expounded in a militant tone his views on colonialism in general and on the policy France should follow in Morocco. He advocated a strong hand against those who challenged the authority of France and was unsparing in his criticism of François Mauriac, a fellow-member of the Academy, who had expressed disapproval of certain acts of repression in Morocco in his column in the conservative *Figaro*.

The French press was none too kind toward the Marshal's incursion into politics under the cover of literature. The *Figaro* called it a partisan speech out of place at the French Academy, *Franc-Tireur* called it "provocative," and *Libération* made the caustic comment: "Marshal Juin at the French Academy does not, alas, mean that we have one academician the more and one warrior the less."

The incident has further increased the prestige of Mauriac, winner of a Nobel Prize for literature. No longer a young man, Mauriac has changed since the war from a writer of novels to one of the sharpest polemists of the French press. Only last month he spoke on the same platform with the Communist poet, Louis Aragon, in favor of a reprieve for the Rosenbergs.

PROTESTANT SOCIAL POLICY

It's Not Un-American . . *by F. Ernest Johnson*

[*The extraordinary interest in the clergy displayed recently by Congressional investigating committees—reaching a climax this week with the calling up of Bishop Oxnam—focuses attention on the Protestant social creed. What is this creed? To what extent has it guided the country's social and political thinking?*

The Nation *herewith begins a series of three articles on the subject, each by a distinguished Protestant spokesman. F. Ernest Johnson, educator and social historian, has held important executive posts with the National and the Federal Council of Churches for many years. He is emeritus professor of education at Teachers College, editor of* Social Action, *and the author of many books, including "Foundations of Democracy" and "Wellsprings of the American Spirit."*]

NO ONE who is familiar with the Protestant denominations in the United States will expect to discover *the* Protestant position on anything important —not even on the Vatican! It is of the essence of the Protestant faith that the individual conscience is supreme. On all matters of political and social policy this means that the church may furnish guidance but no directives. Only among the small sects which maintain a group testimony and discipline is there anything approximating a corporate position on political and social questions.

This characteristic of what may be called the Protestant mentality is of much public significance. The Protestant churches would be politically dominant if there were any such thing as a "Protestant vote." Moreover, the Protestant emphasis on the authority of conscience and the "right of private judgment" puts a premium on independent action in the political sphere. It is even held to be a virtue to "vote for the man and not the party," a fact which has tended to make Protestants politically inept. For a naive faith in the power of "righteous" officials to prevail over well-established alliances and deeply intrenched interests brings swift disillusionment when political realities disclose themselves.

This does not mean, of course, that Protestants are not active in politics, and effectively so. It means, rather, that they seldom function politically *as* Protestants and that there is no Protestant "line" except in rare instances. Broadly speaking, Protestants behave politically in accord with secular sanctions and as members of secular groups. It seems safe to say that the political and social orientation of American Protestants approximates that of the socio-economic groups to which they belong. The extent to which American life is class-structured is a disputed question, but the point here is that religious affiliation *per se*, so far as Protestants are concerned is a negligible factor in determining political and social outlook. If Protestants tend to vote on the conservative side, as they seem to, it is because the members of Protestant churches tend to belong to those middle-class groups which, in turn, tend to vote that way.

IT SHOULD BE noted that in recent years evidence has accumulated that in some of the larger Protestant bodies, as well as the small sects, a considerable portion of the membership is drawn from the working class. Thus, the Baptist bodies are not very different from the Roman Catholic church in the class orientation of their members. This was reflected in the national election of 1944, according to statistical data gathered in connection with opinion polls, and, one may surmise, in that of 1948. The result in 1952 was a composite of factors many of which were not political in a strict sense.

It will occur at once, of course, to many readers that the Protestant churches have furnished the sinews of political warfare in behalf of certain causes. Prohibition was largely a Protestant enterprise. Also, the great crusade against war during the twenties and thirties was largely the result of the Christian pacifist movement fostered by some of the large Protestant communions as well as the small pacifist sects. Prohibition was, indeed, an example of the direct influence of a religious discipline on political action, but it was far from typical. As for the pacifist movement, though influential for a time, in the end it was ineffective politically, since when put to the test of imminent war the membership of the Protestant churches largely eschewed the pacifist philosophy.

These facts may give satisfaction to cynical persons, but they are just what should be expected in a democratic society whose churches are for the most part cross-sections of the population. The "prophetic" element in religion finds expression chiefly in small, disciplined groups. For the most part the Protestant denominations are not only large bodies but lay-controlled organizations whose corporate "position," if any, on a public question is determined by what the laity, not the clergy, think and feel. It has taken a good while for liberal Protestant leaders to learn that the more democratic a church is—that is, the wider the lay participation in control—the less social crusading there will be.

BUT IN SPITE of these conditioning factors which tend to make Protestantism conservative, it has had a liberalizing influence in American thought and life. The "social gospel" movement which got under way in the late nineteenth century fostered a concern for application of the Christian ethic to the structure of society as well as to personal living. Its classic expression is found in the "Social Ideals of the Churches," a document often referred to as the "social creed," formulated in 1908 and put in its present form in 1932. With the absorption of the Federal Council of Churches, which sponsored the document, in the National Council of

Churches, this creed ceased to have any official status in Protestantism, for it has not as yet been reaffirmed. Yet I believe it carries a high degree of ethical sanction, except for two of its articles the insertion of which reflected the impact of the depression. One of these calls for "social planning" and the other for health insurance as a concomitant of social security. These ideas, which had a great measure of public support in the early thirties, would hardly find their way, without sharp limitation, into an official social creed formulated today. They illustrate the grievous hazard in the making of pronouncements for which a wide social sanction is claimed—the danger that they will reflect a contemporary mood rather than an abiding conviction.

The other fifteen articles set forth principles rather than specific measures or devices: for example, the ethical scrutiny of the acquisition and use of wealth; economic justice for every population group, with special reference to the farmer; the right to "organize for collective bargaining and social action"; abolition of child labor; racial equality; and civil liberties.

THIS SOCIAL CREED furnishes a framework within which the major Protestant bodies carry on their programs of social education and action. Recent official pronouncements indicate that their major social concerns are the preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, economic justice, the abolition of racial segregation, and the achievement of peace and international good-will through the United Nations. A few of the latest official utterances will illustrate the present mood.

The Methodist church, largest of the Protestant bodies, has long had a social creed of its own closely paralleling the "Social Ideals." Its General Conference attracted much attention last year by deleting the words "subordination of the profit motive to the creative and cooperative spirit." The change is a bit hard to interpret, since Christianity has always taught the subordination of acquisitive motives while recognizing their deep-rooted existence. Apparently much feeling had been aroused by the frequent use of the term "profit motive" in a context that suggested a repudiation of the profit economy as such. The action was all of a piece with a policy struggle over the status of the militant Methodist Federation for Social Action. It should be noted, however, that the revised paragraph includes the sentence: "We espouse no particular economic system, and refuse to identify Christianity with any economic order." In the quadrennial "Episcopal Address," always a notable document, the sixty-eight bishops of the church denounced communism but declared, "It is not Russia that is our real enemy but the evils in our modern society which Russia falsely offers to eradicate."

The Congregational Christian Churches at the meeting of the General Council in 1952 also came to grips with basic issues concerning social and political action centering in the policies of the denomination's Council for Social Action. Here again a former official declaration was "disclaimed"—a resolution passed in 1934 which condemned "our present competitive profit-seeking economy." That resolution was, on its face, a radical declaration, aimed not at chastening the "profit motive" but at fundamental change in the system. It is highly improbable that it represented, even during the depression years, the considered judgment of the church. In disclaiming it the council declared that "every economic order must be evaluated and its practices judged in the light of the Christian Gospel."

The 1952 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America dealt with a variety of social issues. It called attention to the fact that "millions of workers are still living below levels of economic and social decency." It urged that "laymen participate more actively in management organizations and labor unions as an expression of Christian vocation." The assembly declared that "loyalty oaths in many cases have become forms of thought control" and that due process has been "flouted." Opposition to the United Nations was denounced, and ratification of a Human Rights Covenant and a Genocide Convention was called for. The assembly declared itself for "a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society." A rather unusual and striking feature of the assembly's action was the summons to Christian laymen to "become active in the political life of their communities from the precinct level upwards" and to "take part in drafting constructive party platforms."

THE AMERICAN Baptist Convention at its session last year repeated its call for "complete non-segregation among the churches and institutions within our fellowship," appealed for "preservation and multiplication of the family-owned, family-managed, family-lived-on, and family-worked farm," and insisted that cases of suspected disloyalty "should be handled according to the principles of due process of law with the right of counsel and hearing before an unprejudiced body of their peers." In the international field the convention vigorously supported the United Nations but urged that it seek out "a more constructive road to world peace than that of attempting to control aggression by increasing military power."

The 1952 General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church condemned racial discrimination and called for a liberalization of the existing national immigration policy. Declaring that it saw "in the developing and strengthening of the United Nations the best political hope of mankind," the convention urged that "the Charter be revised and strengthened in accordance with Article 109:3, looking towards its future development into a world organization open to all peoples with defined and limited power, adequate to preserve peace and to prevent aggression through the encouragement and enforcement of World Law."

The Pastoral Letter promulgated at the same time noted that the "incredible increase in power" made available to man in our time "has outrun the familiar Christian answers." Though we still talk of "the *dignity of work* or of man's vocation," the fact is that "for the great majority of men in industrial plants those words seem to have little meaning." Moreover, there is deep uncertainty in people's minds "whether the ancient absolutes have any meaning in a world which knows so much about how to manage and contrive."

The social pronouncements of the United Lutheran Church in America are of particular interest because of the traditional aloofness of the Lutheran churches from *corporate* political action. In a sentence which may perhaps be said to express the genius of Protestantism, an official statement declares: "The church may help its members to evaluate practical proposals, but it must reserve to its members the final decision whether such proposals tend to accomplish Christian ends." Within this framework the United Lutheran church has elaborated a set of guiding principles ranging widely over the areas which are claiming the attention of the other denominations. Another official statement defining the social responsibility of the church affirms that it should "talk more about Duties and less about Rights. One of the spiritual weaknesses of our time, from which many of our social problems progressively multiply, comes from the debilitating notion in the minds of people, which has gained almost sanctity, that they can rest back upon things called 'Rights.' If men understand and do their Duty, Rights will follow, and problems will be solved."

TO THESE sample citations from the pronouncements of half a dozen Protestant bodies, one may safely add a few generalizations. Broadly speaking, the Protestant churches are strongly committed to the separation of church and state, which, they insist, precludes at least in spirit diplomatic relations with the Vatican. There is almost universal opposition among Protestants to any weakening of the present judicial prohibition of public support for non-public schools. While the erstwhile pacifism of a substantial part of official Protestantism is no longer in evidence, its influence is reflected in opposition to peace-time military training, and in a deeply troubled conscience over the nation's continued involvement in war. The hot spot now is, of course, the ominous threat to personal liberty involved in some intemperate efforts to eradicate loyalty and security risks. Here the central genius of Protestantism is confronted—devotion to personal freedom under God. Protestant individualism has doubtless been carried to extremes, for freedom can be preserved only if order is maintained. On the other hand, some current attempts in high legislative circles to prescribe patterns for thought, speech, and behavior seem to those of us who have been reared in the Protestant tradition to be all of a piece with collectivist regimentation. As the National Council of Churches has recently declared, "Error must be met by truth in free and open encounter. The conscientious expression of ideas must not be dealt with by a dungeon, a boycott, or an Index, nor by arbitrary governmental action, character assassination, or the application of unjust economic and social pressures."

What of the trend? In recent years Protestant thought in America has experienced a change of climate. The rather easy and enthusiastic optimism about man and the world which prevailed during the early decades of the century has been tempered by an ethical "realism" which has a more orthodox theological base. One result has been a lessening of the confident "activism" that had been characteristic of liberal Protestant Christianity. The chastening was needed; the disillusionment administered by the events of history has been salutary. Signs are not wanting, however, that the nerve of the social-gospel movement is still alive and that its influence will be increasingly felt.

HOLLYWOOD DJINN

With a Dash of Bitters . . *by Nelson Algren*

"LIFE," Peer Gynt decided, "is a matter of passing safe and dryshod down the rushing stream of time." When, not long past, I discovered myself to be not only passing safe and snugly shod but downright lavishly set up, I felt, though there was no Anitra near, that I agreed with Gynt all the same.

The downright lavish setup was called exotically enough, the Garden of Allah. But the only exotic thing about it was that the rent was free. Free because I was being accorded the ten-day-Hollywood-hospitality treatment, which is prescribed on the assumption that half a grand allotted from a producer's budget toward the comfort and entertainment of any writer from the hinterland is certain—with the help of that Yogi sun—to arouse such slavering gratitude in the hinterlander that he'll sign for whatever sum the producer deigns to name. That if the latter doesn't deign to name a sum, said hinterlander will come to feel so guilty about the advantage he is taking that ultimately he'll sign anything, just to be able to look other men in the eye once more, and the producer can fill in the figures.

NELSON ALGREN, author of "The Man with the Golden Arm" and "Chicago: City on the Make," herein shares his introduction to the mores of Hollywood with readers of The Nation.

"Don't worry about price," I had been comforted over long distance; "you can trust me. I *like* taking care of writers. I'd especially like to take care of you."

I was touched. Even from a distance the man liked me. I could not know that he was applying the first stage of the treatment, wherein the party of the first part can afford nothing less than affection for the party of the second. Even from a distance. For I had not yet felt that sun.

DRIVING FROM the station, the producer's flunky assured me that the apartment I was to occupy had been vacated by a name star only a few hours ago. "You'll be sleeping in *his* bed tonight," he promised. How lucky, I thought dreamily, that the train had been late. Living in such a place, I gathered, rent or no rent, was in itself an event, one to make a trip from Chicago well worth any hinterlander's while.

But I didn't myself consider the place any particular great shakes until the flunky appointed the star's pantry with a case of good scotch, a case of fair rye, and a case of cheap bourbon, then lowered his lids to indicate we weren't even to talk about money. "Don't mention it," he reassured me the moment I stopped shaking.

I chose to mention it all the same. What I mentioned specifically was, "For God's sake where's the gin?" He must have thought I said "djinn," for in a moment there appeared—precisely as in a story by John Collier—a real Hollywood djinn, an honest-to-God Guru looking as if he'd slept in a bottle with the cork in it. He was fresh up from Malibu, and his toes stuck out of his sandals like amputated thumbs. With the rest of him stuffed hurriedly into something that looked like a cast-off tattersall of the late Laird Cregar's.

It was of course, the producer himself. And we were off to Romanoff's.

I dined with him unaccompanied that first evening, a bit self-conscious of my closed-in toes. The next, I took the liberty of inviting a new-found friend. The next I took two liberties, and by the time we made the Brown Derby we were blocking traffic. With my senses by now a-whirl with the wonder and hurry of it all, I had no time for the appropriate gratitude.

In the faint hope of fanning a spark in that direction, the djinn inquired softly, during the course of some feverish carryings-on at the Beverly-Wilshire, and the wind whisking every which way, whether I'd care to meet Miss Sylvia Sidney.

The entire course of my life having been determined by the 1931 version of "An American Tragedy," it seemed of no importance at the moment that my eyes weren't focusing. Indeed, I bowed so low from the waist, in the direction I judged the lady to be, that I had a bit of trouble straightening up. It wasn't till the following forenoon that I learned that Miss Sidney was in Brussels.

When I confronted Guru with his betrayal he didn't so much as redden. He was just hurt. The party to whom he'd introduced me, it turned out, was a highly effective writers' agent—so why did I always have to get so salty when somebody tried to do something for me? "We'll get along better when you begin trusting others," he counseled me like a father—and topped the bit off with the hollowest laugh I'd yet heard in the Land of Hollow Laughter.

Then he put a contract before me and confessed, "I'm not a business man at heart"— placing one hand over the heart to indicate precisely where he wasn't a business man—"I'm just another frustrated writer."

I looked around for the other frustrated writer. Seeing none, I placed Bernard Shaw's hand over my own valentine-shaped ticker and confessed in turn, "I'm not a writer at heart. I'm just another frustrated business man. And don't even trust myself."

AGAIN in a matter of moments, but now more as in something by Howard Fast, I was evicted from the Garden of Allah where no Anitra was near. And presented with a bill, *per diem,* which Guru just happened to have in his hand. Itemizing, among other small comforts, one case of good scotch, one case of fair rye, and one case of cheap bourbon. Nothing was free after all.

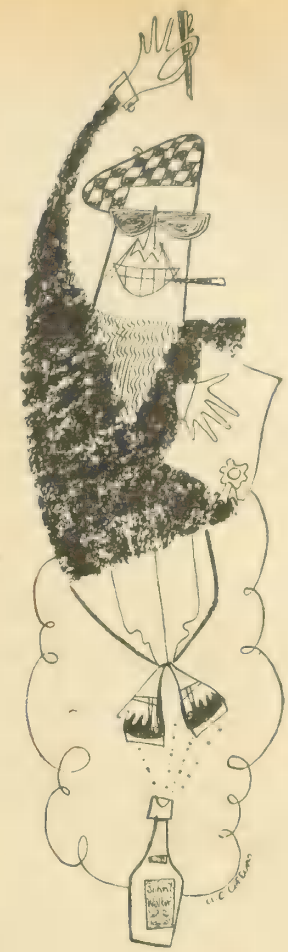
"Is there any relationship between my refusal to sign and my eviction?" I had just time to inquire.

He never so much as cracked. "What kind of a business man do you think I am?" he demanded.

"What kind of a writer do you think *I* am?" was all I could think to reply.

Whereupon we locked, the terrible djinn in the open-toed shoes and I in my watertight ones, in a life-and-death struggle to determine, once and for all, who was the greater jerk.

I very nearly won. But I was scarcely a ranking contender and I was up against the champ. Smart money would have



said he wouldn't even have to extend himself. Yet on the morning he phoned to say, "After all, I *do* like you," I really felt I had him.

"I like you too," I assured him.*

We had now reached that stage wherein the party of the second part can afford nothing less than affection for the party of the first. I needed to buy a house in Indiana as much as he needed to make a million dollars.

So though the very sight of me caused his features to be suffused by a disgust matched by nothing earthly save the revulsion in my own breast, we clung passionately each to each in a friendship based on the solid rock of utter loathing.

He showed up with a flute of Johnny

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*To illustrate further the operation of affection in The Land of Hollow Laughter: While I was waiting in the office of a medium-sized bigshot to be introduced to a king-size bigshot, the latter entered and went directly into conference with the medium-sized one without indicating awareness of a third party in the room except by a palm over his mouth and an occasional jerk of a thumb in the general direction of that party. Whispers, chuckles, thumb jerks, a final back slap—and he had left quite as unceremoniously as he had entered. Whereupon the medium-sized one assured me: "He *likes* you." And meant it.

Walker on one arm and a male friend on the other. By the stardust in the friend's eyes I immediately recognized an autograph hunter, one who inquired my name so shyly that I laughed lightly, "You got me." Whereupon he put a packet of blue papers bound with a red rubber band into my hand, and the only process-server in the world with stardust eyes excused himself.

Riffling hurriedly through the packet, I realized that Guru was charging me with everything from piracy on the high seas to defrauding an innkeeper. I was secretly relieved to note that he didn't have anything on me for the theft of the Stone of Scone. "You see," he explained with that smile which succeeded so wondrously in being at once abjectly shamefaced and haughtily self-satisfied, "every time I talked long distance to you I had a lawyer on the extension."

O Great Guru from Malibu, I knew then how much you liked me.

And as if struck abruptly by the injustice of everything, he strode to the middle of the room, literally beating his breast with one hand and still clutching the bottle fervidly with the other, to turn the awful accusation upon me—"I'm a nice guy! *Why do you make me act like a jerk?*"

Overwhelmed by what I had done to this kindly soul, I followed him about the room as hysterical as he was: "I don't know *why* I make you act like this," I broke down completely; "this isn't the real me! Back home people *like* me!"

Whereupon the party of the first part gently placed the bottle in the left hand of the party of the second and, even more gently, a pen that writes under water in his right.

That Yogi sun had done me in at last.

COMPANY TOWN

The Story *Life* Didn't Tell . . *by Jerry Dale*

[*Recently* Life *printed an article and pictures emphasizing the violence and disorder that marked a paper strike in a small Louisiana town. Here is the other side of the story, written by a former Associated Press reporter who is now assistant editor of the publications department of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.*]

Elizabeth, La.

COWS graze in the yard of the community hall in Elizabeth, Louisiana, a sleepy little company town of about a thousand people. You couldn't ask for a quieter place to negotiate a union contract. But while the negotiators in the hall have hardly raised their voices the town outside has been rocked by dynamite explosions and shotgun blasts.

Back in the thirties an organizer for the A. F. of L. Paper Makers made an attempt to unionize the Calcasieu Paper Company's mill in Elizabeth, but company resistance was unusually strong and the organizer soon went on to greener pastures, unionizing other Southern paper mills. The Calcasieu mill remained "open shop," still dictating to its workers, still ignoring their grievances, still owning their homes, their streets, their churches, their very lives.

About four years ago union organizers from both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. went to Elizabeth in response to a call from the paper-mill workers. An election was held, and the C. I. O. United Paperworkers of America won by a slim margin over the A. F. of L. International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. The company, however, still refused to sign a contract. Finally the United Paperworkers gave up.

The A. F. of L. union then returned to Elizabeth, reinforced by a sister union, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers. Another election, held in May, 1951, was lost by two votes. A charge of coercion was then filed against the company with the National Labor Relations Board. The board found management guilty of interference, restraint, and coercion, and ordered a new election, which was held in May, 1952, and which the two unions won, 459 to 204. But even this clear mandate was not enough for management. In an attempt to repeat the tactics used successfully against the C. I. O. the company simply refused to bargain. As a result new charges were filed by the unions with the N. L. R. B. The workers finally took a strike vote, but before they could act, the company closed the mill. The lockout was ordered September 13, 1952.

Two months later C. G. McGehee, president and chairman of the board of the Calcasieu Paper Company, initiated a "back-to-work" movement and after getting a court order restricting picketing reopened the plant. When five hundred of the Calcasieu workers refused to return to work, many more than had originally voted for the unions, the company recruited strike-breakers, some locally, some in other areas. State troopers escorted the scabs to and from work.

Soon afterward management notified the men still on strike that they had been "permanently discharged." At the same time it ordered striking workers out of their company-owned homes. These evictions are still being fought in the courts by the unions' attorneys.

VIOLENCE now burst out. Homes and cars belonging to both strikers and scabs were shot into and set on fire. A gas line supplying fuel to the plant was blown up several times, and a spur of the Santa Fe Railroad leading into the mill was dynamited.

The union leaders immediately disassociated the membership from these acts, but the company charged that the culprits were "union men" and issued arms to the scabs. This move led to the belief that at least some of the incidents were the work of *agents provocateurs*, designed to give the unions a bad name and the company an excuse to arm its scabs.

Shortly after the plant was shut down, the Federal Conciliation Service entered the dispute. It failed to persuade management to bargain with the union and promptly withdrew. Later state officials managed to schedule some talks. The company attorney, apparently fearing new charges of unfair labor practices, went through the motions of "bargaining" but stubbornly refused to rehire the strikers. It became increasingly clear to the union negotiators that McGehee had no intention of dealing with the unions and was scheduling "negotiating sessions" only to satisfy federal requirements.

Last March, Governor Robert Kennon of Louisiana sent a wire to McGehee urging him to submit the Calcasieu dispute to the state mediation board, a step to which the unions had already agreed. McGehee rejected the proposal. At the next negotiating session in the Elizabeth community hall the company agreed to a few of the unions' demands, including a nine-cents-an-hour wage raise, merit increases, and a maintenance-of-membership clause, but refused to rehire more than a handful of the strikers. The company attorney declared it would never grant one of the workers' major demands—a grievance and arbitration process for all company disciplinary measures. In other words, the company "agreed" to run a scab plant, to pay the scabs nine cents more, and to ask the scabs if they wanted to join the union. After the unions had rejected this "offer," the lawyer declared that further talks were useless.

Two months and several outbursts of violence later, Governor Kennon summoned high union and company officials to a "peace conference." At the first session, held in Baton Rouge in May, McGehee on the one hand and the international presidents of the Paper Makers and the Pulp Workers on the other agreed only that they disagreed. Another session was held a month later, and again little or no progress was made. The strike is now ten months old and is as far from being settled as ever.

Armed scabs still rule Elizabeth at night, and state police guard road blocks. The mill is like a penitentiary, with its giant searchlights trained on the pickets, its arsenal of weapons, and its high barbed-wire fence patrolled by armed guards. One night the lights were turned out to permit the scabs to raid and fire the picket shanties.

A few years ago the strikers did not know what unions were. They are learning the hard way, and so are the scabs. Absentee-owner McGehee, in his comfortable home in Jacksonville, Florida, is learning a lesson, too. As one union official put it, McGehee might own the jobs and homes of the people of Elizabeth but not their minds.

THE LABOR PRESS

Fifteen Million Readers Plus . . *by Ben Pearse*

THE LABOR PRESS has been described as a large amorphous mass of processed newsprint, usually filled with sound and fury and often signifying nothing. Many of its leaders, polled privately, are as likely as not to purse their lips and wrinkle their noses in obvious distaste at their own product. But then they hasten to explain that the malodorousness of the mass is not always characteristic of its component parts, that labor papers are gradually improving, and that many compare favorably with their competitors. Finally, labor editors are practically unanimous in the opinion that the labor press, despite its many faults, is doing an increasingly effective job of counterbalancing the "one-party" press of the non-labor world. There is evidence to support their views on all counts.

Statistically, the labor press is impressive. The latest report of the Department of Labor lists 174 national and international unions, with a membership probably exceeding fifteen million, which issue official publications. The report lists an additional 90 state and territorial organizations of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations with papers of their own. Besides these, an undetermined number of periodicals are published by regional, county, and local labor organizations—probably two or three times as many as are listed by the Department of Labor. Unofficial estimates put the number of labor publications at 800 or more with a combined circulation of twenty to thirty million, although much of this undoubtedly represents duplication. Most papers are published monthly or oftener; a large proportion are weeklies.

These figures are somewhat surprising. But if fifteen million union members get an average of two periodicals once a month or oftener, as they probably do, the thirty-million circulation estimate is well within reason. Assuming four in a family, the number of readers should jump to sixty million, according to the usual calculations—a lush field for consumer advertising of all kinds, it would seem. Yet it is not so considered, at least by national advertisers who are not subject to local pressures. Why? The reason lies behind that word "readers." How many of all these union publications are actually *read?*

Nobody knows. Estimates are little more than opinion, sometimes one man's

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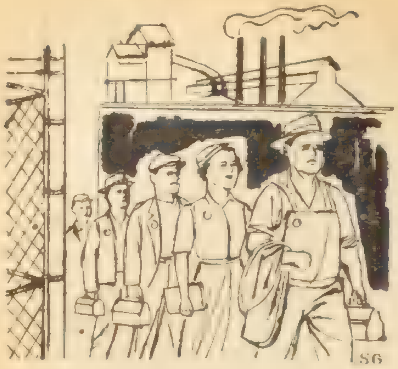
BEN PEARSE, former Washington newspaperman, is now a free-lance writer.



only, like this one. But as good a place as any to get an opinion might be the conclusions reached by the San Francisco Labor Council, A. F. of L., in April, 1951, when it was trying to revive its suspended *Labor Clarion,* defunct for three years for, among other things, lack of money. In an editorial asking, What's Wrong with the Labor Press? the council said:

> . . . it doesn't take a college professor to know what is wrong. . . . Any union official who's been receiving half a dozen or so papers every week for years, any rank and file member who's on the mailing list . . . could give a very good summation . . . [why] nobody reads it.
>
> Why? Because it's unreadable . . . dull . . . a hodgepodge of clippings . . . a collection of minutes of meetings, printed in midget-sized six-point type . . . full of long essays by somebody or other on how glad he is to have this opportunity to extend his greetings . . . which he does for eight pages. Too many dull speeches . . . smudgy mat-service photos of an individual laying a cornerstone in Peewee, Ohio. Not enough news, local news, lively news of what's going on, on the local labor scene. Old-fashioned typography, bad design, 1890 format. That what's wrong with the labor press. And that's not all. . . .

The San Francisco Labor Council today has an excellent weekly paper, *San Francisco Labor,* the product of careful study and planning to make it a real newspaper and not just a throwaway. Union publishers and editors throughout the country could profit from its example.

A survey of union members at a large pharmaceutical plant in New Jersey by the Department of Economics and Social Institutions of Princeton showed: (1) that the printed matter distributed by the company was much more widely read than that of the union, quite possibly because the company spent more money and went in heavily for chit-chat and personal items, and (2) that more than half the members interviewed did not know whether the union was for or against the Taft-Hartley act, although the union had been fighting T-H since the bill was born in the Eightieth Congress.

A few years ago the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Minnesota analyzed the readability of a group of management and union publications based on a formula set forth in Flesh's "The Art of Readable Writing." The formula measures readability by grading subject matter according to the average length of sentences and words, penalizing the use of long, involved sentences and multiple-syllable words and rewarding the use of short words and sentences. The resulting scale ranges from 0, or "very difficult" reading, to 100, or "very easy" reading. On this scale, the union publications scored between 31 and 50, a rating of "difficult," requiring a high-school or some college education to be understood. The same survey showed that the overwhelming proportion of rank-and-file employees needed reading matter of a score of 70 or higher—"fairly easy" reading.

Analyzing the "human interest" level of the publications, the center rated none of the union papers as "dramatic" or "very interesting" (the two highest grades). Only 28 per cent were rated "interesting," while 52 per cent were rated "mildly interesting" and 20 per cent "dull." Without the personal items they contained, most of the publications rated as "interesting" would have got a lower mark.

WHY, THEN, should there be any labor press at all? In the first place, unions must have some means of informing their members of meetings, elections, conventions, dues, and the activities of their own and other unions. Secondly, most union officials and the more active members feel that the daily newspapers, whether from lack of space or inclination, fail to give labor matters sufficiently full and accurate coverage. That feeling is not so widespread as it was before the news services and large dailies came to have a special "labor reporter," but it still exists—and with some justification.

Although labor papers have been published sporadically for more than 125 years, the labor press really began with the formation of the A. F. of L. in the 1880's. For the next fifty years, with some notable exceptions, labor publications were usually heavily loaded with treatises on the humanities and labor ideology. Some printed obituaries; others carried lists of new arrivals in various locals and "stay-away" towns where union membership was taboo—because of the black list and their own wanderlust skilled craftsmen were often a roving lot and had friends in all parts of the country. Such items were the only rank-and-file personals to be found in the stuffy pages of the general run of labor publications until the National Industrial Recovery Act set off a revolution in the 1930's.

WITH THE organizing drives of the first and second Roosevelt administrations, labor papers came into their own as organizing media. The American Newspaper Guild probably deserves considerable credit for the widespread improvement in the format and content of the publications of this era. Newspapermen who had paid little or no attention to labor organizations, suddenly became intensely interested, contributing time and experience to the avalanche of newspapers and pamphlets that deluged the unorganized. With the establishment of the C. I. O. came the national edition, the clip-sheet, the labor column, the "canned" editorial, and many other phenomena of mass-production journalism. While organization of the unorganized and improvements in wages and working conditions were the main themes, labor's interest broadened to include health, social security, welfare, education, and politics in a big way.

The bloom of the organizing campaigns is now gone. No longer do unions mushroom to memberships of hundreds of thousands, even a million or more, in a few years. Labor unions are growing still, but not at the zooming pace of the '30's. The need now is to consolidate the membership and to keep members interested in the problems that still lie ahead. The situation calls for different methods, as the New Jersey survey, admittedly small-scale, seems to indicate. When more than half the members of a local do not know whether their union is for or against the Taft-Hartley act there's something wrong.

Getting members to read union publications and to absorb at least the salient features is obviously one of the principal problems facing the labor press today. For the most part, the union paper is not intended to be anything but a house organ, reflecting the policies of the elected officials. Subscriptions usually come automatically with the union card. But of course the union member can't be prevented from throwing his paper into the waste-basket before he reads it.

ONE OF THE notable exceptions is *Labor,* a national weekly serving fifteen railroad unions. Possibly one of the reasons for its success is the fact that readers do not get their copies automatically. Eight of the unions subscribe *en masse* for their members, but subscriptions are renewed at each convention. The others, like the International Association of Machinists and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, have publications of their own, but the members of locals which are largely employed on railroads often take *Labor* voluntarily as a second paper. Dating back to 1919, the paper now has a circulation of more than 850,000, including more than 30,000 single subscriptions from members of non-railroad unions and individuals interested in labor problems generally. It is commonly considered the New York *Times* of the labor press. It frankly espouses labor's cause, but is factual, well-edited, and largely free from adjectivitis, a common affliction among labor journals.

During the past several years there has been a growing awareness that readability must be a prime consideration in getting out a labor paper. Both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. publish well-edited tabloid weeklies, the *CIO News* and the *AFL News-Reporter,* intended primarily to keep union officials informed on policy and the latest developments in the labor field. Together with a number of railroad and independent unions, the two organizations have established Labor Press Associated, which furnishes subscribers with news coverage, mats, pictures, cartoons, dress patterns, "think" columns, jokes, and a wide variety of material designed to give labor papers the professional touch.

The oldest of the labor press services is the Federated Press, formerly the leading "syndicated" service, but now serving principally the unions ousted by the C. I. O. a few years ago on charges of Communist domination. It has been largely supplanted by Labor Press Associated, organized in 1949 for that specific purpose. L. P. A. is governed by a board composed of six representatives of the C. I. O., six of the A. F. of L., and two of "neutral" unions, and headed by Ruben Levin, editor of *Labor.* Besides these, there are the A. F. of L.'s International Labor News Service, the Labor Press Service, owned and managed by the International Typographical Union, and a few others operating on a more limited scale.

The problem of the labor editor is to decide how much of this material to use and how much space to save to capture and hold the interest of his readers. Some of the devices to create reader interest used by the *Machinist,* International Association of Machinists' weekly, for example, are noteworthy. They range from the use of large type for easy reading to cheesecake for easy looking. A "swap shop" column, originally started to cut down the high cost of tools, has become a weekly feature and now lists everything from lawnmowers and boats to seashore lots. There is a "hobby corner," a recipe section conducted entirely by members' wives, and a fishing-story contest with a rod and reel invented by a member as a prize. One member, a radio ham, wrote in to get in touch with other member-hams. A member interested in chess wanted to communicate with those similarly inclined, and the *Machinist* soon had a chess tournament going on by mail.

The Seafarers Log, semi-monthly tabloid of the A. F. of L. Seafarers International Union, Atlantic and Gulf District, carries in each issue an account of job conditions at various ports and a digest of ship's meetings, listing everything good and bad about individual ships. *Steel Labor,* monthly paper of the C. I. O. United Steelworkers of America, goes in strongly for color printing and layouts featuring the union's locals. The United Mine Workers' *Journal* stresses safety and the benefits of its welfare and retirement fund. *Union Voice,* a twenty-four-page bi-monthly tabloid published by the C. I. O. Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers Union, specializes in local coverage by volunteer reporters and photographers.

There are still too many pages of solid type and too many pictures of officials shaking hands, but the trend is toward attractive format, better typography, and content tailored to the interests of the individual member. Perhaps the most encouraging sign is the recognition by labor editors themselves that reader interest must be earned. Perhaps another sign is the fact that some national advertising has begun recently to appear in state and local labor papers—international union publications do not as a rule accept advertising. Advertising agencies have discovered that the labor press is beginning to be read.

LABOR'S perennial goal is a national daily labor newspaper. Some picture it as a *Christian Science Monitor* or *Wall Street Journal* for labor. Union leaders have been talking about such a paper for years. Well, Brother, this may be news to you, but there *is* a daily labor paper, at least one published five times a week. It is *Labor's Daily,* owned and issued by the International Typographical Union in Charleston, West Virginia. The paper was originally one of eight I.T.U. dailies established when union members went on strike there and in Meriden, Connecticut; Allentown, Pennsylvania; Beckley and Huntington, West Virginia; Springfield, Missouri: Texarkana, Arkansas; and Monroe, Louisiana. The other seven are still being published under the name of *Daily News-Digest* in opposition to the local struck papers, carrying the same general news as their daily competitors. In Charleston, however, the *Daily News-Digest* was converted for tactical reasons to a labor daily, eliminating local news entirely and concentrating on the national labor scene. Supported at first by local and state unions, it has branched out and now boasts circulation in more than thirty states. Subscriptions are open to the general public. Address: P.O. Box 6177, Station A, Charleston 2, W. Va.

LABOR
WAGE
SG

BOOKS

Tales, Moral and Satanic

SATAN IN THE SUBURBS AND OTHER STORIES. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THE more platitudinous old Romans used to remind one another from time to time that Cato learned Greek at eighty. Bertrand Russell has not been conspicuously an advocate of Roman virtue, but he has taken up the writing of fiction a little later than Cato took up Greek. And what will surprise no one is that he can do it, too. If "Satan in the Suburbs" were the work of some young unknown it would not be read by as many people as will read it now. But it would certainly have found a publisher, and the reviewers would have said, "This Mr. Russell has a real gift for words."

As becomes a philosopher, Lord Russell has chosen that most philosophical form of fiction, the *conte*. After more than a normal lifetime spent in generalization and abstraction he would hardly be likely to practice the methods of the stenographic realists. Moreover, and after all, the novel was a middle-class invention; the sort of tale which is just not quite a fable or an allegory is an ancient and aristocratic one. As might be expected, Lord Russell has more in common with Voltaire than with Samuel Richardson.

A brief preface informs us that we readers cannot possibly be more surprised than the author was to find him writing tales, that they are not the result of any long-cherished secret ambition but of a sudden impulse, and that they are intended as pure entertainment. Each of the five which follow is based upon an idea or a fancy rather than upon a character or an observed situation. Each has a certain satiric bite, and, as becomes the work of a skeptic, each is somewhat ambiguous in its point of view. The heroes and villains are intentionally cardboard, and the diableries of the plot are harmlessly theatrical. But between the lines there are numerous whiffs of genuine brimstone.

In the title story a wicked doctor gives Machiavellian advice to a succession of dull, weak people who cannot possibly follow it successfully; in "The Infra-redioscope" a sinister coalition formed by a journalist, a financier, an advertising man, and an inventor plan a gigantic hoax on the whole world and are hoist by their own petard; in "The Guardians of Parnassus" the master of a college at Oxbridge is ostracized for life because an enemy succeeds in making it believed that the master committed the unforgivable sin of voting for his own election to office. And always the best phrases of the teller of the tale are so unobtrusively slipped in that a professional comedian would call it "throwing them away." Thus a banker about to be ruined thinks of the hard fate of his two sons "now both at a good public school, looking forward to an honorable career, in which athletic honors should pave the way for responsible posts." A very upright observer is so touched by the fate of the supposedly guilty master that "he came almost to doubt whether punishment of sin is the main duty of the virtuous man." And the Napoleon of advertising feels that his publisher friend's first rule, "Give the people what they want," is contemptible, weak when compared with his own: "Make the public want what you give it."

In the preface Lord Russell says that the first of the stories to be written "attempted to combine the moods of 'Zuleika Dobson' and 'The Mysteries of Udolpho.' " Reviewers must have felt that this suggested a manner rather difficult for the prospective reader to imagine and, according to the jacket, have dragged in Dumas, Rider Haggard, Stevenson, and Conan Doyle—of whom the last is not as wildly irrelevant as the rest if one thinks only of some of the initial situations and forgets the contrast between Lord Russell's satanic overtones and Conan Doyle's monumental innocence. At certain moments there are also faint Gilbertian touches, as for instance in the case of the widely experienced lady who falls passionately in love with a clergyman right out of the "Bab Ballads" because such utter irreproachability is the one characteristic she has never before met in a man. But what all these comparisons really mean is not that the author has been playing the sedulous ape to half the writers in the English language but merely that all moral tales which take the form of the fanciful have certain characteristics in common. Lord Russell is not more unlike Conan Doyle than Voltaire was unlike Samuel Johnson, but it was often enough remarked in their time that "Rasselas" would surely have been called an imitation of "Candide" had the two not been published almost simultaneously.

MORAL TALES these remain despite the disclaimer of the preface: "I should be very sorry if it were supposed that the stories are meant to point a moral or illustrate a doctrine. Each of them was written for its own sake, simply as a story, and if it is found either interesting or amusing it has served its purpose." But moral they nevertheless remain, and they are not made any less so even when the moral is, as on at least one occasion it seems to be, a Manichean insistence that knowledge of evil must precede any real virtue, or even when the moral might possibly be reduced to something like: "Crime doesn't pay—unless you are cleverer at it than most men are."

Having been frequently compared to the Mad Hatter, Lord Russell need not be surprised if a reviewer thus imitates the Ugly Duchess in insisting that a moral must always be deducible even if not consciously intended. And the story which most irresistibly invites interpretation is "The Infra-redioscope," in which the unholy coalition mentioned previously sells the inhabitants of the whole world a fake gadget by the use of which nearly everybody can be persuaded that he can see otherwise invisible invaders from Mars. The author is too complicated a skeptic to make this story the simple satire on red hunts which it may at first appear. For one thing the few sensible people who see through the

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JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly The Nation's *drama critic, is the author of "Samuel Johnson," "The Twelve Seasons," and other books.*

hoax hesitate to expose it because the Communist and non-Communist worlds unite again to fight a common enemy. Worse yet, the hoaxers and the hoaxed alike are destroyed in the end by the arrival of real Martians, visible without the infra-redioscope and unanticipated by either those who believed or those who did not believe in the imaginary bogies. And the moral of that, so the Ugly Duchess might insist, probably is that neither fanatical witch-hunters nor fanatical anti-witch-hunters are wise enough to know what the real danger is.

When Lord Russell first came into his title he used to speak of it with derision. The present reviewer has scrupulously used it now on the assumption that since titles have become unpopular its holder probably values it highly. In conclusion, here is one more example of how he underplays his gibes: the speaker is approached in a Continental hotel by a brisk stranger whose firm jaw seems to proclaim him an American business man. "But to my surprise, when he addressed me it was in English."

Oriental Philosophy

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, EASTERN AND WESTERN. Sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. 2 vols. Macmillan. $15.

By W. Norman Brown

ORIENTALISTS and citizens of Oriental countries have for many decades pointed out that most European and American historians of philosophy write with little or no knowledge of the Oriental aspects of that subject, give them no attention, and leave an impression that only the West has produced philosophy. Some authors, especially in Germany, have asserted in defense that so-called Oriental philosophy is not philosophy at all, since it has a teleological religious motivation.

It is a natural reaction that in free India, where cultural nationalism today is affirming indigenous intellectual traditions, the Ministry of Education should sponsor a history of world philosophy, from its beginnings to its current phases, which presents an Oriental view of the balance between Eastern and Western philosophical achievements. The editorial board was headed by Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who is celebrated in both hemispheres for his accomplishments, and the introductory essay is written by the Honorable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister of Education, less well known in the West but honored in India for his learning and constructive thinking. The work is of the symposium type, consisting of contributions by some sixty scholars, all Indian except for two Chinese, one Japanese, and two British.

To a Westerner its first point of interest is likely to be the fact that Eastern philosophy gets nearly 600 pages, of which 540 are on Indian philosophy, while Western philosophy gets a little more than 400. The strength of the work is its treatment of classical Indian thought in its many phases, which is based upon the various authors' wide and intensive acquaintance with primary texts and medieval commentaries on them. Of the authors, some give attention to modern critical scholarship in the field, including writings by Western scholars, but others hardly allude to it. Though there is a chapter on contemporary Indian thought, it does not reveal that there is any significant modern development from the great creative past. Westerners may be interested to read what Easterners have to say about Western philosophy, including modern thinking in Europe and America, partly to get the advantage of criticism and partly to see the type of cross-fertilization in India between East and West, which may some day lead to new types of speculative thought there.

W. NORMAN BROWN, professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania, has written many books on India.

New Books in Brief

Extraordinary Man

WINSTON CHURCHILL: THE ERA AND THE MAN. By Virginia Cowles. Harper. $5.

"There's nothing much in *that* field left unplowed," Churchill said to the author when she told him she was going to write his biography. And indeed the plot has been assiduously cultivated, notably by Churchill himself, most of whose thirty volumes are either consciously or unconsciously autobiographical. Nevertheless, Miss Cowles, an American newspaperwoman long resident in England, has raised a worthwhile crop. In particular, she has thrown fresh light on Churchill's formative years and has traced very effectively the way in which he was influenced by the tragically meteoric career of his brilliant father.

There can be no doubt that this book is the best popular biography of the British Prime Minister, contrasting pleasantly with various rankly eulogistic pot-boilers that have appeared in recent years. Not that Miss Cowles is in the least hostile to Churchill. In fact, she compares his protean energies to those of Leonardo da Vinci and writes that "no one can meet this extraordinary man without a feeling of awe." But admiration is here tempered by cool analysis. Miss Cowles recognizes Churchill's boundless courage, physical and moral, but dwells also on his overflowing ambition, his tremendous egotism, and his opportunism. Sharing the view of the vast majority of her adopted countrymen that he is an incomparable leader in war, she also appears to agree with the many among them who consider him dangerously unskilled in the arts of peace.

Jewish Family Saga

THE SIEGE. By Illes Kaczer. Translated from the Hungarian by Lawrence Wolfe. Dial Press. $5.

A Hungarian here gives us a fragment of the perpetual quest of nineteenth-century Middle European Jewry for a place to strike roots. His chronicle of Sholem ben Yoirish's flight from Ruthenia westward with his wife, Malkah (or Regina), and their two small children takes us back to the Napoleonic era, when the hemmed-in Jews were first given a chance to emerge from the ghetto, to have surnames, and, in rare instances, to pursue the advanced studies available to Gentile university students.

"The Siege" is a family saga in which

the tribulations, hopes, and achievements of Sholem and his family carry, too impersonally for complete conviction, the burden of representative Jewish tribulations and hopes. The great communicative spirit of a folk writer like Pinsky is almost totally lacking.

The two novels here presented in one volume are both over-long and are studded with every conceivable folkway, from the standard snobbism of Sephardic Jews toward the Ashkenazim, and especially, of course, the Galicians, to the feverish stress on book learning as a means to material salvation. Out of it all comes a two-dimensional panorama, a sort of tapestry of stock figures against the fascinating European scene of the early eighteen hundreds.

Plans That Failed

ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR THE PEACE. By E. F. Penrose. Princeton. $7.50.

The war-time planning by the Allies for reconstruction was an impressive failure. E. F. Penrose, who was economic adviser to John Winant, our ambassador to England, has written a partial history of the failure—Bretton Woods, Hot Springs, Havana, UNRRA, Morgenthau plan—as viewed from the peripheral post of liaison officer among the Allies. The European economic structure at the end of the war was mutilated by battle and distorted by interwar cycles, militarism, autarchic efforts, and a secular shift of economic power to other continents. The political structure was compromised by exile or collaboration or generally inept leadership. The social structure was as distorted as the economy and as leaderless as the governments.

For this bankrupt society the war-time planners deliberated over establishing mechanisms of trade and finance, over providing relief to prevent total collapse, and over imposing a harsh peace to speed the collapse. The result of the "plans" was a Europe which two years after the capitulation was divided into "colonies" of the United States and Russia. The political instability of colonial economies which offered no resistance to Soviet expansionism forced the United States after 1947 to participate in a planned economic reconstruction of Western Europe. Mr. Penrose tells faithfully the history of the negotiated plans and their failures, but his study needs an analysis of the larger matrix of European society of whose ills the plans were mere symptoms.

World of Alfred Noyes

TWO WORLDS FOR MEMORY. An Autobiography. By Alfred Noyes. Lippincott. $5.

It is a fact—whatever it may mean—that since Masefield and Noyes no poets writing in the English language have had an audience comparable in size to that of the great Victorians. Early in the present volume Mr. Noyes reminds the reader that his early work was enthusiastically praised by Meredith, Yeats, Swinburne, and Andrew Lang, but if that suggests a defensive attitude nothing else in the book does. At seventy he remembers his successes with pleasure and appears to be either unaware of or indifferent to the fact that his fame went the way of most Georgian fame. He categorically denies the story—told as fact in at least one widely used reference work—that the Roman Catholic church, which he had joined as a convert, demanded revisions in his "Voltaire" or that he made any. Despite a few pointed anecdotes and an account of a polite controversy with Hardy, this is a rather tepid book, recording the life of a man who seems to have seen little except the pleasantly conventional side of the literary world.

A Fascinating Business

PIRACY WAS A BUSINESS. By Cyrus H. Karraker. Richard R. Smith. $3.

JOLLY ROGER: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy. By Patrick Pringle. Norton. $3.95.

The determined deglamourization of piracy in these two books fails to rob the profession of its fascination. For even if we are compelled to discard much popular legendry, we receive by way of compensation stories such as those of the New England pirates who were strict Sabbatarians. A special point of interest, well developed by both Dr. Karraker and Mr. Pringle, is that pirates, like modern racketeers, flourished chiefly when in cahoots with government officials and respectable merchants. The assistance of the latter was particularly important, for piratical loot seldom took the form of pieces-of-eight and bullion; the bulk of it was cloth, spices, and other products which had to be disposed of through commercial channels. That forced pirates to become business men and encouraged business men to dabble in piracy at least to the extent of serving as fences. In Dr. Karraker's pages we find many details of the association, often with the connivance of the authorities, between sundry pirates and celebrated New York merchants such as Frederick Philipse.

Refugee Scholars

THE CULTURAL MIGRATION. THE EUROPEAN SCHOLAR IN AMERICA. Edited by W. Rex Crawford. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3.

It was a happy idea of the University of Pennsylvania to invite five refugee scholars—Franz L. Neumann, Henri Peyre, Erwin Panofsky, Wolfgang Köhler, and Paul Tillich—to discuss their experiences in their adopted country. They did so with a remarkable sense of proportion and fairness, and fortunately not without constructive criticism. Thus the book will be read with equal profit by Europeans and by Americans.

The immigration of intellectuals to the United States since Lenin's revolution—only Mr. Peyre deals with this phenomenon in all its breadth—has no parallel in history. That the transition to a new life of so many individuals—as human beings, as intellectuals, and as scholars in their fields—was so successful was primarily due to the character of the American people and universities. Naturally, the foreign scholars had to adapt themselves to an entirely different outlook in many fields of scholarship: for that very reason they have become important intermediaries between the Old World and the New World within the common Western civilization. Their intermediate position is well expressed by Franz Neumann, who has gone back many times to Germany since 1945 and who writes: "Invariably the returning scholar finds himself in a strange position: while here at home he frequently has to fight the over-enthusiasm for empirical research and to stress the need for theory and history, in Germany he becomes, by compulsion, an advocate of empirical research."

Films

Manny Farber

"STALAG 17" is a crude, cliché-ridden glimpse of a Nazi prison camp that I hated to see end. Rather than a story, this version of the Broadway hit comedy is a loosely linked succession of spots featuring amusing ideas picked up from a hundred different sources. The film gets under way through the clumsy device of a recollection by an American airman who, stuttering for movie realism, has a story to tell about his years as a war prisoner in a squalid camp. According to the narrator, there was a mysterious stoolie sneaking information about secret tunnels, hidden radios, and Allied troop placements to the Nazi commandant.

The story has to do with the unmasking of this informer. Thanks to one sharp, informative portrait—a Sammy Glick type of enterprising heel played by Bill Holden—the yarn has some suspense. And the various bits of Broadwayish entertainment—the character who skulks around like an exile from Hoff's union-suit cartoons, a human bulletin board with a high electric-saw voice ("all men from Texas will meet behind the north latrine"), a wonderful gag about the you-wont-believe-this letter-writer—are exploded with skill and humor. The camera work is bold. The direction gets an enormous amount of detail and vitality into the crowded hut, which may remind you of a static New York subway car. Though it tells you little about prison camps, Nazis, or American fliers, the film gives you your money's worth of entertainment.

Billy ("Sunset Boulevard") Wilder directed, and as usual he plays high, wide, but not very handsomely with the realism of the picture. Sometimes, as in the exchanges between the camp's "operator" (Holden) and a millionaire flying hero from Southampton (Don Taylor), Wilder can make the talk caustic and real. Most of the time he is simply clowning around with the truth. The gross ape from Brooklyn who creates most of the laughs because he is supposed to be an ugly near-illiterate happens to move in the graceful patter steps that have been around vaudeville for years. In fact, most of the disheveled, quarreling prisoners act like night-club entertainers. One of them does a Jimmy Cagney impersonation; another looks very smooth strumming a primitive one-string instrument; even the barracks' "crazy Joey" acts demented in perfect rhythm.

According to "Stalag," the prison camps were run by petty, ambitious fools and inhabited by American prisoners who were almost all glib, tough city boys. This is a typical Wilder view of the human race. While he has a reputation for making "downbeat" movies, he impresses more with his knack for getting a quality of "plenty" into everything. Taking a crass character like the one Holden plays, Wilder builds him up in all directions. The fellow has a little clock in his head which tells him just how tough he can act without getting into a fight. He refuses to be insulted and can be pushed around indefinitely. When Wilder shows you something about this opportunist, you always recognize it as something you've seen or heard. It doesn't seem important that in this picture Holden has a long skeletal head and does a lot of oily talking with his hands. But Wilder presses these details into your consciousness. By rounding out a character here and a gag there he ends by giving you the feeling of having participated in an unusual amount of disreputable, noisy movie life.

Except for a few grainy, wintery shots of the prison compound, the photography is all close focus. Usually you are looking over someone's shoulder into a tight little clump of prisoners, the camera acting like a kibitzer nosing himself through a crowd into the center of every event. In one telling picture the lens is practically up against a soldier's lips as he kisses a pin-up of Betty Grable. Another shot that stuck out reminded me of Mantegna's foreshortened painting of Christ—the beat-up figure of the supposed stoolie, Holden, glimpsed from around his shoes as he convalesces in bed. In other words, Wilder keeps the pressure on with a camera that is hard up against the actors.

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homesteaders theme, and the silliest of all child characters.

"Julius Caesar": an overrated play about political assassins, helped no end by James Mason's poetically human rendering of Brutus and Greer Garson's effective performance as a conqueror's wife.

"The Desert Rats": an intelligently handled film about the Tobruk siege, injured somewhat by the fact that there is more noise than warfare in the battle scenes.

"Crash of Silence": an unheralded British film that takes a realistic journey into the brain and feelings of a deaf child; a good, shocking film.

"Scared Stiff": a haunted-house comedy which has some fair nimble-grotesque dancing by Jerry Lewis and nothing else.

"Rome 11 O'Clock": a multi-plotted handling of an actual newspaper headline; one want ad that drew an enormous number of applicants, a building crash, and the feeling of being jammed-up in a city are well captured with a documentary technique.

Theater

Harold Clurman

Tel-Aviv

THE question most frequently put to me about my work in Israel, where I am staging "Caesar and Cleopatra" in a Hebrew translation, is how a director can put on a play in a language of which he understands no more than a few words. It is not enough to reply that many members of the acting company understand English and that an interpreter translates the director's instructions for the benefit of those who don't. The question is neither an individual nor a mechanical matter, but involves a fundamental problem of theater art. How can the director know what is being said at each particular moment of the play, and how can he deal with the nuances of language and speech?

The question becomes particularly pertinent when we consider that Shaw's play is surely more important for its ideas and words than for its plot. Yet even in this case I find that because he was a playwright and not merely a pamphleteer, the problem of directing Shaw in a foreign language is not so difficult as it might seem.

I am glad to take up this problem because it necessitates a discussion of the nature of stage direction. Structurally a play is not a series of speeches but a series of actions. The first question a dramatist asks himself—and this is even truer of the director—is not what do the characters say as they enter the stage but what do they do, what do they intend to do, what do they succeed or fail to do in the course of the scene.

Take, for instance, the first speech of Act I in "Caesar and Cleopatra"—one of the most literary, as distinguished from dramatic, in the whole play: "Hail, Sphinx: salutation from Julius Caesar! I have wandered in many lands, seeking the lost regions from which my birth in this world has exiled me, etc., etc." It reads like the baldest sort of rhetorical exposition—a kind of exalted fanfare to set the tone and introduce the ethical motif underlying the horseplay which follows. Because the actor who plays Caesar usually thinks of his speech as a wordy introduction to the action proper I have often found the speech not only rather boring but hard to "catch on to"—the dignified words, apparently abstract, lull the spectator into a sort of lofty lethargy.

But if we think of the speech as an action we realize that Caesar, curious, eager, energetic, and always mentally alert, is studying the desert, seeking something in it to which he looks forward with the intense pleasure of a man who knows he confronts a great force with which he feels entirely capable of dealing. The riddle of life which the Sphinx represents is no profounder than Caesar's capacity to grasp it, for Caesar identifies himself with the Sphinx, sees it as something akin to himself.

Thus Caesar's speech is a self-explanation effected through an excited probing of the symbol of his own genius which he finds in the Sphinx. When Caesar asks, "Have I read your riddle, Sphinx?" he is glowing with an exultant pride and a (characteristically Shavian) sense of self-satisfaction. We almost anticipate, with Caesar, that the Sphinx will answer with a hearty "Ay!" and wink its approbation. Understood in this light, the scene is not only not oratorically static; it is all drama, that is, action.

Once the director discovers what happens in a scene, not in obvious physical terms alone but in terms of the basic human action, the spoken words become instruments of that action and can be heard as such. (Deaf people, it is said, are often much more acute judges of acting than people who hear the words of a play for their surface meaning only, because the deaf try to see what is actually going on. When actors do no more than repeat words—that is, recite their lines—nothing is going on, and the stage under these circumstances becomes dull and theatrically uncommunicative.) The director chooses actions for the actors to carry out as notes are set down for the musicians to play. If these notes are clear to the director, and the actors play them well, the director can hear as well as see them distinctly, no matter what language is being spoken.

What I am describing is not a figurative truth but a literal one. As rehearsals progress and the play's actions become ever more sharply defined by the actors' performance of them, my ear becomes increasingly attuned to the exactly proper pitch which their execution requires—visually, acoustically, and even phonetically. Thus without knowing Hebrew I not only can follow practically every word but can detect wrong emphases and even peculiarities or blemishes of accent. In other words, through familiarity with the specific theatrical actions of the play I am able to tell what actors have good and what actors have bad enunciation!

The language of the theater, in short, is not so much the language of the specific words being used as a kind of universal language of action; so that the correct use of speech in the theater is not necessarily achieved by the person with the best diction but by the actor with the clearest dramatic intention.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE term "sonorous image" that I borrowed from Aaron Copland in a recent article occurs in the book "Music and Imagination" (Harvard, $2.75) containing his Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard in 1951-52. The writing of Copland I had encountered previously had been the annoyingly unrigorous and fallacious ad hoc arguments of the propagandist for contemporary music; and a little of it is in this book too. But for the most part, in these lectures concerned with "the relation of the imaginative mind to the different aspects of the art of music," Copland is the critic—a critic operating with the special insight of a composer, and able to give us the benefit of this insight because he is, like Berlioz and Wolf, a composer articulate in words. The result is some highly illuminating and felicitous critical writing, notably in the lecture on the sonorous image. Concerning the enormous wealth of color combinations offered by the modern orchestra, for example, Copland remarks that it has been the undoing of the radio or movie orchestrator: "Where there is no true expressive purpose anything goes; in fact, everything goes, and it all goes into the same piece."

The propagandist for contemporary music complains that reverence for the classics keeps the public from listening to the music of its own time, and quotes similar statements from the address by E. J. Dent on the occasion of his receiving an honorary doctorate from Harvard in 1936. Harvard was honoring the scrupulous scholar of the books on opera; but on the public's attitude to new music Dent tossed around myths and fantasies that should have led Harvard to demand the return of its doctorate.

Observing that "in the days of Handel and Mozart nobody wanted old music; all audiences demanded the newest opera or the newest concerto, as we now naturally demand the newest play and the newest novel," Dent asked why in music today we demanded the old and were hostile to the new. One reason was the reverence for the classics, which he suspected began in England at the Handel commemoration of 1784 (nothing about Germany). And there was also a change in musical public. "In Handel's day there was in all European countries an inner ring of cultivated connoisseurs who were the direct patrons of the composers," whereas "the bourgeois public of the nineteenth century had no tradition of connoisseurship. It wanted to be startled and amused rather than to experience intellectual enjoyment. And it had no sense of patronage. The great people knew that they wanted great art and knew that they had to pay a great price for it; the small people wanted to get their great art without paying for it, or at least without paying more than the absolute minimum."

This was Dent's formulation of the myth of the golden age of eighteenth-century patronage. The fact was patronage by an aristocracy of birth and rank; the myth converts this into patronage by an aristocracy of mind, spirit, and taste; and similarly it converts the change from the eighteenth-century aristocratic to the nineteenth-century bourgeois public into a change from an educated, cultivated, enlightened public to an uneducated, uncultivated, unenlightened one. Actually patronage of the arts was part of the ritual of aristocratic existence; and while Haydn was lucky in having an Esterhazy, one need only read Mozart's letters to learn how far the noble patrons of his time, all the way up to the emperor Joseph II, were from knowing they wanted great art and had to pay a great price for it. The truth is that the patronage system was merely one set-up for the creation and performance and hearing of music—one that worked well for some musicians and badly for others; and that it was followed by a different set-up for achieving the same things, which also worked well for some musicians and badly for others. In this set-up the new bourgeois public attended concerts for the most part under no other compulsion than its interest in the music—in large measure the enlightened interest of the educated, cultivated people many of its members were. It listened to the old music which the new widely distributed printed editions now made it possible to perform; but it listened also to the music that was newly composed; and it continued to listen to both old and new all through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. If, therefore, at that point it began to refuse to listen to the new, the reason cannot have been excessive reverence for the old; it must have been rather the nature of those new works of Schönberg, von Webern, and the rest—the experiences they offered the ear, mind, and spirit, as against the experiences offered by new music until then.

I said "listen"; I should have said "accept," which is what Copland and Dent mean when they argue that Schönberg's is the music for listeners of today as Handel's was the music for listeners of his day—an argument that wasn't needed for Handel's listeners and won't persuade most of Schönberg's. The public does listen to the music of today, as it has an obligation to do; what it does not do is accept all of this music into the art it wants to continue to live with, and this it has no obligation to do.

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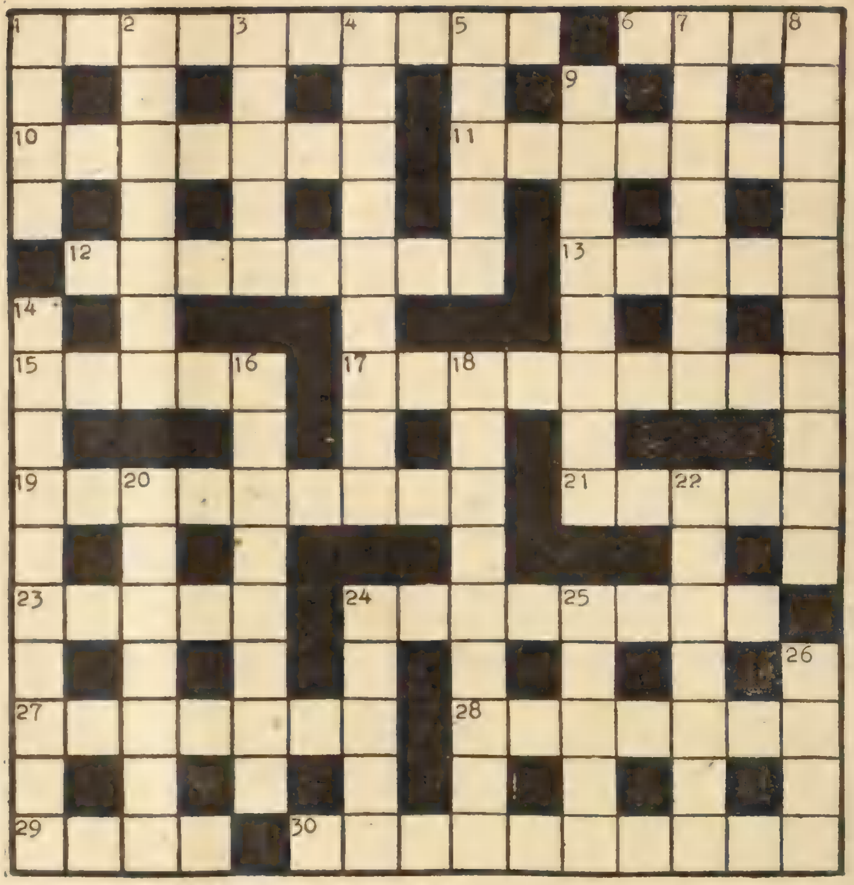

ACROSS

1 What they did out in the tavern song or up in a plane? (6, 4)
6 See 3 down.
10 See 23 across.
11 With 22, this is where one might expect to find Standard Operating Procedure. (7)
12 This fellow had a bull of unusual proportions. (8)
13 Iron bird. (5)
15 Aggregate. (5)
17 Producer of 11, in this case found near third. (9)
19 Second, minute, hour, etc., or just what tells it? (9)
21 This spirit might have got us all out of sorts. (5)
23 and 10. Seems like a well-preserved wall, but still has been broken. (5, 7)
24 See 4 down.
27 Incited to become pretty much the same! (7)
28 See 1 down.
29 Salted fish is extremely colorful about the middle, perhaps. (4)
30 At least if you hit it like a gong---- or catch one on the ride. (5, 5)

DOWN

1 and 28. Certainly not adults of long standing! (4, 7)
2 Not so common in the horse's mouth, but accepted as a matter of course. (7)
3 and 6. The oil our grandfather might have found in the cabinet. (5, 4)
4 and 24 across. Implying no charge for children in the country. (5, 4, 8)
5 A locker is usual at church to contain it. (5)
7 Effuse. (7)
8 A little bit less than a bird run. (If you've ragged things, you might be familiar with it.) (6, 4)
9 Protect a bet on one animal or another. (8)
14 You come and go as part of the vital kind. (10)
16 A plaited pelt, perhaps. (8)
18 Could they be used as notion counters? (9)
20 Typified by Tom, when after Mickey? (7)
22 It might be swell on a type of cutter (7)
24 One whose work is fine when it comes to cutting up the meat or playing with the bones (5)
25 Cleveland said your every one exercises a public trust. (5)
26 Dealt out of 18, and turned into a goddess. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 524

ACROSS:—1 DOUBLE PIANO; 9 STRENGTH; 10 and 18 YELLOWHAMMER; 11 MARSHAL; 12 PLANETS; 14 ASPENS; 15 ECCE HOMO; 17 and 20 SHOPPING CENTER; 22 EMPOWER; 24 OUTSIDE; 26 and 25 GENERATORS; 27 OCTAGONS; 28 MALTESE CATS.

DOWN:—2 OVERSLEEP; 3 and 23 BEGGAR'S OPERA; 4 ECHO; 5 IDYLLIC; 6 NYLON; 7 STRAWS; 8 BOTTOM; 13 WEDGE; 16 HINDSIGHT; 19 INEXACT; 20 CAUSTIC; 21 ENDING.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

ember of life in those of our people who are not already shouting death. And yet writers too have entered the symbolistic maze that speaks of life and beauty in the tongue of a tortured spastic. No one sings; instead, they sob and whine. Which is not to say they shouldn't. . . . Cry with emotion, yes, cry with sadness, with joy, for love, for its loss, but as a release, as the Greeks did. From the crying will come strength, awareness, and the joy of life. Nothing can so impress one with the nobility of life and living as the most terrible of all Greek tragedies, "Prometheus Bound."

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Did I blame them? Certainly not. I liked living in a foxhole and I enjoyed the noisy game we artillerymen played with the sons of those decent, steadily employed Germans. As for the Jews—well, in a concentration camp one is spared the horrors of unemployment.

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Around the U.S.A.

The Dust Blows Again

Trinidad, Colo.

FLYING north from El Paso last March, our transport went as high as 18,000 feet. But we were still below the top of the vast reddish cloud that blocked half the horizon from sight—millions of tons of Texas and New Mexico earth rolling eastward on the wind. I looked in the papers in vain for news of this dust storm. Had that sort of thing become commonplace, or wasn't it "chamber of commerce" news?

Sheer complacency or a conspiracy of silence permitted the Southwestern drought to burst on the country as suddenly as news of a tornado, though for months it had been quietly building up to the grim climax. As early as May I saw scores of letters from ranchmen and country bankers literally begging for help and saying their communities were at the end of their resources.

Yet Governor Thornton of Colorado was still demanding that Uncle Sam leave Colorado to "private enterprise"—specifically that the government turn back to private ownership the many thousand acres it salvaged from ruin during the dust-bowl days of the thirties and has since kept in healing grass.

During the wheat boom of five years ago it was said that two southeastern Colorado counties had the highest per capita count of Cadillacs of any two counties in the United States. Now the new brick farm homes with their two-and-three-car garages are being abandoned and stores in the towns boarded up, in sad repetition of twenty years ago. Again the roads are blocked with six-foot dust drifts, and snow plows are being used to clear them.

The cause is the same. For from three to five years rainbearing storms have almost entirely avoided a wide region that includes all western Texas, eastern New Mexico, part of the Oklahoma Panhandle, and part of southwestern Kansas and southeastern Colorado—the same region that formed the terrible dust bowl of the thirties. None of the land has ever been fully restored; according to Soil Conservation Service studies the worst-denuded areas never get back more than two-thirds of their former productivity.

■ So far this drought has not lasted so long as the other, and there is hope that the tide will turn. Also in the past twenty years people have learned a good deal about how land should be treated, though drought that continues long enough will defeat any human efforts to save it. In the thirties, moreover, drought and depression coincided, and farmers had already abandoned much of their land to the winds in disgust or despair at low prices. Another difference is that today's drought region is an enclave of disaster in a country generally well-watered and prosperous; the northern Great Plains have had more rain than usual. The bankers, however, have played their usual timid role, enforcing sales on many ranchmen who might otherwise have pulled through.

Politically, though this seems a cynical thing to say, the drought has been a boon to the new national Administration and its regional adherents. Their concern for the farmer has been endlessly advertised through newsprint, newsreel, and TV; and disaster relief, though small in sum, has loomed large in the headlines. All this has helped to mask the fact that the Republicans seem increasingly inept and helpless in the face of the larger "farm problem." They have continued to denounce, as they did during the campaign, the present machinery for dealing with it, but like the Countess Julia in "Don Juan," swearing they never would consent, they have consented to use it in each emergency. John H. Davis, new president of the Commodity Credit Corporation, recently said in effect that the Republicans would have to postpone saving the farmer from regimentation and his own weaker nature until they had saved him from his current economic vicissitudes. Mr. Davis confidently predicted that by then, the farmer would willingly surrender the life-preservers now keeping his head above water.

■

Emergency aid has been so puny in relation to the need that it justifies Senator Bob Kerr's crack that the Republicans are pretending to pitch hay with a table fork. Very little aid has been furnished by the states. Nor, as this is written, has Governor Thornton or his fellows proposed calling special legislative sessions to consider adequate appropriations.

ROSCOE FLEMING

[*Roscoe Fleming is one of the best-known journalists in the West; he lives in Denver.*]

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

BERTRAND RUSSELL	The great English philosopher and educator writes a pointed essay on *The World I Want to Live In.*
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NELSON ALGREN	One of America's leading novelists discusses *The Decline of the Intellectuals.*

Volume 177, Number 5
New York, Saturday, August 1, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

End the Tug-of-War!

The armistice and cease-fire dominate the front pages, the air waves, the minds of men. Overloaded with relief and anguish and hope, the moment must be respected. But it cannot be drawn out, for the real meaning of last Sunday's events is not in the ending of slaughter but in the issues they precipitated. With the signing of the armistice the front lost its importance and Korea took its place on the political agenda of the nations.

The General Assembly, convening on August 17, will deal indirectly with those issues. The very act of choosing the U. N. delegates to the political conference charged with working out a settlement for Korea will partly determine the agenda and results of the negotiations. The role of Communist China will come up immediately. How futile for Secretary Dulles to try to rule out in advance any discussion by the political conference of Peking's membership in the United Nations! This question, with the question of Formosa, is the most important part of the context in which Korea's future must be considered. In fact, if it were directed wisely and with vision, the political conference could become the agency for bringing to an end the massive tug-of-war that is wrenching Asia apart. It is the profound duty of the General Assembly to make sure that a majority of the representatives it chooses are capable of acting without political rancor or partisan bias. Otherwise the meeting will surely degenerate into a cold version of the Korean war.

On the Ruins of Korea

We do not minimize the difficulties that even the most disinterested U. N. delegates will face. Korea alone, ravaged and divided, its separate parts ruled by hostile dictatorial cliques, would be enough to confound their best efforts. But we are convinced that these difficulties will be reduced rather than multiplied by relating one issue to another. If a democratic and united Korea is possible at all, it can be created and maintained only if China is convinced that it will not be used as a jumping-off place for American forces bent on "liberation." And China will be hard to convince as long as Syngman Rhee is indorsed as the rightful head of all Korea and backed by the United States. Nor will a China ruled out of the community of nations be a safe neighbor for any smaller Asian country.

This is only one illustration of the interlocking nature of the issues loosed by the armistice. Recognized and dealt with in their full complexity, they may find a solution more easily than Mr. Dulles would ever dream. For a change has obviously been taking place not only in Russia but in China. The armistice itself is a token of this. The policy of expansion by aggression has suffered a costly setback. There are signs that Peking is drawing away from its extreme dependence on Moscow. But both the United States and the United Nations must face the fact that while aggression has been defeated, communism has not been defeated. The task of the U. N. delegates will be to come to terms with communism. In other words, they must hammer out a deal, not impose a settlement. It they act with statesmanship, avoid punitive demands even while insisting on guaranties against new aggression, and end once and for all the farce of treating Chiang Kai-shek as the real ruler and eventual "liberator" of China, a peace may yet be built on the ruins of Korea.

A Bargain Means Quid Pro Quo

Reports from Europe reveal a very skeptical public reaction to the decisions taken by the three foreign ministers at Washington. In England particularly, both Labor and Liberal opinion takes the view that Lord Salisbury, too weak to stand up to the Americans, sold out Churchill's idea of a broadly conceived, informal meeting of the Big Four chiefs of state. The sharp language used by Mr. Attlee in criticizing the government in the House and the feeble defense put up by Acting Prime Minister Butler and Minister of State Lloyd revealed the depth of the disaffection created by the Washington proposal.

Nor was the mood improved by Mr. Dulles's television talk on July 17. Comment in both the British and French press reflects sharp doubt about his basic assumption—on which American policy apparently rests—that the West is rapidly gaining in strength and cohesion while with equal speed the Russian bloc is disintegrating. This theory is regarded as alarmingly unrealistic. It ignores certain solid facts, such as the failure of NATO to reach its military objectives and the ardent

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distaste of most Europeans for the E. D. C. pact and the arming of Germany; and it encourages the notion that Moscow can be asked to surrender power in return for nothing. If Mr. Dulles were cynical in enunciating his "principles" and making his demands, Europeans would understand and make allowances. What worries them is the feeling that Mr. Dulles means what he says.

If so, then the hope of an accommodation with the Soviet Union or with China is very thin. As several recent editorials have pointed out, there is no reason to believe Russia is so weak that it will, in advance of a meeting, give up East Germany only to see a united Germany swallowed by the Western alliance. A bargain is a matter of quid pro quo and not of unconditional surrender.

The Truth About L. A.

Speaking in Los Angeles on July 15, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., our chief spokesman at the United Nations, confided to the members of Town Hall that he had been told there was "no part of the United States where there is more hostility to the U. N. than Southern California." But then he went on to say: "I have made five speeches besides this one, and not a single hostile question has been asked me. Either the people in the Los Angeles area are for the United Nations or they are very polite."

Alas! both statements are true. Most residents of Los Angeles favor the United Nations, but they are so polite, and so intimidated by the witch hunt, that they have permitted a handful of crackpots to dominate the Board of Education, drive the UNESCO program from the schools, reject a grant of $350,000 from the Ford Foundation, and identify the name of the city in the world press as a nesting place of screwballs and bigots. By their inaction the "good people" of Los Angeles have lost the Ford Foundation, which only yesterday they welcomed with bouquets, banquets, and editorial hosannas when it established headquarters in Pasadena, and, far more serious, they have lost control of the public schools.

"The Day of the Locust"

But there is more to the noisy campaign against the United Nations in Los Angeles than meets the eye. If Mr. Lodge had occasion to interview Cardinal McIntyre before leaving for New York, he is surely aware that the opposition to UNESCO had powerful backing in Los Angeles. And if he read the editorial entitled Skinning a Skunk which appeared in the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* the day after his appearance at Town Hall, he knows that the press of the community is not quite so polite as its residents. The editorial savagely attacked a local radio commentator who had criticized the paper's handling of an interview with Mr. Lodge. No, by themselves the crackpots would not be troublesome. But the day has come, as Nathanael West warned in his brilliant novel "The Day of the Locust," when the "awful, anarchic power" of the crackpots' fury has got out of hand. It is high time, as Dr. Robert M. Hutchins told Town Hall in the wake of Mr. Lodge's appearance, that the people of Los Angeles set about recapturing the schools from the crackpots, "from the small but vocal and highly organized minorities which are imposing their prejudices on the children of this city."

Obscenity Where Is Thy Sting?

Setting itself up as a guardian of public morals, the American Legion recently forced the management of the Academy Theater in Houston to announce that it was canceling a scheduled showing of Charles Chaplin's "Limelight." But the stockholders failed to appreciate the Legion's attempt to take over the management of the theater and voted to show the film despite the protest. In San Antonio the Legion's censorship campaign met with its second reversal in Texas when twenty-five civic leaders joined in a public demand that the film be shown. Local groups have been springing up in quite a few communities to challenge the Legion in this major test of its power to determine what films are to be shown in the nation's motion-picture theaters.

But there is a quicker way to lift the boycott against "Limelight." Only the other day a Legion post in Texas staged a show of such unleavened vulgarity that military authorities, noting the presence of personnel from the Ellington air base, felt compelled to intervene and, with the aid of the Houston police department, arrested the performers. Let Mr. Chaplin add a few scenes of the type for which the naughty Legionnaires have a special relish, and "Limelight" could doubtless be shown, at least in Legion posts.

A Birthday

New York's Central Park was 100 years old last week. Then-and-now pictures printed in the New York *Times* show that in spite of its surrounding fence of skyscraping apartment buildings, the park itself looks today pretty much as it did in 1863 when it was nearing completion. Roads, lakes, reservoir, woodland—the pattern is still there. This pleases us. In fact, we feel a rather proprietary interest in the lay-out of Central Park, for one of the two men who designed it, Frederick Law Olmsted, was among *The Nation's* earliest and best correspondents.

By 1865, twelve years after the park's beginning, the squatters had been evicted, politely we hope, along with the "herds of swine and stump-tail cows," and the site was already a pleasant place of recreation. And that year —which was also *The Nation's* year of birth—Mr. Olmsted set out on a long, leisurely trip through the South to report on how black people and white, struggling through the backwash of the Civil War, lived and fel and were governed. The stories he wrote were models of honest, detailed observation and careful analysis. They are among the indispensable records of the period.

A first-rate park designer and a first-rate reporter—few men combine such rewarding talents. Having benefited so directly from the second, *The Nation* is glad to see the results of the first properly appreciated.

Toward Fiscal Fiasco

ALTHOUGH it is barely six months since Mr. Eisenhower entered the White House, one of the most appealing sections of his victory program, his promise of drastic fiscal reform, is already headed for the political ash can. The anti-inflationary-credit steps inaugurated by raising the cost of money have now been reversed by a reduction in reserve requirements that has swollen the supply of money. The balanced budget remains a receding mirage. Extension of the excess-profits tax has been won only at the cost of commitments that cannot be fulfilled without risking fiscal fiasco.

To substantiate these statements, let us look at the record. When the Administration took office, the Treasury announced radical changes in debt management. No longer would it look to the Federal Reserve to facilitate government financing by manipulating the money supply. Instead, it proposed to pay free-market rates for its borrowing and, by selling long-term securities to the public, gradually decrease the proportion of the debt represented by bank-held short-term issues. These orthodox measures for reducing credit inflation have already been abandoned. True, the Federal Reserve was prompted to raise interest rates, thereby burdening home buyers, farmers, and small borrowers generally, and adding many millions to the cost of carrying the national debt. But so far from diminishing the proportion of the debt maturing in less than one year, the Treasury has greatly increased it. Further, a few months after the Federal Reserve jacked up the price of money, it was persuaded, in the words of Paul Heffernan of the New York *Times,* "to create a money stream to carry the new Treasury debt." This contradictory policy has proved profitable for the bankers: lowered reserve requirements have given them more funds to lend at higher rates of interest. But as a way of checking credit inflation, it is strictly from "Alice Through the Looking Glass."

How about economy? The Administration and Congress have vied in slashing Mr. Truman's last budget and claim to have reduced it by approximately $10 billion, chiefly by cuts in defense and foreign aid. This is an impressive figure on paper, but actual realization of the savings remains dependent on an improvement, or at least no further deterioration, in the international scene. Moreover, there is reason to suppose that part of the reduction in foreign aid will be offset by new appropriations to support farm prices as dollar-short allied nations cut down their purchases of our agricultural products. Even now the government has almost $3¼ billion tied up in the price-support program, more than twice as much as a year ago. In fact, these increased expenditures, plus higher debt charges, threaten to swallow much of the savings in other civilian services.

On the revenue side, the Treasury has to take into account an alarming fall in collections in the final quarter of fiscal 1953. Various explanations are being offered for this disconcerting trend, the most significant feature of which is that the fall was entirely in corporation and individual income taxes, other than those collected by pay-roll deductions. To the *Journal of Commerce* this is clear proof that "excessively high tax rates" are producing diminishing returns. But it is difficult to square this theory with the 5¼ per cent increase in national income achieved in 1952. More probably the slump in tax receipts from corporations and wealthy individuals is connected with the new methods of legal tax avoidance provided by Congress in the last two years.

Continuation of this trend, which would be accentuated if the recession forecast by many financial experts develops, could badly upset the current budget. This may explain the gloomy views of Senator Byrd, who in a memorandum released on July 17 said he expected the deficit for the fiscal year that opened July 1 to reach $10 billion and added that the outlook for fiscal 1955 was as bad "and maybe worse." Moreover, his estimate left out of account the prospective revenue loss from the expiration of the excess-profits tax and the various tax cuts due under present laws next year.

The Administration won its fight to retain E. P. T. only by promising not to ask for any further extension. But if E. P. T. disappears at the end of the year, Congress will almost certainly insist that the 10 per cent hike in income tax imposed in 1951 must also be removed on the scheduled date—December 31. Nor will it be easy to cancel the 10 per cent reduction in corporate income tax and the various cuts in excises due to take effect next April 1. While all these tax modifications will cost only about $1 billion in the current fiscal year, they will trim no less than $8 billion from 1954-55 revenues.

This is not all. President Eisenhower has promised an overhaul of the entire tax structure so as to "eliminate inequities and create jobs and expand income of the mass of the people." The Treasury has set its experts the task of finding ways and means to implement this pledge, but so far has been very cagy about their progress. However, it is known that leading business associations are pressing for the following reforms: (1) revised depreciation rules allowing more rapid writing off of new investments; (2) a first step toward the ending of "double taxation" of dividends by giving a tax credit of 10 per cent of dividends received; (3) the raising of corporation surtax exemption from $25,000 to $35,000; (4) a reduction in the capital-gains tax from 26 per cent to 16 per cent.

The cost of meeting these demands is estimated to be at least $2,350 million. Adding this sum to the prospective loss of $8 billion mentioned above, and accepting Senator Byrd's estimate of a $10-billion deficit on the basis of present taxes, it becomes clear that in order to balance the budget in 1954-55 it will be necessary either to slash expenditure by some $20 billion or to impose new taxation to this amount.

HOW is this dilemna to be met? Business spokesmen appear to believe that if the total burden cannot be reduced, at least its incidence can be shifted; with this end in view a propaganda campaign for the imposition of a general sales tax has been launched. It still lacks the Administration's formal blessing, but Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey admits that the feasibility of such a tax is being studied.

It is hardly necessary at this time to reargue the case against a sales tax. Everyone knows that it is highly regressive, bearing far more heavily on small incomes than on large. Even the *Journal of Commerce,* one of its most outspoken advocates, admits that it would tend to check consumption.

As a method of fiscal salvation the sales tax is a palpable fraud. For unless the rate were fixed at much more than 10 per cent, it would not compensate for a 10 per cent cut in individual income tax alone. According to the *Wall Street Journal,* a 10 per cent sales tax that absorbed all present consumer levies except those on tobacco and liquor would yield but $2 billion more than the Treasury now collects from selective excises. It is doubtful that Congress, for the sake of so relatively small a sum, would face the certain public uproar.

Clearly, in constructing his budget for 1954-55, a task on which work must begin immediately, the President faces some unenviable choices. He can cut defense spending way below what he considers the safe limit; he can ask Congress for a large increase in taxes; or he can continue deficit financing. We sympathize with him, but at the same time it is necessary to point out that he and his advisers are culpable for making promises that at the time they were made were obviously impossible to fulfil. Last year's G.O.P. campaign gave voters the impression that fiscal troubles were largely due to the extravagance and corruption of the Truman Administration. The Republicans, we were told, had the know-how for cutting spending and taxes and running a cold war on the cheap. Now it is becoming clear to the disillusioned voters that they no more possess that secret than did the Democrats.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Russians at Geneva

Geneva

UNDER the able chairmanship of the Belgian, Raymond Scheyven, this sixteenth session of the U. N. Economic and Social Council has been handling a most varied list of subjects; I shall discuss some of them in later articles. But at a moment like this, with the excitement created by events in East Germany, the fall of Beria, and the proposal of a Big Four foreign ministers' meeting, it is inevitable that the political aspect of the session should overshadow the economic. It provides a mirror of the entire world situation, with the Westerners scrutinizing each word and gesture of the Soviet delegates for clues as to whether or not the policy of conciliation is likely to continue, and with the Russians testing at every point the solidity of the Atlantic bloc.

If one compares the proceedings here with the foreign ministers' conference in Washington the similarity is striking. In Washington Mr. Dulles must have told himself that by yielding to the British-French desire for a meeting with Mr. Molotov he was really not risking anything since negotiations with the Russians would surely prove a failure and he could capitalize on that failure by obliging the reluctant Europeans to hurry up with the ratification of the European Defense Community treaty. Just so here: while the Americans would obviously prefer not to have to talk about East-West trade, they see no harm in adopting a rather tolerant tone since they are convinced that the Russians are bluffing and that when the showdown comes their bluff will be exposed and the Western allies will rally to the American position. As Beuve-Méry observed in one of his sharp unsigned editorials in *Le Monde,* "since the death of Stalin infallibility has changed camps"; it now speaks with an American accent.

Externally the Allied front appears as solid here as in Washington, but a little probing reveals the hollowness underneath. To discover this, one need only recall the "Consultations of April."

In April of this year Gunnar Myrdal, able executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe, realized that the psychological time had come to change the trend in East-West trade relations. Although America still regarded any talk of "trading with the enemy" as near-treason, the "consultations" sponsored by Mr. Myrdal became one of the most successful undertakings of the United Nations. Concrete and important trade proposals were put forward. The idea that the Russians were only thinking of obtaining the strategic goods needed for an eventual attack on the free world was proved baseless. They even offered to *sell* some commodities, such as oil and tungsten, that appear on Western embargo lists. At the same time, as importers, they displayed a marked interest in non-strategic raw materials from colonial territories, such as coffee, cocoa, and copra. The Communist countries as a whole showed a desire to import consumer goods. The period of generalities was over. The Greek and Hungarian governments, which do not even maintain normal diplomatic relations, made a deal through their respective Chambers of Commerce amounting to about $350,000.

SINCE APRIL the interest of the West in the Eastern European and Asian markets has steadily increased. Orders for $18,000,000 worth of British chemicals and engineering and electrical goods were placed last month by the Chinese Communists with a group of British business men visiting Peking. As soon as peace comes in Korea a much larger volume of business between the two countries is assured. Meanwhile bilateral trade pacts have been signed by Russia with Greece, Denmark, the Netherlands, and France. Others are in the offing, including a deal of large proportions with Britain. The recent pact with Argentina, setting a record for Soviet trade in South America, has aroused much interest here among the Latin American delegates. In the case of Argentina, Moscow for the first time offered credits—amounting to about $30,000,000—to a country outside the Communist bloc.

The obvious desire of the Western nations to do business with Communist countries has been heightened by two major policies crystallizing in Washington. One was embodied in the abrupt warning that no more dollar aid could be expected by Europe after 1953. The other is the certainty of tighter tariff restrictions against competitive European products.

Where, then, is Europe to find the markets it must have in order to develop an independent economic and political life? The answer has been provided here by Mr. Arutiunian, Soviet delegate, who has been busy selling the idea of unrestricted East-West trade.

The American delegation has tried to counter his very effective propaganda by proposing a United Nations world development fund "with savings which might be achieved through internationally supervised disarmament." The Indian delegate politely welcomed the new American proposal, recalling with gratitude the wheat loan to India voted by Congress, but his tactful language failed to conceal the hope that funds for development might become available before American plans for disarmament were finally carried out. He also praised the Soviet delegates for indorsing technical assistance and promising for the first time to contribute. On this point, too, the Russians in Geneva seemed to be answering affirmatively the question whether or not the Kremlin would continue its mood of conciliation. From the Western standpoint it was unfortunate that Moscow's gesture of cooperation should have been followed immediately by word that Congress was cutting the American contribution to the technical-assistance program to some $5,000,000. For the United States to make this crippling reduction while talking about diverting future, quite problematical savings on armaments to a still non-existent development fund would seem to be giving the play away to Moscow.

WITNESS FOR DECENCY

Bishop Oxnam Speaks His Mind . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

PERHAPS some kind of corner has been turned at last. Not only was the House Committee on Un-American Activities forced to eat its words in the matter of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; it got laughed at to boot, with the mikes switched on, the cameras whirring, and the press tables jammed.

Bishop Oxnam had looked like such fair game, too. As a liberal bishop he was almost ex officio—and this point is basic—a sponsor for many groups organized to support worthy causes. He has fought for civil rights and freedom of conscience for many years, speaking and writing without fear. Such activities make a man a sitting duck for the witch-hunters.

But G. Bromley Oxnam turned out to be different. He not only fought back, but he fought with rare skill. He forced the committee to give him a hearing, and then he dominated all ten hours of it. In the end the committee had to report, lamely but unanimously, that it had "no record of any Communist party membership or affiliation by Bishop Oxnam." Since its members had for a long time been giving the country to understand that it did have just such a record, this backdown represents a substantial victory for human decency.

It would be easy to rejoice too much. Even Bishop Oxnam could not have won this fight if he had not been—to be blunt about it—a good deal smarter than all his inquisitors put together. The next victim, if he is less gifted, is likely to go down the chute in the familiar way. Nevertheless, there has been a net gain. A certain flaw has been revealed in the classic technique for destroying a liberal: he has *belonged* to things, he once *knew* somebody, he wrote and talked as he pleased; and if one false charge doesn't hurt him, let's see the poor sucker wash out the stain that ten false charges will leave.

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Bishop Oxnam

In effect, Bishop Oxnam was getting his day in court. The committee had never, as Chairman Velde kept unctuously repeating, formally accused him of anything. It had simply let the wide world know that its famous files contained material linking him firmly to the Communists. It had circulated some of that material, and the Bishop had come in for the purpose of clearing up those files. He read a prepared statement avowing the faith that was in him and cited specific material in the files that he wanted to see corrected. Then he awaited the committee's questions.

Robert L. Kunzig, the committee counsel, was ready with lots of questions. They referred, however, not to the already published material Bishop Oxnam was complaining about, but to brand-new allegations which he had not previously known about. The committee's files contained more things than anyone had dreamed of, and all of them would go into the record before the Bishop got a chance to deal with the original complaints.

The new material was mostly newspaper clippings, letter-heads, printed programs, and the like naming G. Bromley Oxnam as a man who had sponsored or aided or addressed this, that, or the other left-wing group. It was pretty thin stuff, but the way the committee used it was frightening.

This was the technique. A letter-head listing the Bishop as sponsor of some bygone association would be presented. The Bishop would take oath that his name had been used without his knowledge or consent, and that he had at no time had any connection with the group in question. In some cases he was able to offer documentary evidence.

That, one would suppose, would be that. But it never was. Instead, the committee would proceed precisely as if the Bishop had admitted a connection instead of denied it. He would be quizzed closely as to whether he knew, then or later, that the organization had been dominated by Communists. It was not hard to see what kind of case the committee was thus building up. The final, printed record would show how the Bishop had been examined closely about any number of Communist-front organizations. The fact that he had not belonged to any of them would be submerged under the mass of printed material. The interrogation itself would be distorted into something resembling evidence against the man interrogated.

The Bishop caught on to this as soon as anyone, and he spoke up about it over and over, thereby quite ruining the effect, for now the printed record would carry its own built-in warning signals, and nobody could be misled.

IN A COMMITTEE operating like this nothing should be surprising. Consider, however, what went on in connection with a magazine called the *Protestant Digest*, with which Bishop Oxnam was dimly connected, as an editorial adviser who was never called on for any advice, between the spring of 1940 and the fall of 1942. Committee counsel Kunzig took him through the questioning, and the Bishop explained why he had consented to take such a post: he felt that there could be a place for a Protestant magazine similar to the *Catholic Digest*, which he considered excellent. Then

Kunzig asked him if he was aware that the ineffable Budenz had recently testified that the Communists had really controlled the *Protestant Digest* and that their one great desire had been to use it to stir up anti-Catholic feeling?

That kind of question, of course, can be a killer, and the mere fact that it has been asked stands as an accusation unless it is met head-on. Bishop Oxnam met it so. He explained that during his brief connection with the magazine he had seen no sign of any such aim as Budenz had alleged. Then he went on, with some heat and a good deal of eloquence, to restate his faith as a Christian, to decry religious bigotry, to cite the efforts he had made to combat bigotry, and to express the hope that friendship and cooperation between Protestant and Catholic would become stronger year by year—at which point he was sternly and virtuously rebuked by Chairman Velde for raising the anti-Catholic issue!

The Bishop, a little stunned, suspected that somebody was not hearing things correctly, and he pointed out that it was the committee counsel, not the witness, who had raised the question of anti-Catholicism. Again Velde rebuked him, told him the counsel was simply inquiring into subversive activities, and repeated that the committee did not care to go into the religious issue at all.

Then there was the business of the Bishop's service, in 1935, on the national council of the Committee on Militarism in Education. Asked about that, he said that he had indeed served on the committee, that he opposed militarism in education, that he stood by what he had done, and what about it anyhow—the committee had never been cited by anyone as subversive. No, committee counsel agreed, it had not, but it had helped to call an anti-war meeting back in 1933, and in 1925 and 1926 it had received $10,000 from the Garland fund, later named as subversive.

None of this would be worth reciting except that the treatment Bishop Oxnam got was a fair sample of what anybody in a similar position is likely to get.

The "evidence" apparently did not impress even the committee members, and they fell back on despairing and unavailing efforts to make the Bishop at least admit that he had been unwise in lending his name to different causes, some of which later turned out to be under Communist control.

Perhaps the biggest pitfall in the Bishop's path lay right there. One admission of that kind would have been enough. The committee then could have branded him as a self-confessed dupe and everything else would have gone by the board. But the Bishop never fell for it. Instead, every time the question was raised he turned the tables by insisting that the real issue was the way the committee had lent *its* name to damaging and unsubstantiated charges against his reputation. He refused to apologize for anything he had done. In the end he came as close as any reasonable man could hope to come to making the committee apologize.

As a good Methodist, Bishop Oxnam has probably many times beheld grievous backsliding, with souls supposedly reclaimed getting lost afresh, and if there has been a temporary reform in the Committee on Un-American Activities there may well be backsliding in the near future. But part of the gain is permanent. We are all a little better off because one fearless man in the witness chair was able to rebuke the committee counsel for his tactics, and without drawing the slightest retort was able to wag his finger at the membership in all its awesome majesty and say firmly, "That's not quite the way we do things in this country."

No matter what happens afterward, Mr. Velde and his merry men are never going to look the same.

HOPE OF MILLIONS

Save Technical Assistance! . . *by Ritchie Calder*

London

THERE was an old Afghan saying: "If you choose to die go to Kundus." And it was true, for when Genghis Khan, 850 years ago, invaded the lands between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus River he destroyed a canal civilization and after the collapse of the irrigation system left as a permanent garrison the *anopheles superpictus,* carrier of malaria. Repeatedly, through the centuries, attempts were made to resettle the lands around Kundus; whole tribes were forced to migrate there. They did not choose, but they died just the same.

Three years ago a World Health Organization team led by an Indian malariologist went to Kundus. In two years malaria was under control and the region was liberated from the curse of Genghis Khan. The saying now is, "If you choose to prosper, go to Kundus." Food acres have been opened up. Oil has been discovered—by United Nations experts. Vast cotton tracts are under cultivation. A big cotton mill at Pul-i-Kumri, the first modern industry in Afghanistan, has been staffed by immigrants, and bales of raw cotton are being exported across the Khyber Pass.

But that is not the whole story. About the time the W. H. O. was invited into the country, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization was asked to send a mission to help an agriculture still as primitive as it was in the days of the Patriarchs, to save the herds riddled with rinderpest, and above all to save the karakul lambs whose pelts were Afghanistan's only dollar-

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earning export. Nearly half the flocks died every year, some from disease, more from lack of winter fodder.

Perhaps the Afghans expected some spectacular project. Instead, under United Nations Technical Assistance, they received a team of scythers. The Afghans' method of mowing was to sit on the ground and hack the grain or grass with a rude sickle. A Swiss expert accompanied by two assistants from the Austrian Tyrol, with a jeep and tools supplied by the Austrian government, went into the mountains and showed how forage could be cut and gathered on the high pastures. The use of scythes, hoes, forks, and hay-rakes was introduced, tools previously unknown but which native blacksmiths could make.

Such simple measures, coupled with veterinary advice and equipment for making vaccines, salvaged the herds and flocks. Malaria control also helped, for the victory of D.D.T. over *superpictus* meant opening up a cotton belt, and cotton meant oil-cake and winter feed.

When I was there, the United Nations teams included experts from Haiti, Finland, Burma, India, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, France, Britain, and the United States. They were edging Afghanistan into the twentieth century with projects covering much more than malaria control and agricultural and industrial development. Breaking through the barriers of *purdah* which had kept the women cut off from medical treatment and from education, they introduced mother-and-child health measures and conducted anti-illiteracy classes in which I found bearded tribesmen, each with his three or four wives, learning their Pushtu ABC. They also offered technical training in preparation for the new industries which will emerge from the hydroelectric schemes.

HELP IS BEING given by the United Nations to more than seventy underdeveloped countries. Technicians are drawn from more than sixty countries, including some that are being helped, since "underdevelopment" is a matter of degree. Haiti needs aid, but in return it can lend a sanitary engineer to Afghanistan and a coffee expert to Ethiopia. India borrows heavily from the technical experience of the West, but it can send out able malariologists. Indonesia has immense problems, but its age-old experience with fish-farming and its breeding of that remarkable fish, the tilapia, can be passed on to Israel, the Caribbean area, Africa, and other protein-deficient countries.

In a Buddhist monastery in Siam I met a psychiatrist from Vancouver; among the Dyaks of Borneo, a nurse from Plymouth. I found a Chinese-born, Johns Hopkins-trained woman doctor fighting that horrible disease, yaws, in the mountains of Java; a Middle Western soil conservationist digging a pit in the Sind Desert to teach the Pakistanis the nature of the arid land they are about to irrigate; a Greek physician riding an elephant through the tiger jungle of the Himalayan *terai,* to free a million and a half acres of fertile land from the domination of the malaria mosquitoes; and a Danish nurse, petite and red-headed, with a big-game rifle in one hand and a midwife's bag in the other, winning the confidence of the truculent tribes of the Jeypore Hills.

This is true international enterprise, a genuine copartnership, without strings, without interference. It is aimed at development not exploitation; it shows people how to improve their own way of life and does not attempt to impose a prefabricated one. U. N. Technical Assistance experts go in to advise and teach. They select from the nationals persons who can be integrated into the teams and who, when a project is completed, will have the qualifications to extend the experience they have gained. This is "help toward self-help."

The dividends are enormous. Millions have already been freed from malaria in the process of showing how millions more can be freed. Hundreds of thousands are the beneficiaries of agricultural pilot schemes which are the proof that multi-millions can likewise be fed. The lamp of literacy is just a glimmer, but it could be an arc-light. People are being given better houses, higher skills, sounder government.

More important than material improvements, perhaps, is the effect on the people's outlook. Furnished help and encouragement, they do not need to be coaxed to better their conditions. Never as long as I live will I forget the sight of the Javanese villagers, liberated from yaws, chiseling through volcanic rock with hand tools to make an irrigation canal along a mountain ridge so that they could have rice to eat instead of cassawa and plantains. Farmers' clubs and schools for adults have been organized under the urge to get better food and education.

LITTLE IS HEARD about the work of the U. N. Technical Assistance Administration. The reverberations of the war in Korea and the table-thumping in the General Assembly have drowned the hammering of the technicians who are building the Ark of the New Covenant; have drowned, too, the sound of deathwatch beetles which have already got into the woodwork. For this sanest and noblest enterprise of the United Nations, the true expression of Truman's Point Four, is being cynically undermined. In the coming year, to continue the work in hand and to start new projects which have been judged sound and necessary, the Technical Assistance Board needs at least $37,700,000. It will be lucky if it gets the $25,000,000 it was promised for this year. Britain has cut back its original contribution from $2,100,000 to $1,400,000—but at least it has paid up. The United States still owes $4,500,-

000 of the amount it pledged, something over $12,000,000 [A severe cut made by the House in the United States appropriation has been eliminated by the Senate, which has affirmed an allocation of $4,500,000 in new funds.—THE EDITORS.] The Soviet Union, on the other hand, offered on July 15 to contribute 4,000,000 rubles, or about $1,000,000, and Poland has given approximately $75,000. This is the first time the Soviet Union has offered to contribute to any of the U. N.'s specialized agencies.

If the total sum should be considerably less than what was promised, as now seems likely, it will be impossible for the board to carry forward an expanded program and the available funds will simply be allocated to pending projects. Indeed, since the original amount promised has already been committed, there is a likelihood that the necessary retrenchments next year will mean cutting out 70 per cent of the projects on which the agency is now engaged. Meanwhile, the board is trying desperately to persuade the paymaster nations to increase their pledges for next year.

If the increases have not been obtained by November, the work of the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Office, and UNESCO, as well as of the Technical Assistance Administration, will slow down to a creep if not to a standstill. Just when people were beginning to see results and to believe that the technically advanced countries were prepared to give disinterested help, projects will have to be abandoned and experts withdrawn. Incalculable harm will be done to the prestige of the United Nations.

This is what comes of planning on the basis of yearly appropriations, subject to the whim of governments. Projects of this kind cannot be successfully launched, let alone completed, within a year. Experts have to be recruited and, more important, have to adjust their minds and their experience to the conditions in which they will work. At the end of a year they are just settling in. Five-year commitments are needed.

When I came back from a tour of inquiry into the operations of Technical Assistance in Southeastern Asia, I called it a "Journey into Hope." That hope can turn to despair.

COMING GERMAN ELECTIONS

Can Adenauer Stay in Power? . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

SOMETIME in the early fall, probably in the first week of September, the people of the Federal German Republic will go to the polls to elect a new Parliament. This will be the second general election since the war, the first since Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was elected for a four-year term in 1949.

The political picture has changed little in this period. The same principal parties will be in the field, with the important addition of the refugee "All-German Bloc" led by Waldemar Kraft. As before, the Christian Democrats have the chance of finding allies farther to the right, while the Social Democrats can look for friends only in the small Center Party and, possibly, the All-German Bloc. As in 1949 the odds are that the new German government will be based on the Christian Democrats, the Free Democrats, and the German Party. Dr. Adenauer's successes have been sufficient to cancel out the "swing against the government" which takes place in most European countries.

In 1949 some seven million votes, roughly 28 per cent of those cast, went to right-wing parties or right-wing independents. Of these, nearly three million went to the Free Democrats, who have since been Dr. Adenauer's most important coalition ally. But another seven and a half million Germans failed to vote at all. Some of them, no doubt, would have been "non-voters" in any country, but perhaps four million of them were politically inconsolable if disillusioned ex-Nazis who found no party to their liking. There are, in fact, about fifteen million potential voters who "look farther right" than Dr. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Union. Any party which could formulate an attractive "nationalist" program and thereby gain the support of a majority of these voters would be the most powerful single force in German politics. The Christian Democrats polled only a little more than seven million votes in 1949 and the Social Democrats about 400,000 less.

Four major contestants for this right-wing vote, apart from the extremist parties of the lunatic fringe of German politics, are in the field. One, the Bavarian Party, is obviously limited to a single *Land*. Though it polled close to one million votes in 1949 and obtained seventeen seats in Parliament, it has achieved little at Bonn. Its plan to make Bavaria the senior partner in the German federation is unfashionable and unattainable, and its influence is declining. The German Party, another contestant, received somewhat fewer votes than the Bavarian Party in 1949 and won the same number of seats in Parliament. With its strength concentrated in Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein it has resorted to strange shifts in order to whip up support in other parts of the country. In Hesse it has allied itself with right-wing extremists; in Bavaria it has been friendly with the non-political but nevertheless active Monarchists; in the Rhineland it has intrigued with the leaders of the "Naumann group," who were arrested by the British authorities some months ago for plotting to overthrow the democratic German state. Unable to weld these heterogeneous elements into an effective front, the German Party is

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unlikely to increase either its vote or its representation in Parliament.

The other two, the Free Democrats and the refugee All-German Bloc, seem about equally matched in their bid for the "floating" right-wing vote. In 1949 the Free Democrats obtained 52 of the 402 seats in the lower house. Since then they have everywhere been gaining strength, and nowhere more than in Protestant North Germany, which has begun to react against the Catholic capital of Bonn and the idea of a Catholic Bonn-Paris-Rome axis as planned by Dr. Adenauer. The refugee party did not exist in 1949, but it has shown its strength in subsequent provincial and local elections. Thus in 1951 it got 15 per cent of the votes cast in the Lower Saxony elections, and in 1950, in refugee-ridden Schleswig-Holstein, 25 per cent. On this basis it can hope this year to get over 10 per cent of all votes cast and between forty and fifty seats in Parliament.

THE FREE DEMOCRATS are backed by big business and have the best subscription list of all the parties. The All-German Bloc is the party of the *sansculottes*—the "have-nots"; in no way interested in state control of industry and agriculture, it is asking for a vigorous national effort to integrate the refugees in the republic. Starting from somewhat different premises, both parties advocate free enterprise, expansion of the German economy, and a "strong" foreign policy. Both are ready to venture into the political jungles to find the buried treasure of the ex-Nazi vote.

Waldemar Kraft chose some curious people as his party's candidates in the recent local elections in Lower Saxony, among them the notorious ex-Storm Troop leader, Schepmann. Kraft negotiated personally, moreover, with Herr Zimmermann, who was arrested by the German authorities for complicity in the Naumann plot. Party leaders have also negotiated with members of the reactionary Deutsche Gemeinschaft of August Hausleiter and have sounded out former generals of the Waffen S. S. and other prominent ex-Nazis. Kraft was himself a member of the S. S. and a responsible official under the Nazi regime in Poland. He declares that his party will receive any ex-Nazi who is prepared to accept the framework of a democratic state but will have nothing to do with unrepentant ex-Nazis. The party campaigns for the recovery of the lost eastern provinces. Its desires in this respect are not exceptional in present-day Germany, nor unintelligible. The German government seeks the same goal, though of course by peaceful means. Supported as it is almost solely by the votes of the tough East German refugees, the All-German Bloc is hardly a healthy growth in the body politic. The imprisoned plotter, Werner Naumann, believed that the party might in the long run prove his surest stepping-stone to power. Since its membership, unlike that of the other right-wing parties, is a cross-section of all classes of society, it has the possibility of developing that mass appeal and political dynamism which Germans have found so overwhelmingly attractive in the past.

The Free Democratic Party is different in being officially "liberal"; indeed, two of its provincial branches—in Hamburg and Baden-Württemberg—have drawn up genuinely liberal programs for the coming election. But 70 per cent of the party funds are supplied by the industrial and banking interests of the Ruhr, and the initiative in framing party policy has come almost exclusively from the powerful North Rhine-Westphalia branch, which is controlled by Dr. Friedrich Middelhauve and his friends. These men frankly admit that they are conservative, and their aim is apparently to turn the party into the equivalent of the old German Nationalist Party which helped Hitler to power. The liberals of the party, backed by Federal Vice-Chancellor Blücher and the Parliamentary contingent, are opposing Middelhauve's so-called "German program," which demands "strong" government, the progressive break-down of the federal structure of the state, a "national" foreign policy, the freeing of war criminals, and the end of all "discrimination" against former Nazis.

Middelhauve maintains that with this program the Free Democrats could capture seven million right-wing votes in September and become the most powerful party in Germany. But he has gone farther and personally treated not only with former Nazis and militarists but with leaders of the many crackpot right-wing groups which have begun to realize that they can achieve nothing on their own in the coming election. What is worse, the North Rhine-Westphalia branch intrigued with Naumann and his followers, who planned to infiltrate the party and then seize control.

Discovery of this fact led to a minor purge. Five members of the provincial branch were dismissed, and the names of a number of unrepentant ex-Nazis were struck from the list of proposed candidates. Vice-Chancellor Blücher and Minister of Justice Dehler have publicly expressed disgust at the activities of the Naumann group and urged a clean-up.

A serious crisis among the Free Democrats could prevent the return to power of the Adenauer coalition, which has done so much to restore prosperity in Germany. This is not to say that the rise to power of, say, a Social Democratic–Center Party–All-German Bloc coalition would be a tragedy for Germany. But it would certainly hold up plans for Germany's integration in Western Europe and could slow its economic recovery. The Social Democrats, in opposition, have shown little of the drive and talent needed for government.

TWO TOTALLY "outside" factors may have an oblique effect on the chances of the Social Democrats in the election. The first is the East German revolution of June 17, with subsequent events in the Soviet zone. The Social Democrats have always preached that Germany must be reunified prior to the integration of the federal republic in Western Europe. The right-wing parties have generally backed Dr. Adenauer's demand for swift integration, German rearmament, the building up of Western strength, and then "treating with the Russians from a position of strength."

The phrase is Adenauer's own, and it sounds impressive even though no one has explained just how this is to be done. But the East German revolution may have convinced many West Germans that the situation is too desperate for this step-by-step process. Strong arguments will be advanced during the election campaign in favor of early four-power talks on Germany and the suspension of European planning until every avenue leading to German reunification before German rearmament has been explored.

The second outside factor is the policy of the Western powers, in particular of America. Germans have become increasingly aware of the sad lack of flexibility of Western foreign policy. Although, unlike the French and Italians, they are not at this stage of history averse to discreet patronage, they may find the overt American insistence that Dr. Adenauer's coalition government be returned to power a trifle too pronounced. The Social Democrats complain that Western statesmen and the Western press openly admit the aim of "strengthening Adenauer's hand." They will emphasize this in the election campaign, but the German electorate may react less positively than would an electorate in a country with a longer tradition of political freedom and civic courage.

PROTESTANT SOCIAL POLICY

Why Isn't It More Effective? . . *by Victor Obenhaus*

[*Congressional inquiries having thrown a spotlight on the Protestant clergy,* The Nation *is presenting three articles on Protestant social policy. Dr. Obenhaus, who contributes the second, is a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago Theological Seminary and a trustee of Oberlin College, and holds important posts in many church organizations. He is the author of "Hebrew Prophets and America's Conscience."*]

A GROWING company of Protestant organizations have been developing and expounding social policy. Considering the emphasis placed on this phase of church life—it has even received the attention of Congressional committees!—one might assume that many Protestant church members were engaged in implementing such a policy. On the contrary, in some of the denominations historically most concerned there is today vigorous opposition to it Though much has been accomplished interdenominationally through the National Council of Churches and its predecessor the Federal Council of Churches, the results have been less than might have been expected.

In the higher echelons of each denomination there has been considerable activity in behalf of social movements and causes. These leaders make up no small part of the departments and boards of the National Council of Churches and in that capacity have done effective work. But even in these agencies resistance is appearing to some of the goals of the more social-minded department heads. To trace the relationship between this resistance and reactionary movements in the various denominations would not be difficult. It adds up to a checkmating of Protestant social activity. What accounts for this ineffectiveness, at least in comparison with the numerical strength of Protestantism and the record of its interest in social issues?

The roots of the present situation are found in the trends that became evident during the period of America's most rapid industrialization. In a popular sense those roots came to flower in a book reputed to have sold more copies than any other except the Bible—Charles M. Sheldon's "In His Steps," the imaginary account of one man's attempt to conduct his business as he believed Jesus would require. It was thought that such practice, in addition to conforming with Biblical injunctions, would prove to be good business. Ministers and laymen alike became evangelists for the new solution to social problems. Interest in Bible study mounted; "higher criticism" became popular. Thousands of ministers and laymen were fired with enthusiam for the Bible's relevance to the contemporary scene.

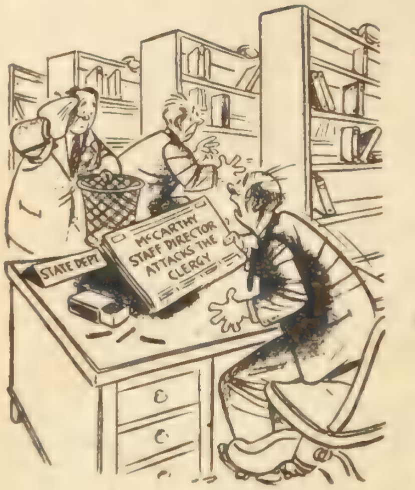
Protestant social policy was strongly colored by such convictions. This must be kept in mind because it explains some of the later reactions to constructive social measures on the part of both ministers and laymen.

The emphasis on social progress in the period before and during World War I was given further encourment by the Russian experiment. Many Protestant leaders visited Russia in the early stages of what was expected to be a great humanitarian venture. The Kingdom of Jesus seemed closer. Then came Hitler. It was in the country where they knew most about Biblical scholarship that Hitler set up his dictatorship. And it was in the section of America most zealous for the Bible that human rights were most flagrantly violated. Gradually it became apparent that social policy must be based on more than familiarity with conventional religion.

Meanwhile most major denominations had been establishing departments of social relations and education. Resolutions and pleas for justice were acted upon in national assemblies. War was wrong. It was something specific and could be outlawed. Greed was fostered by the profit system; so greed must be tamed by condemnation of profits. Drinking produced misery—liquor must go. In America slavery had been abolished, but pious white Baptists barred pious colored Baptists from decent living and the ballot box.

Religion for most Protestants was primarily a matter of good personal morals and maintaining the established order. Understanding of the interrelatedness of human life in society, so vividly portrayed in Biblical history, was still to be "discovered" by social psychologists. A few leaders understood, but they were voices in the wilderness. Most church people preferred their easy prejudices.

We now know that the collapse of 1929 shocked more than the economy. It uprooted deeply imbedded patterns of society. Even farmers were on relief. Formulas for success based on the Golden Rule proved ineffective. Religious leadership in all but a few isolated instances still lacked comprehension of the underlying causes and the interrelatedness of society's problems.


STATE DEPT
McCARTHY STAFF DIRECTOR ATTACKS THE CLERGY

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"Quick, Men, Get That Bible Off the Shelves!"

World War II jarred some religious leaders into a new awareness of the problem of evil. It showed to many ministers as well as laymen how closely knit world economics was with politics. But the emphasis of most church practice was still highly personal, inuring its adherents against more inclusive interpretations.

During the great depression the literature of denominational commissions expressed misgivings about capitalism and the attempts to curtail government authority. Who could challenge this? A new wave of interest in humanitarian action took the form of a determination to use government to accomplish what personal charity was incapable of doing. Not a few seminary graduates went into political and social movements insead of the ministry. Others of that period are now the leaders of denominational commissions and boards. These people are genuinely conversant with the deeper theological and philosophical implications in the present social scene. Some of them know that the trouble lies too deep to be remedied by the patent medicine of so-called free enterprise. But a corresponding generation of laymen, many of whom were never convinced that the great depression was produced by anything fundamentally wrong, have not been prepared to understand the roots of our dilemma. This hiatus is nullifying Protestantism's effectiveness in social policy.

In spite of the gap between the social-ethical understanding of denominational leaders and that of the rank and file, some strong statements have received indorsement at denominational and interdenominational assemblies. The makeup of the gatherings is probably the explanation. The clergy is disproportionately represented. The attendance of clergymen in proportion to their total number varies in the several denominations but is always greater than the proportion of laymen. The laymen attending, moreover, are those who are able to leave their jobs without serious financial injury and, since they were held in sufficient esteem to be elected delegates, have presumably had better-than-average educational advantages. They are therefore probably above the median economic and educational level of middle-class Protestants.

DELEGATES of this kind know that major changes have been occurring. A forthright statement on segregation meets no serious resistance except in denominations with large Southern constituencies. Even there the vote is shifting fast. In their most recent gatherings five major denominations heartily indorsed the U. N. Others had done the same thing in previous convocations. Resolutions asking for fair play in labor-management relations take for granted the necessity for labor organizations strong enough to bargain successfully. From such common interests the assemblies fan out into areas of special concern. Among the issues dealt with are condemnation of the producers of hysteria, F. E. P. C., human rights, immigration acts, peace-time military training.

It is one thing for socially informed delegates to commit their denominations on these issues. But do they speak for any considerable number in their home churches? Here is at once one of Protestantism's greatest weaknesses and a sign of potential strength. Seventy-five chairmen of church boards of trustees were interviewed to ascertain the extent of their own and their congregation's familiarity with the resolutions adopted by their denominations. They were selected on a sampling basis from church lists in one city, Chicago.

When asked concerning their own acquaintance with the major resolutions passed at their denomination's assembly and whether they knew of any effort to inform the congregation about them, only some 10 per cent knew anything about the resolutions and less than 3 per cent knew of any effort to inform the congregation. Possibly much more had actually been done. The significant thing was that so far as they knew 97 per cent of their churches had done nothing about them. In some sections of the country laymen may be better informed about the social concerns of the churches, but the percentages given would probably not be greatly altered by nation-wide samplings.

Why this discrepancy between the excellence of the resolutions prepared by Protestant lay and clerical experts and the interest shown in them by local church members? These more penetrating theological emphases are of comparatively recent origin in industrialized America. There are some denominations, too, which because of social and theological conservatism never participated in the social-gospel movement. Their constituencies are unfamiliar with contemporary social sensitivity. In view of these facts such action as has been taken may represent a significant gain. Nevertheless, there are some obvious explanations for the gap between the quality of many Protestant social pronouncements and the amount of support given them by church members.

SOME OF THE MAJOR barriers to Protestantism's social effectiveness are the following:

1. The nature of Protestantism itself. Use of the Protestant label might lead one to infer a measure of cohesion or uniformity among all included under it. Of course this is not the case. A basic principle in Protestantism is the right to believe and worship according to one's own convictions and inclinations. A premium is placed upon individual freedom. It is really freedom *for* something, but it has often been construed as freedom *from* the claims of the Christian gospel. With so many Protestants failing to understand this, it is

not surprising that they have not united to make the Christian gospel relevant to the times. Separatism has been increased by the differing forms of government. In some denominations action may be taken binding every church and member. In others no one is bound.

2. A preoccupation with individualism. In America, at least, the seed-bed of Protestant thought has been in rural life. A large percentage of church leadership, lay and clerical, is still scarcely more than a generation removed from the strong individualistic emphases of rural churches. Salvation is, of course, personal, but the extent of its social conditioning has not percolated into areas of religious thought. The gospel hymns so popular in most Protestant churches speak not so much of God's glory as of benefits accruing to the individual. The hymn "Won't That Be Glory for Me" has hundreds of popular counterparts.

3. An adequate doctrine of community is only now in the process of formulation. Of course there have been many successful efforts to establish community. Protestantism's history on this continent is saturated with experiments along these lines. But even these were of an exclusive type, the better to facilitate individual salvation. It required an awakening to the full impact of industrial expansion to make people see the limitations of these experiments in exclusiveness and realize that a more inclusive concept was imperative.

The social-gospel movement gave impetus to sociology. The rapid development of sociology as a recognized academic discipline revealed the interrelatedness of society and the social aspects of what was formerly regarded as merely an individual problem. But the religionists along with the sociologists were slow in recognizing that the concept of community was fundamentally a theological one. The rank and file of church members have not yet grasped its sociological, let alone its deeper theological significance.

4. Business, economics, and technology are the dominant disciplines of the era. Social policy which criticized anything in the underlying philosophy of American business would be rocking the boat or biting the hand that feeds everyone. So long as major inequities are redressed by pure-food laws or old-age pensions, minor flaws can be allowed to work themselves out. Advocacy of compulsory health insurance by denominational organizations met the full force of the A.M.A.'s campaign against it through doctors in the denomination. The issue was primarily one of business and technical skill, not of morals.

The new sanctities lie in the realm of business. *Fortune's* famous article deploring the fact that the pew only heard itself reflected from the pulpit indicated a slight uneasiness over this situation. The Rockefeller Foundation's willingness to subsidize the extensive study of "The Ethics and Economics of Society," whose results are currently appearing, is another evidence of recent concern with this problem.

5. Protestant clergymen often lack a solid grounding in the more demanding disciplines of religion and the social sciences and thus become unwitting indorsers of the status quo. Business men feel no particular respect for them because they know clergymen lack the philosophical and theological knowledge to confront the confident assumptions of the business community. It must be added, however, that many business men have a deep and well-founded suspicion that there are philosophical and theological insights which challenge some contemporary economic presuppositions. Tragically, there are clergymen who willingly aid the representatives of business in their dubious contentions.

Responsibility for remedying this situation lies largely with the theological seminaries, schools of business, and departments of economics—chiefly with the seminaries. Leadership from this source is rightfully expected. It may be, however, that the effectiveness of Protestant social policy will depend greatly upon the newly emerging recognition among economists that economics too presupposes a value system whose roots run deeper than the mere wants of men.

6. The frightening complexity of our social organizations has undermined our sense of competence to remedy obvious ills. From the frontier and our simpler living came a confidence that evils would give way to sheer determination. Likewise righteousness could be made to triumph. There was a simplicity about both good and evil Prohibition was a case in point. Few are now so confident. As a result, there is a tendency to let things work themselves out, or to leave them to "experts." This is in part, one suspects, the reasoning which leads Wisconsin church people to back a morally questionable Senator who can nevertheless simplify the problem of national evil and give the devil a new name—communism.

THE PICTURE is not wholly dark. On the bright side is the increasingly realistic training accorded men and women entering the ministry. But perhaps even more valuable is the growing recognition among laymen that the "priesthood of all believers" is based on their deepening theological and social insights. The great conferences on The Church and Economic Life at Pittsburgh in 1947 and at Detroit in 1950, and the conference on The Christian and His Daily Work at Buffalo in 1952, all conducted by the National Council of Churches, testify to maturing Protestant thinking.

Similarly the conferences of the World Council of Churches, Oxford-Edinburgh, 1937, and Amsterdam, 1948, served to acquaint laymen and ministers alike with developing trends in social-religious thought. Merely to list the activities of denominations as they attempt to extend the breadth and depth of their constituents' thinking along those lines would require many pages. The forces of reaction are gaining vigor. But there is also a widening Protestant group whose members know that the Christian Gospel is more than equal to the circumstances.

The Clergy and the Amendment

We ran into a wise old observer of the world scene the other day. He said he had been reading about J. B. Matthews and the Protestant clergy and had had a dream. He dreamed that he was a clergyman and was called before the McCarthy committee to be questioned.

"Are you a member of the Protestant clergy," McCarthy asked.

"I refuse to answer," our friend replied, "on the grounds that it might incriminate me."—*Madison Capital-Times.*

BOOKS

A Quaker Pilot

FOR MORE THAN BREAD. By Clarence E. Pickett. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

By Stringfellow Barr

THIS book is a strong, quiet voice speaking in the post-war babel of shrill and violent voices. That it makes itself heard above that babel feels at first like a miracle, until one remembers that the human, the positive, and the intelligible are with difficulty drowned out by the brutal, the negative, and the unintelligible.

"For More Than Bread" is a history of the American Friends Service Committee during the twenty-two years that Clarence Pickett served as its executive secretary. The publisher's effort to persuade the author to make it his own autobiography too was understandable: Clarence Pickett is certainly from the point of view of most informed Americans the leader of the Quaker community in our country, just as the Service Committee he headed is its best-known organ. But except for a brief account of his early life which he places in a preface, Clarence Pickett remains only slightly autobiographical. This is not, I think, due to mock modesty. I get the impression that the work he did for the A. F. S. C. was in his judgment so much more important than his private affairs, that the sea of world-wide strife and misery was so much more important than the A. F. S. C., and that Divine Providence was so much more important than any of them that what the A. F. S. C. did about that misery in the name of that Providence comes as near to an autobiography as a reasonable contemporary could ask him to come.

What the A. F. S. C. did makes a highly dramatic story, and yet Pickett never dramatizes. Where most of us would have been tempted to use strong colors to paint this picture, Pickett paints in a gentle Quaker gray; and I never knew before I read this book what a strong color gray could be when used with honesty and compassion.

His novitiate as executive secretary was the textile strike of 1929 in Marion, North Carolina, when the starving strikers were evicted not only from their homes but from their churches, were people in short who needed bread but more than bread, pariahs who needed to be readmitted to the community. The Great Depression deepened, and the A. F. S. C. found itself in 1930 trying to relieve the stark misery in the bituminous coalfields of the southern Appalachians. That led in turn to an interest, backed up by Mrs. Roosevelt, in subsistence homesteads for the unemployed or half-employed miners, and Pickett found himself serving for a while as assistant administrator of the Homestead Act. That led in 1937 to Penn-Craft, another homesteading venture, this time with money supplied by business corporations.

The rise of Hitlerism in Europe, the persecution of the Jews, and finally the Spanish civil war put the activities of Quakers in Europe under forced draft, although American Quakers had worked there ever since devastation and misery had followed World War I. Then came World War II and work to do not only among the children and other refugees of Europe but among the Japanese Americans of the West Coast, whom we had gaily hustled off to camps. And after the war there was more work still to do, in China, Japan, India, Palestine. There was work also with the United Nations and the highly effective Quaker statement "The United States and the Soviet Union: Some Proposals for Peace."

That by no means covers all the activities that Clarence Pickett's book covers. But it gives some idea of the enormous fund of practical experience the A. F. S. C. has acquired, experience of this tormented post-war world, experience of workable methods that could make it less tormented if we chose to use them. I have spoken of the miracle that a voice as quiet as this book can be so clearly heard; but there is a second miracle in its pages. That is the steady Quaker eye for seeing the half-truths on both sides of the violent controversies that have torn our world within living memory—conflicts between labor and capital, between nation and nation, between race and race, between communism and anti-communism. As a non-Quaker I am driven to ask myself whether any other group in America has seen with an equally steady eye. Obviously the political reactionaries who now control America have not. But neither has the "liberal movement" that opposes that control. Unblinded by hate, undeceived by the transient, too self-effacing to be confused by their successes, and too trusting to be discouraged by their failures, the Quakers have acted with a poise and devotion that have won them not merely the Nobel Peace Prize but extraordinary confidence on the part of their neighbors.

CLARENCE PICKETT is too modest about what the Quakers have achieved to do more than suggest how valuable their experience in the new world community we inhabit could be to the rest of us if we used that experience—even if we used it with less inward wisdom than did those who gained it for us. He is of course being not merely modest but sensible to realize that the A. F. S. C. has been bailing out the ocean of human misery with a thimble. But that is scarcely the point. The A. F. S. C. has attacked the problem with all the means it could lay its hands on. And in the process it has learned a lot about the world we Americans must now live in, a lot that most Americans do not yet know.

Much of the inanity and irrelevance of our post-war foreign policies could have been spared us and spared the rest of the world if we had known. Given the obsolete system of nation states under which our generation still condemns itself to live, it is well-nigh inevitable that some malice should enter into the foreign policy of every national government. But it is not so much malice that has characterized Washington's

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STRINGFELLOW BARR is president of the Foundation for World Government and author of several books, the most recent being "Citizens of the World," published last year.

policies as ignorance, and the fear that ignorance always breeds.

In an era of mass murder and torture the A. F. S. C. has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and healed the sick, in our own country and throughout the world, without preachiness or sectarian ambition. In this same era Clarence Pickett speaks with the knowledge of the world that perhaps only that sort of activity can give. In a passionately controversial period he can touch on controversial subjects without passion. He does not evade the heated arguments around him; he tends to transcend them. His knowledge of our world today renders most of those arguments quite irrelevant.

The welfare state? In the West Virginia coalfields he knew that state action would be needed. "Was this the birth of the welfare state in our midst? We didn't stop to philosophize much in this emergency. We felt then, and I still feel, a justness in this growing sense that the chief function of the state should be the welfare of its whole citizenry." In 1938 he found a British Tory government confronting the situation in the coalfields very much as the Roosevelt Administration had confronted it here. "I began to wonder whether our fear of government and private groups working together wasn't a bit doctrinaire. After all, both existed for the public good." Our efforts to rearm Germany and Japan against the Russians caused him to observe: "Every moment we continue this kind of behavior, the dignity goes out of the human being. Not only does it take away from the Japanese and the German, but in the eyes of much of the world these days we are thought of as a people who have no regard for the dignity of man."

AS LONG AS things are running smoothly it is hard to adapt our institutions to our needs. "In the time of catastrophe, however, public officials, clergy, intellectuals, management and workers in industry often can be drawn together in the common good." Since 1930 the Quakers have been running institutes of international relations all over the country. "The leadership is usually of very high caliber, representing many points of view. Specifically, as freedom of thought and speech seem to be waning, these institutes sometimes furnish a platform for unpopular prophets, making possible the kind of open discussion in an atmosphere of good-will which in times past was assumed to be one of the marks of our democracy, but which is less and less common in these latter days."

Pickett notes mildly that when we talk about exporting our know-how to less fortunate lands, we often sound boastful. "And it is one of the reasons for the special value that private, voluntary groups can have in helping the United States discharge her share of responsibility to a world that yearns for health, literacy, food, and shelter. It is one of the reasons why the United States needs to learn far better how to use the facilities of the United Nations. For through both of these resources she can diminish the overwhelming sense of power which unilateral governmental efforts often represent to receiving countries."

This last quotation will serve as well as any other to illustrate the worldly wisdom that I believe Quakers have acquired. By obeying the admonition to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves, they have managed to learn what our world today is like. Our State Department and our Congress have proved themselves less harmless than doves—the allusion being to the Bible and not to Picasso—and, perhaps inevitably, they have proved themselves startlingly less wise than serpents. Certainly, it would occur to neither to "diminish the overwhelming sense of power" which a unilateral Point Four has given or really to "use the facilities of the United Nations" in a joint war by all mankind on poverty and misery.

But Clarence Pickett is completely aware that what the Service Committee has done has not only saved thousands of human lives but furnished a pilot plant for what mankind could do. He is a wise pilot.

New Books in Brief

Tensions in India

IN THE MINDS OF MEN. The Study of Human Behavior and Social Tensions in India. By Gardner Murphy. Basic Books. $4.50.

In the summer of 1950 Dr. Gardner Murphy, the distinguished social psychologist who is now Director of Research in the Menninger Foundation, at the invitation of UNESCO on the request of the government of India, went to that country as a consultant on the problem of social tensions. It was a fact-finding not a therapeutic assignment, and the main part of the mission was to organize six research teams composed of Indians which were to investigate the cause and character of various types of tension. The chief was that rising from Hindu-Moslem hostility, a problem of major importance to the government of India, for it had been a source of mounting strife throughout the history of nationalism, had brought about partition of the country in 1947, and was continuing to create critical internal situations. Another was intercaste conflict, especially in southern India, where anti-Brahmanism was the dominant factor in local politics. One steadily growing in importance was caused by industrialization. Another, of recent origin but great magnitude, came from the presence in India of millions of refugees from Pakistan, who needed support, work, and human kindness but were a heavy burden on an overstrained economy.

Dr. Murphy considers the effect of economic and social change in relieving and creating tensions, comments on the role of prejudice, analyzes the various resources available in the country for solving the problems created by tensions, points to the kind of outside aid which India would find welcome, and finally indicates the share which the United States might have in providing such aid.

"Time of Troubles"

THE FUTURE OF THE WEST. By J. G. de Beus. Harper. $2.75.

This book suffers from a lack of proportion. Almost half of its 176 pages are really an introduction taking the form of a critical description of the theories of Spengler, Toynbee, and their little-known Russian precursor, Nikolai Danilevsky. Is the cyclical concept of history developed by these pathologists of civilization a valid one? the author asks himself. After a good deal of hemming and hawing, he answers "yes." In his second section Dr. de Beus considers what stage of development Western civilization has reached and concludes that we are in "the time of troubles" that precedes the Toynbeean "universal state." That leaves him only some thirty pages to answer the really decisive question: Are the creative forces of the West still vital enough to meet such challenges as European disunity, Asiatic and African nationalism, and the demand of the "internal proletariat" for a fuller life? Dr. de Beus, a Dutch diplomat, believes that they are, but the evidence he offers in support is too cursory to be very persuasive.

Arctic Life Histories

ICEBOUND SUMMER. By Sally Carrighar. Illustrations by Henry B. Kane. Knopf. $3.95.

The first new book in six years by a nature writer with a manner and style of her own. At least three of the years were spent in Alaska just south of the Arctic Circle, where the earth never thaws except at the surface, where plants may rush from seed to fruit in two weeks, but where, nevertheless, life can flourish so abundantly that the lemmings provide the most famous and spectacular of all lessons in the consequences of overpopulation. As in her previous books Miss Carrighar says nothing of her own adventures, never uses the pronoun "I," and rarely permits a human being to intrude upon her scene. Instead, she gives eleven dramatized biographies of birds and beasts, including, besides the lemming, a Foolish Fox and a golden plover making its first migration to the Hawaiian Islands. Some readers may be reminded of the Ernest Seton Thompson of their youth, but Miss Carrighar is more cautious about laying herself open to the charge of over-humanizing her heroes. What is nowadays more remarkable, she is equally careful not to suggest that they are mere machines. Each sketch is sensitive and sympathetic without being in the least sentimental.

In the Brontë Vein

THE HOUSE OF MOREYS. By Phyllis Bentley. Macmillan. $3.50.

A complicated and melodramatic Yorkshire tale in the vein of the Brontës, told rather well. Miss Bentley knows both the background of textiles and the patterns of Yorkshire life; but one is never quite sure that she understands her own plot. Or that it matters, since through the heroine's integrity, strength, and nobility of character the curse on her family is bound to be expiated in the course of a series of attempted murders, rapes, and poisonings. Miss Bentley has been known for her solid and rather pedestrian novels; it is amusing to find her trying her hand at this kind of thing and, if you don't pay too much attention to the story, getting away with it. This is the sort of novel that sounds a lot worse than it is.

Nicolson's George V

KING GEORGE THE FIFTH. By Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. $7.50.

The powers that be were wise in choosing a distinguished and independent historian as official biographer of the late George V. Yet even Mr. Nicolson suffers from the constraints self-imposed on any patriotic Englishman writing about a recent king, and at times lapses into pomposities that will sadden admirers of his wittily irreverent "Curzon" and "Some People."

King George, a man of conservative instincts and moderate intellectual attainments, was as conscientious an occupant of the throne as Britain has ever had. In the midst of bitter political battles, he sought to make the Crown "an emollient," and more than once, notably during the general strike of 1926, we find him using his right "to advise and warn" to restrain the government of the day from provocative action. Twice during his reign, in 1911 and 1931, he found himself in constitutional "zones of uncertainty" where he could not avoid steps that subjected him to partisan criticism. This book convinces us that, on both occasions, he acted in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. Unhappily, in describing the second of these crises, which culminated in the formation of the National Government, Mr. Nicholson himself descends to a partisan defense of Ramsay MacDonald—a blot on an otherwise objective work.

Teacher of Slaves

THE JOURNAL OF CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN. Edited by Ray Allen Billington. Dryden. $5.

This diary of a Negro girl kept for ten years just before and during the Civil War covers her education in Salem, Massachusetts, and her experiences as a

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teacher there and on the sea islands of South Carolina, where she taught the slaves liberated by the Union armies. While the style is stilted and the entries, for the most part, commonplace, the journal has interest for its glimpses of Abolitionist leaders and for its picture of life in America from 1854 to 1864 as seen by a sensitive colored girl.

Greco at the Stadium

THE performance of Jose Greco and his company at the Lewisohn Stadium on July 22 triumphed over a number of sizable obstacles. The first is the stadium itself. This vast arena is plainly unsuitable for a program of dances—performed by a small ensemble —which by their nature should be seen close at hand and more or less on a level. Even the stage should be smaller and less bare; several of the numbers badly needed a setting in the mood of the costumes, music, and the dance itself. To add to these problems, the conductor for the evening, Miguel Sandoval, had that day suffered a severe heart attack. As a result the program was somewhat disordered, although the company's piano soloist, Roger Machado, and Arthur Schuller, a second violinist in the Stadium orchestra, took turns conducting.

In spite of all this, the performance was full of fire, eloquence, and humor, and the audience was obviously well pleased. To those close enough to see them, the infinitely subtle shadings of gesture and line, and the precision of motion, contributed an important part of the evening's pleasure. Greco moves easily from the fluid grace of the classical bolero to the gipsy's arrogant and staccato power and the naive gaiety and bounce of the country dance. One of the most striking numbers combined several styles. Originally created by the late Argentinita and performed to Ravel's "Bolero," it began in a mood of light charm, Greco and Lola de Ronda dancing with cool and sinuous elegance; then shifting as other dancers took over the stage to more and more fiery, dramatic techniques until it ended in a blaze of gipsy passion. Somewhat a tour de force, it was immensely effective. The company included, besides Mr. Greco and Miss de Ronda, a talented flamenco singer, Chinin de Triana, Julio Torres, Malena Vargas, and Angel Soler.

F. K.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

"FROM the Land of the Bible," a large and important exhibition on view at the Metropolitan Museum in New York through October 12, involved a major enterprise of study, selection, hauling, and installation in which all concerned may take pride. It was brought to the United States by the American Fund for Israel Institutions, and will later be sent on a tour of our major museums.

It is not easy to review an exhibition which covers more than 50,000 years of the history of man as artist and craftsman. A few statistics may set the problem and at the same time indicate the prodigiousness of the task which faced those who brought these hundreds of things from Israel, the majority of them never before shown in the Western Hemisphere. Size runs from a seven-ton seated statue of a Roman emperor, magnificently grave in porphyry even without its original white marble head, hands, and feet, to the smallest gems and seals, some of them blown up in adjacent photographs to reveal the power of their design. Here Malraux's point, in "The Museum Without Walls," about the photograph's destruction of limits of size comes to mind. In fact, the range of the exhibition over successive cultures and a huge array of techniques demolishes the walls of the Metropolitan. This is partly due to the methods of display. Corrugated cardboard lining the walls to about half their height at once gives them texture and makes them retreat, while the exhibition cases are unified by a contrasting color that changes from gallery to gallery, so that one senses each space as a whole before plunging into a multitude of detail.

Without attempting to report on the wealth of primarily archaeological material here to be seen, or on the many items with powerful Biblical association, like a sling shot of the type used by David and the sharpened flat jawbone of an ass, commonly used as a sickle but turned by Samson against the Philistines, I will record some random impressions. The first room displays maps, primarily of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and these with their unexpected perspectives, coordinates, and nomenclature—for example, John Speed's map of the Middle Land

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Sea, London 1626—challenge one's basic Rand-McNally prejudices. In the third room, a small bronze figure of a standing god seems remarkably prophetic of the work of Giacometti. In its warped and rounded shapes in hardest basalt the portrait of an official, from about the fourth century A.D., suggests the force and sculptural economy of Ben-Shmuel.

Both in mosaic and in stone sculpture the war between Western (Roman) and Eastern conventions is superbly illustrated. Sculptures of the sixth century are fully Byzantine in flavor, and some of the pieces on display must rank high as examples even though they are so far removed from the court of Justinian. Among these is one of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals, the work of an artist-crusader apparently trained in Burgundy but already affected by local conventions of hollow-cheeked faces and complex interlaces of curving drapery lines. The whole problem of cultural orientation is brought into focus by the juxtaposition of two small heads of youths—a marble Roman copy of a fourth-century Greek model and a limestone portrait from around the time of Christ with the staring, brooding eyes and the sharply linear accents of the art of Palmyra.

Some account of modern Israel is given by a large assortment of the work of seven painters, of whom Moshe Castel is perhaps the most daring and Mordecai Ardon the most profound. A smaller selection of works by these artists could have made them all seem stronger. Castel appears to have had three separate styles during the past year and a half, one of which could be described as the art of Bradley Walker Tomlin without his texture or deep space jazzed up into hot tonal harmonies.

One enters this exhibition through the special Rembrandt show that has been on view for a long time and will remain, presumably, until current alterations of the main galleries are completed. To see so many fine Rembrandts together is an opportunity not to be missed, and there are some surprises too—the late portrait of the painter Gérard de Lairesse, on loan from the Robert Lehman collection, and the effect that cleaning has had on some of the Metropolitan's finest. One may study with profit the now revealed cool harmonies, gray and blue-green, of the early Bellona (1633) in contrast to the rich plums, russets, and violet browns of the self-portrait of 1660.

On the ground floor Aphrodite has been extricated from her erstwhile spotlights and mirrors. She is now visible in a severely gray room lighted by tall side windows. Perhaps the trick setting in which she was first introduced paid off in public interest, but the educational damage will now be counteracted. One can see her today as sculpture among other works of classical sculpture; and this piece is very subtle sculpture indeed.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

MY INTENTIONS to investigate less expensive reproducing equipment than the best have been defeated by the pressure of other work for this column. But someone whose ears I have found dependable, and whose own equipment is first-class, has told me of a friend's modest set-up that he finds surprisingly good every time he hears it. The components are a Sun Radio CR-10-Q amplifier supplemented with a G.E. equalizer, a Garrard record changer equipped with G.E. cartridges with diamond styli, and an Altec-Lansing 600-B speaker in an Electro-Voice Aristocrat enclosure (the amplifier and changer are on a table); and their cost comes to approximately $280. An infinite-baffle (not bass-reflex) type of box with an interior space of about 8 cubic feet will reduce the cost of the speaker enclosure; and I recommend a Garrard manual assembly instead of the changer to save not only the $15 but the records. A record changer is unnecessary with LP record sides that play twenty-five minutes; and it is made useless by the necessity of removing the dust (with a damp cloth) from each side before it is played, to prevent the damage that dust can do to the grooves. Even if one gets a changer for 78s, I recommend changing LPs manually.

As for an even less expensive set-up, my friend tells me the Grommes 50PG sounded good to him; one engineer recommends the Permoflux Royal "8" speaker, another the slightly more expensive University Diffusicone "8"; and the Garrard manual assembly and G.E. cartridges with diamond styli bring the cost to approximately $130 or $135, to which must be added the cost of a box with an interior space of about 4½ cubic feet for the speaker.

Harold D. Weiler's "High Fidelity Simplified" (Rider, $2.50)—which I don't always find simple enough for a mind that has as much difficulty with physics as mine—explains the basis, purpose, operation, and desirable and undesirable characteristics of the components of a high-fidelity reproducing system, to make it possible for the reader to decide which components to acquire. It is good for everyone to know the things this book explains; but I don't think most readers are able to use the knowledge to select an amplifier or speaker from a catalogue or in a store; and to have practical value a book of this kind should give, in addition to the explanations and information, the author's choices of components in various price categories. Weiler does mention a few components which he evidently considers good; but the amplifiers, speaker systems, and motor-and-turntable assembly he mentions are all high-priced; and though it is clear that he rates the Fairchild cartridge highest, his statement about the others—that "any of these fine pickups leaves little to be desired"—itself leaves a great deal to be desired as practical guidance.

Weiler isn't always simple; but at least he doesn't write in the heart-to-heart-chatty style and tone of Edward T. Canby's "Home Music Systems" (Harper, $3.95). What is weird in addition is the reasoning with which Canby repeatedly argues against the best components and for the cheapest. Against the best on the grounds that the superiority of the sound is something which only an engineer or high-fidelity hobbyist would appreciate or insist on, but which the music-loving reader of this book may not even appreciate and can do without; for the cheapest on the grounds that if it isn't as good as the best it is better than the standard radio-phonograph in most homes, and is all that a person wants who cares about music rather than phonographs—whose musical intelligence and experience enable him to listen "right through" the phonograph to the music, supplying in his mind what the inexpensive equipment doesn't produce in the actual sound. I would suppose most readers without an appreciation of the better sound would want to acquire it, and that most music-lovers would prefer hearing it to imagining it; and the music-lovers I have encountered have wanted the best sound even when they have to settle for what they could afford.

Many years ago I acquired the original-text editions of Beethoven and Mozart piano sonatas; but at that time the other original texts of works of Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Bach that I would have liked to own were to be had only in the expensive collected editions. Now, however, the Lea pocket scores have made available photographic reproductions of these editions not only of the Beethoven and Mozart piano sonatas I already had, but of the Beethoven and Mozart sonatas for piano and violin, the Beethoven sonatas for piano and cello and variations for piano, the Schubert piano works and songs, the Bach organ works and Goldberg variations that I wanted. Concerning the Lea volumes I can report that the notes for piano, voice, and organ on the reduced-size pages are large enough to read with ease, but the smaller ones for violin and cello in the sonatas are uncomfortably small. As for the texts, even these editions have their mistakes; but at least one is spared the phrasing and other markings added by virtuosos and other editors.

Letters

Witness to the Times

Dear Sirs: The day it was made known that Tom McGrath, who has taught a class in creative writing at State College in Los Angeles for the last three and a half years, would not be rehired, 215 students signed a protest requesting the administration to reconsider its decision. Two weeks later, and while the decision was pending, McGrath received a subpoena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. It may be a coincidence, but many of us here feel that the administration signaled the committee for help because it was determined to drop McGrath.

Apparently the students feel the same way about it. One group raised $100 for McGrath's counsel fee—he refused to testify before the committee—and another group got together and selected, edited, and published a mimeographed edition of his poems under the title "Witness to the Times." Your readers can obtain copies by sending 50 cents to: "Witness to the Times," 847 North Edgemont, Los Angeles 29, California.

JENNELDE C. MCCARONY

Los Angeles

Descendants of Sophists

Dear Sirs: The authors of Does Silence Mean Guilt? in *The Nation* of June 6 must be true descendants of the Sophists. Under their clever handling the concealment of truth is glorified and dishonesty placed upon a high moral plane.

The cause of freedom, including academic freedom, is not advanced by concealing truth, as your authors advocate. It is better served by speaking the truth courageously. And criticism of Senator McCarthy, even when justified, does not excuse an honorable man's departure from truth. The picture of a man who professes to be interested in truth, yet who refuses to speak it, is far from heroic.

Furthermore, the legal advice offered by your authors—that one should invoke the privilege against self-incrimination even in circumstances where no *self*-incrimination is possible—is pure intellectual dishonesty. The privilege against self-incrimination is a great bulwark against police brutality, and its use is often legally proper in legislative hearings. However, in one respect it is like our laws regarding bankruptcy—no one deserves a pat on the back for taking advantage of it.

DOUGLAS F. STEVENSON,
Chairman of the Civil Rights Committee
of the Chicago Bar Association

Park Forest, Ill.

The "Candor" Enthusiasts

Dear Sirs: Not even the Sophists would so facilely confuse a right to remain silent with "dishonesty" and "departure from truth." Like all "candor" enthusiasts, Mr. Stevenson builds his arguments on the premise that the witness is under an obligation to answer, though the Constitution says he isn't.

Our article did not suggest that a witness should claim the privilege when self-incrimination is impossible. It pointed out that self-incrimination is always involved when the witness is asked to inform on others, since his knowledge of others' activities and

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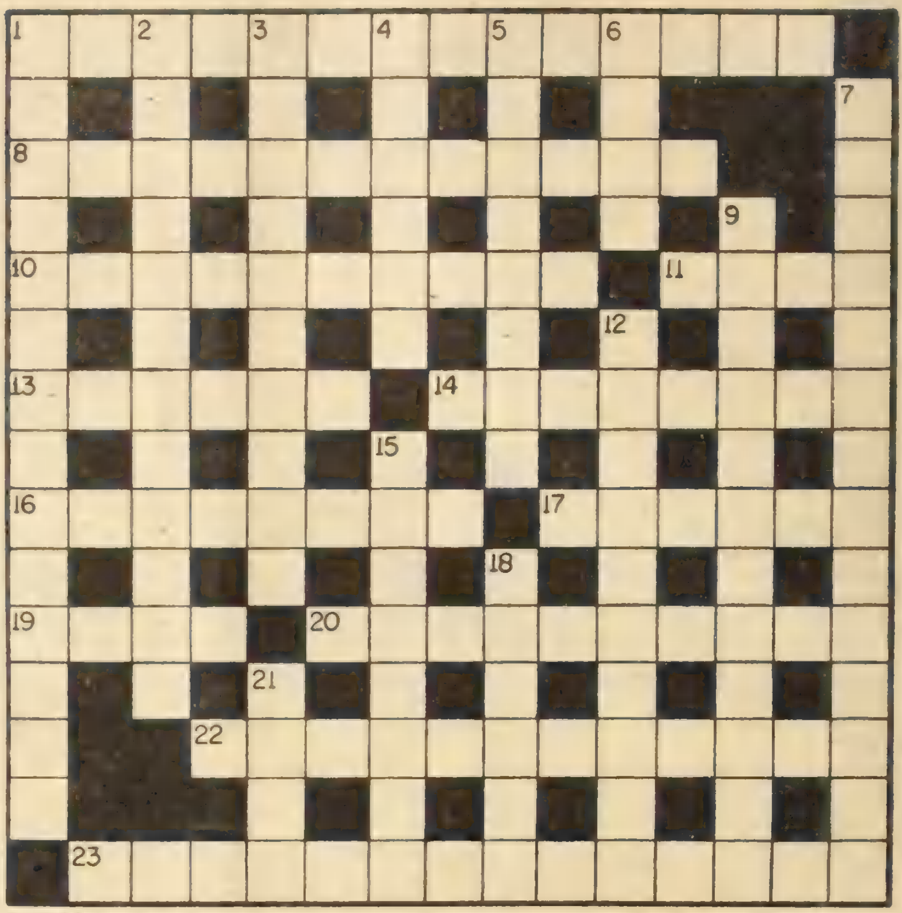
Crossword Puzzle No. 526

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 An officer pauses between A and B, and A and D, but not between A and C. (5, 9)
8 An odd sort o' name for boasts. (12)
10 A pleasant prospect for the one who carries the ball in Pennsylvania. (10)
11 See 2 down.
13 Equivalent to targets in the garden. (6)
14 The sort of union which is about to finish an intimation. (8)
16 Mishearings? (8)
17 Take off, whip it, and be victorious. (4, 2)
19 Rank of one who neither wins nor loses? (4)
20 Cleaning establishment which makes your motor clean, as well? (5, 5)
22 Crossing the bar? (4–8)
23 No sinister turn, but a sailor traveling west should have a little? (4, 2, 3, 5)

DOWN

1 It might make me color her coat, but some things are bound to be in it. (7, 7)
2 and 11. Evaluate a trained worker on the bench? (5, 7, 4)
3 "The gaudy, blabbing, and ______ day
Is crept into the bosom of the sea." (Henry VI) (10)
4 Sister joins the union! (6)
5 Some things would be illegal without such an act. (8)
6 and 15. Theotocopouli's famous vista wasn't of Ohio. (4, 2, 6)
7 Implying a possible reflection of fish? (4, 3, 7)
9 Should this be the rage in summer theater? (12)
12 Such a condition could imply a hectic situation. (10)
15 See 6 down.
18 Fix, at least temporarily. (6)
21 Gloomy. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 525

ACROSS:—1 BARREL ROLL; 11 THEATER; 12 ABDULLAH; 13 GOOSE; 15 TOTAL; 17 REINHARDT; 19 TIMEPIECE; 21 GUSTO; 23 and 10 SOUND BARRIER; 27 IDENTIC; 29 SASH; 30 BRASS RINGS.

DOWN:—1 and 28 BABY SITTERS; 3 RAREBIT; 3 and 6 ELIHU ROOT; 4 and 24 RURAL FREE DELIVERY; 5 LATCH; 7 OUTPOUR; 8 TURKEY TROT; 9 HEDGEHOG; 14 STATISTICS; 16 LAPIDATE; 18 IDEALISTS; 20 MOUSERS; 22 SURGEON; 24 DICER; 25 VOTER; 26 ISIS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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affiliations could be a link in the chain of evidence against him in a conspiracy prosecution.

Long before the privilege became a bulwark against police brutality, it was a bulwark to freedom of thought against inquisitorial attacks.

The path of self-interest for a witness is to turn witch-burner himself in the hope that his past heresies may be forgiven. Those who choose to defend freedom of thought with the best legal weapons available to them, despite the social and economic penalties with which they are threatened, seem to me to rate a pat on the back.

LAURENT B. FRANTZ
Des Moines, Iowa

Postal Censorship

Dear Sirs: We wish to call the attention of your readers to a particularly flagrant act of government censorship. In April, 1953, the solicitor of the United States Post Office Department suppressed the April issue of *Vet's Voice*, a monthly veterans' newsletter, as nonmailable. After a hearing in Washington, the solicitor, having served as accuser, judge, and jury, decided to continue the suppression.

We regard this action as part of a widening pattern of restrictions imposed by the McCarthyites on the thoughts and opinions of all Americans.

Consider the arbitrary and catch-all nature of the grounds for the suppression. The Post Office Department found the "general tenor" of *Vet's Voice* objectionable. It became quite clear at the hearing that the real issue was the right of our publication to set its own policies and represent the views of its readers and peace-minded veterans in general. The "general tenor" of our April issue was the need for peace. The prime question of our time is peace. The right to talk and write freely about peaceful alternatives to war must be assured to everyone.

Vet's Voice has appealed to the Postmaster General to rescind the action. We are determined to carry the fight for reversal to the courts.

Aware of the inspiring work done by *The Nation* to alert its readers to the menace of McCarthyism and confronted as we are with a clear case of McCarthyism in the Post Office, we are asking your readers to write to the Postmaster General in Washington, demanding the immediate release of our April issue.

PAUL HARTMAN,
Editor, *Vet's Voice*
Forest Hills, N. Y.

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He Was the Last Man

Pfc. Hector A. Cafferata Jr.,
USMCR
Medal of Honor

It was during the Chosin reservoir fighting. Against F Company's hill position. Reds were attacking in regimental strength. The last of Private Cafferata's fire team-mates had just become a casualty, leaving a gap in the defense line. If the enemy could exploit it, they could smash the entire perimeter.

Exposing himself to devastating fire. Private Cafferata maneuvered along the line. Alone, he killed fifteen Chinese, routed the rest, and held till reinforcements plugged the hole.

The Reds hit again. A grenade fell into a gully full of wounded. Private Cafferata hurled it back, saving the men but suffering severe wounds. Ignoring intense pain, he still fought on until a sniper got him.

"If we really want to protect ourselves from the Commies," says Private Cafferata, now retired because of wounds, "we've got to go all out. And one thing all of us at home can do—*should do*—is invest in our country's Defense Bonds. Sure, Bonds are our personal savings for a rainy day. But they're more—they're muscle behind our G.I.s' bayonets, too!"

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THE Nation

August 8, 1953
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Settlement in Asia

WHAT THE BRITISH WANT

by Kingsley Martin

"Russia: What Next?" *Review by Mark Gayn*

Protestants Under Fire *Malcolm Evans*

Resistance in Illinois *R. W. Burnett and Henrietta DeBoer*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Around the U.S.A.

Disturber of the Peace

Raleigh, N. C.

THE columned Chapel Hill Presbyterian church, with its five hundred seats, could not hold the University of North Carolina students who flocked to it on Sundays drawn by the message and the personal magnetism of the minister, the Reverend Charles Miles Jones. So during the school year Mr. Jones conducted two morning-worship periods. His sermons were delivered in a conversational tone. They dealt mainly with applied Christianity, the social implications of religion, and contained little Presbyterian doctrine. With a congregation "heavily weighted on the intellectual side," he said, knowledge of the tenets of the church was "taken for granted."

On March 1, 1953, by fiat of his superiors in the Orange Presbytery, the forty-six-year-old minister was removed from his post "in the interests of religion." A ten-man commission appointed by the Presbytery and dominated by ministers took the action without making specific charges or giving Mr. Jones a chance to state his case. Members of the commission said it was not influenced by Mr. Jones's racial views, but most of the church elders and others who have watched the controversies swirling around the minister's head for the past ten years are convinced that his open opposition to segregation constituted the submerged nine-tenths of the iceberg which caused the wreck.

Small numbers of Negroes have attended the Chapel Hill church during the pastorate of Jones, who is a native of Tennessee, as they did under other ministers. Students and professional groups found the church open to them for non-segregated lectures and meetings. During the war a group of graduate students often had breakfast with the Jones family on Sunday and sometimes brought along Negro friends.

■ Charles Jones was now being talked about outside Chapel Hill by those who are always quick to apply the tag "nigger lover." He remained serene—his closest friends have never seen him angry—and with the support of his congregation continued to assert that segregation is "very unjust and degrading. . . . Color gives no man special standing with God. . . . As one born and reared in the South I've come to see that the color of a man's skin has no real relationship to his character or ability." ■

In 1948 four white and four Negro representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation traveled through the South testing the enforcement of segregation on interstate busses after the Supreme Court had nullified the laws. At the Chapel Hill station they were ejected from the bus in which they were riding. A fight was narrowly averted, and feeling ran high. Jones gave the group shelter in the Presbyterian parsonage. Soon after nightfall a group stoned the house and there were telephoned threats that it would be burned.

Early in 1952 the Orange Presbytery set up a judicial commission to study "the general situation" of Presbyterianism in Chapel Hill, with the power to remove church officers and pastors. The commission investigated for six months, going often to hear Mr. Jones preach and talking to elders and members of his church. It interviewed all twenty-two of the elders, fifteen of whom are on the university faculty. It then asked for the immediate resignation of Jones and all the church officers. In a six-thousand-word communication to the church it said it "found it difficult to ascertain the exact nature of Mr. Jones's theological convictions" but admitted that he was "deeply loved by the vast majority of the active officers and members. . . . There are those who frankly consider him an embodiment of Jesus."

The minister and the officers refused to resign. Last December in a secret ballot the congregation voted, 156 to 14, to request that the commission demands be withdrawn. It also took issue with findings that Presbyterian doctrine had been violated.

Soon the commission made the church an offer: fire Jones and we will help you get building funds from the synod. The congregation turned down the offer. Then the commission withdrew its demand for the resignation of the officers but remained adamant on Mr. Jones—he had to go.

Next the issue was taken before the entire Orange Presbytery, which promptly handed it back to the commission with the observation that the commission had the power to reach a final decision and then act upon it. Dr. Frank Porter Graham, long an elder of the church, former United States Senator, former president of the university, flew down from the headquarters of the United Nations, which he serves as mediator, to speak to the Presbytery in behalf of the pastor. "This could be solved in a Christian spirit if it's in your hearts to solve it that way," said Dr. Graham. "Charlie makes many mistakes. We all make mistakes. But there is about him a humility, a meekness. . . . He disturbs the social order of our time. And for anyone who does that, there is fault-finding. It takes courage. I wonder if there is a minister here who has suffered as much as Charlie Jones for his faith in God."

■ Soon afterward the commission ousted Jones, who at the time was on a year's leave of absence to serve in Kingsport, Tennessee, with the Save the Children Foundation, a charitable organization. His congregation still refused to accept the decision and took the issue to the synod.

At a May meeting in Raleigh the synod set up a special council to go into the controversy. This council directed that Jones be given a new hearing and condemned "confidential evidence" collected by the judicial commission. Later, the order was sustained by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. When the Orange Presbytery met on July 16, Jones asked that the hearing be held before the entire synod, since the Presbytery should not serve as prosecutor, jury, and judge. This request was refused. Jones then told the Presbytery that he felt prolonging the controversy would only damage the Chapel Hill church and added very quietly that he was resigning as a Presbyterian minister.

JAY JENKINS

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Senator from Ohio

This is not the time to attempt a summing up of the career of Senator Robert A. Taft whose sudden death has so deeply affected his colleagues and countrymen. Such an impressive demonstration of respect speaks eloquently of the qualities that were his and of his gifts as a party and legislative leader. At any time his passing would have brought that brief pause in the nation's life which only the death of a great man can bring. But his death at this time has disturbed and saddened many Americans who did not number themselves among his admirers. For to these he had come to stand, in the last months of his life, as the one leader of his party who might be relied upon, in the great emergencies ahead, to curb the right-wing extremists. His death has greatly increased the responsibilities of the President.

Senator Morse's Decision

Assuming that Governor Lausche will name a Democrat to fill the Senate vacancy caused by Senator Taft's death, did Wayne Morse act wisely when he decided not to force a reorganization of Senate committee chairmanships by announcing that he would vote as a Republican? It is admittedly a tough question. But with the exception of the Labor and Interior committees, the shift from Republican to Democratic chairmen would not represent much of a gain from the liberal point of view. The fact that reactionary influences so largely overlap the line which in theory is supposed to set Democrats sharply apart from Republicans is what makes Senator Morse's personal problem every American liberal's dilemma. But we trust that Morse drove a sharp bargain with the Republican leadership and that he will exert his very considerable power and - influence to minimize the influence of such men as McCarthy and McCarran who demonstrate, in every vote, speech and action, that their dedication is not to party or principle but to aggrandizement of their personal power and privilege.

De Gasperi's Defeat

Not only the fall of De Gasperi but the surrounding circumstances make it a momentous event in a period of many major happenings. His swan song was a desperate effort to save the Cabinet by relaxing his previous rigid pro-Atlantic position. To win the support of deputies who, while strongly anti-Russian, object to Italy's role as a minor satellite of the United States, De Gasperi accentuated the nationalist note. He assured his audiences that Italy was not going to march alone toward the unification of Europe. He even hinted that Italy could if necessary regain its freedom of action and reconsider its foreign policy.

But none of this helped him. By 282 votes to 263 the Parliament rejected the Christian Democratic Cabinet formed after seven weeks of almost frantic maneuver. It was a real vote of no confidence. The left did not credit De Gasperi's intimations that he could achieve a more independent foreign policy; the Monarchists demanded as a condition of support the holding of another referendum on the monarchy. His former allies, the small center parties, turned their back on him. And even within his own party a "left wing" led by Giovanni Gronchi, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Amintore Fanfani, outgoing Minister of the Interior, is critical of the way De Gasperi has been conducting foreign affairs, though in the vote itself the Christian Democrats backed him solidly.

Should De Gasperi fail to assemble a Cabinet or decline to try again, his disappearance will have significant consequences in the councils of Europe—most immediately in the meeting of the six Schuman Plan states at Baden-Baden this month. Were he present, De Gasperi would provide strong support for a Europe united around the Coal and Steel Community now in process of creating its political organs. Without De Gasperi the project, so dear to Washington, will depend mainly on Dr. Adenauer. But the German Chancellor has enough on his hands with the coming German elections. He must calculate every move in terms of the rising demand for German unity and the lessening

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interest in European integration. From every point of view the defeat of De Gasperi has been a severe blow to American policy in Europe.

The Disarmament Resolution

It drew little attention, in the session just closing, but a concurrent resolution of major importance was tossed into the Senate hopper by an impressively large group of Senators who have the quaint notion that it is still proper and even desirable to think about world disarmament. Led by Senators Flanders and Sparkman and backed by a substantial assortment of civic groups, the resolution called for enforceable universal disarmament within the United Nations under a continuing system of inspection of atomic as well as other weapons of mass destruction. In committee the resolution was rather summarily appropriated by Senator Smith of New Jersey and when it emerged in a watered-down version was unanimously adopted by voice vote. The new version simply reaffirms the declared purpose of seeking enforceable limitation of armaments within the United Nations "in accordance with the principles set out in the President's address of April 16, 1953, to the end that a greater proportion of the world's productive capacity may be used for peaceful purposes and the well-being of mankind."

It is unfortunate that public hearings were not held on the original resolution, which had distinguished sponsorship and organizational support. But even as adopted, it undoubtedly speaks for the conscience of America. Nor can there be much doubt that the suggestion of relating disarmament to a program of economic expansion and social reconstruction, as suggested in the President's speech of April 16, makes a great deal of sense to a large section of the American people.

Those Crypto-Democrats

Scott McLeod, security officer for the State Department, has drawn considerable editorial fire for a letter to Norman Thomas explaining that "socialists," with a small "s," are disqualified for policy-making positions in the department. Mr. McLeod does not directly question their loyalty, but it is clear that he regards them as ideologically suspect.

While we disagree with Mr. McLeod's ruling we do not agree with those critics who feel that his use of the word "socialist" is unpardonably vague. Senator Butler made it quite evident, in a speech in the Senate on May 15, that this Administration places "socialists" in the same category as other "reds." The policy of the new Administration, he said, was to remove "socialists in ideology and purpose" from government service. Quoting Whittaker Chambers, the Senator went on to say that socialists always call themselves "liberals" but that they can be easily identified. They are the people who assume that government is good and business evil; that labor unions are good (with the C. I. O. better than the A. F. of L.), employers wicked; that the federal government is progressive, the states reactionary; that public ownership is better than private enterprise; that wages are good, profits sinful; that public welfare should replace private charity; and that the executive branch should be given more power, while the power of Congress and the courts should be curtailed.

This is the new Republican "party line," and like other lines of which we have heard it has its dupes and fellow-travelers who are now being caught in traps they helped to fashion. Only the other day Governor Thomas E. Dewey was called a "creeping socialist" when he suggested that the power potential of the Niagara River should be developed by the State of New York. "If this be creeping socialism," he said, "then it did its creeping forty years ago." *The Nation* has steadily insisted that the real effect of the loyalty program is to produce political conformity whatever the stated intention may be. That Socialists (large or small "s"), liberals, New Deal Democrats, and even "liberal" Republicans of the Dewey variety should find themselves ensnarled in ideological booby-traps of their own creation is not at all surprising to us; it was implicit in our premise.

What the Teachers Think

As reported in *The Nation* last week, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, in a speech before the Los Angeles Town Hall on July 21, wondered whether the real problem of education in Los Angeles was not that of "recapturing the schools from the crackpots." There might be people elsewhere as near the "fringe of lunacy," he continued, "but I know of no other community in which such people are allowed to run the schools." Evidence that Dr. Hutchins is not alone in his low regard for the Los Angeles Board of Education is found in an "educators' opinion inventory" conducted recently by Science Research Associated of Chicago under the auspices of the board. Given the rare opportunity to express, under conditions of "guaranteed anonymity," their candid views of the school system, some 13,867 teachers, principals, supervisors, and other certificated personnel—representing 86 per cent of the system's teaching staff—participated in the poll. Of these, 89 per cent thought that pressure groups have too much influence on the decisions of board members; 94 per cent thought the board should rely more on its professional staff; 75 per cent thought the board not "genuinely interested in our welfare"; 76 per cent said the elected officials ignore teachers' suggestions and complaints and do not exercise their authority in the teachers' behalf. Only 39 per cent believed the board truly interested in improving the educational program.

On the basis of 85,000 written comments the conclusion was drawn that "while the community is justifiably concerned lest the Los Angeles city schools be used to teach communistic or socialistic doctrines, educators feel that these well-meant efforts have now overshot their goal and have reached a point where many teachers feel inhibited in discussing any controversial topics in class." Only 56 per cent of the teachers felt they could discuss controversial subjects in the classroom, even if their presentation was "factual and objective."

The survey confirms the opinion of many citizens.

Appearance of Apathy

"The cease-fire in Korea," reported the New York *Times* of July 28, "had little visible effect yesterday on the people of New York. There was no organized public demonstration, either to celebrate or to give thanks. The mood appeared to be one of apathy." At almost the same hour that the truce was announced residents of New York began to form lines to purchase shiny new 15-cent tokens—an increase of 50 per cent in subway fares. The press reported, with an air of surprise, that the people accepted the increase "without protest" and with no "visible" signs of dissatisfaction. That same day, however, subway riders were heard to comment on the press comment on their apathy: "What did they expect us to do—walk to work, toss a bomb? Protest—to whom? To Tom Dewey? To Impellitteri?"

Fair questions. What good would it have done in either case for the people to demonstrate "visibly" what they felt? Behind the appearance of apathy is a feeling of having lost control of the movement of events. But the people are not apathetic; they are cynical. Like shipwrecked passengers on a raft, they may seem "apathetic"; but what they need is a sail, a pair of oars, the tools of action. Their appearance of indifference reflects their lack of confidence in any leadership now "visible" on the political horizon.

The Do-Little Congress

IT IS a very strange session that the Republican Congress is just finishing. Strange, not because the Congress did things no one expected it to do—for it did not—but because it has been proceeding in two directions at the same time. Its progress has therefore been limited, which is to say that it can point to hardly any concrete or positive accomplishments.

To be sure, it has passed the necessary appropriations measures so that the government can go on functioning. It has turned the vast offshore oil properties over to private exploitation, moved to unload the valuable synthetic-rubber plants, and delighted the power lobby by hamstringing reclamation and public power. But part of this is simply the irreducible minimum of ordinary housekeeping and the rest is achievement of a strictly negative kind.

Of an actual program, handled as one might suppose a party would handle its program upon returning to power after twenty years in the wilderness, there has been almost nothing. Most of the positive projects mentioned in campaign oratory and specifically requested by the President—revision of Taft-Hartley, extension of Social Security, tax revision, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, evolution of new policies respecting foreign trade and foreign aid, general revision of farm price-support laws, repudiation of the Yalta agreement—have in effect been postponed for consideration at the next session.

AND YET THIS same Congress has actually taken long and important strides in an extremely unwelcome direction. More than any other in years, it has moved to reassert Congressional direction of the executive branch of the government. Essentially, this Congress has been as much out from under Administration control as was the Eightieth Congress itself—despite the fact that not since the spring of 1933 has any President been in as good a position as President Eisenhower to assert his independence of Congress.

The situation is most obviously symbolized by what has been happening to the State Department. During the final years of President Truman's Administration the State Department was made impotent, the prisoner of its critics on Capitol Hill, particularly of its most energetic and unrestrained critics. Since in the present condition of the world we need above all things a vigorous, effective State Department, that fact in itself might have been reason enough for a thoughtful American to vote for a new Administration last fall.

But the State Department today, after six months of Republican rule, is in precisely the same fix as under Acheson. Congress still breathes down the back of its neck. The Senate calls the shots, and what is more, those members of the Senate who seem least likely to want the great international objectives to which the President is committed. With international problems of incalculable import coming up for decision, and with the international situation turned amazingly fluid so that flexibility in our foreign policy is essential, the State Department today is tied to a rigid Senatorial control. What America does in the next two years is likely to be determined not so much by what President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles believes to be best as by what a few Senators are prepared to indorse.

Nor is that all. With a whole political generation grown old in the opposition, Republican leaders in Congress have become set in their ways, and have developed a preternaturally acute suspicion of anything resembling leadership by the executive branch and a habit of mind which elevates penny-pinching to a primary article of political faith. These men are now in control. All but literally, they hark back to the era of Calvin Coolidge. The tremendous issues confronting the Administration—foreign aid, the proper level of armament, development of the country's basic resources—shrink to one simple question: Where and how can we best save a little money? President Eisenhower may have won a landslide election because his fellow-citizens believed that he better than anyone else could guide us through an uncommonly complex and dangerous period; in the end, what he plans to do has to be funneled through men like John Taber, who is precisely where and what he was when Franklin D. Roosevelt was President.

For many years these men preached a dual gospel: reduce taxes and balance the budget, and all will be well. (The fact that in the present situation the two things simply cannot be done together is just an irrelevancy.) The Tabers and the Reeds are not merely obstacles for the President to plow around as best he can; they are coming fairly close to telling him what he can and cannot do. By one of the great oddities of modern politics President Eisenhower's program would go down the drain almost in toto if the Democrats did not so frequently come to his rescue. For the Republican Party is split just as ruinously as the Democratic Party was split during the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations, and this session has brought the division into the open.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE, of course, for the President to assert himself. As Elmer Davis recalls in the current issue of *Harper's*, Woodrow Wilson long ago drew attention to the fact that the Constitution permits the President of the United States to be as big a man as he wants to be. But despite the applause of the journalistic claque which periodically announces that the "real Eisenhower" is about to unveil himself, there is to date no very good sign that he wants to seize the reins.

Furthermore, he has let himself get maneuvered into a very bad box. Wrapping up all the hot potatoes for further study and for disposal by the next session of Congress may have been a good way to avoid turmoil during the past six months, but it is not going to make for a pleasant, harmonious, and productive time next winter and spring. What Congress does then will be done on the very eve of an election. If it was hard three months ago to face up to the need for recommending and pushing through a decent revision of the Taft-Hartley act, for example, it will be about six times as hard in the next session.

New currents are beginning to be manifest. There are various little signs that unrestrained McCarthyism is at last generating a flare-back. Specifically, the attack on the Protestant clergy has touched off extensive repercussions. We may finally be approaching the time when it will not be good politics to accuse just anybody and everybody of being in bed with the Communists. If the antics of the Congressional investigators during the past six months have actually started a Bible-belt reaction, an unpredictable factor of the first magnitude may enter American politics.

However that may be, the basic fact remains: the present Congress has done very little that is constructive, but it has definitely thrown its weight around. It has asserted its own overriding authority over the executive branch; and the time to answer that assertion effectively was before it was made. Congressional committees have reached out for more and more power. Increasingly they have taken on the function, not merely of saying what the government is to do, but of calling the signals on how it is to do it and just what individuals it may do it with. Historically, that has never made for good government or good times in this country. President Eisenhower can still reverse the trend, but he cannot do it by sacrificing everything to an appearance of party harmony.

SETTLEMENT IN ASIA

What the British Want . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

THE Korean truce has ended the fighting but not the war. Chinese, Korean, and United Nations soldiers—chiefly Americans—will no longer be killed in Korea; the tormented people north and south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel will cease, for the time being at least, to serve as targets for artillery or napalm bombs. Nothing definable will have been accomplished by the war. The Communists will have discovered that America can resolutely meet violence with counter-violence; the Americans that the Communists cannot be driven out of their own mountain country provided they can obtain supplies from over the border. The truce is a recognition that the war was a stalemate.

Humanity will applaud the easing of tension and the truce to killing. But Mr. Churchill must be reminded that a "better atmosphere" is not enough. For the one thing on which Koreans are united is the desire for unity, and that is what the truce will seem to deny them. While the powers have been fighting for their own interests or for the principle of resistance to aggression or to win a round in the cold war—all possible interpretations of a complexity of motives—the North Koreans have been fighting for a united Communist country and the South for a united capitalist one. A guaranteed Thirty-eighth Parallel will seem to most Koreans an absurdity. The best we can hope is to persuade them to respect this line as the price of ending the war and to persuade them to continue their ideological struggle without murdering each other.

Let us remember that it is dangerous to allow a cease-fire line to harden into a frontier. The United Nations has considerable experience. Its part, for instance, in Kashmir, Palestine, and Korea has been patiently to isolate the dispute so that fighting ceased. In the case of Kashmir and Palestine it failed to have any effect beyond helping to settle the cease-fire line. Today it is clear that India and Pakistan cannot indefinitely endure the tension of indecision in Kashmir, while the relations between Israel and its neighbors remain dangerously bitter on a frontier that was never intended to do more than recognize a temporary *fait accompli*.

The best chance is for the United Nations immediately after the truce to work hard to persuade both sides to recognize their common economic interests. In the case of Korea, where the country is devastated and the people reduced to utter misery, the business of peacemaking is surely to attempt to find leaders among the North and South Koreans who will work together with a United Nations Committee of Rehabilitation—which it is to be hoped will represent both capitalist and Communist members. For this purpose America must deal firmly with Syngman Rhee, and in return the Chinese should be asked to cooperate and to instruct North Korean Communists to cooperate in rebuilding plans that straddle the Parallel. If that happens it should be possible to persuade both the Chinese and the Americans gradually to withdraw their troops. But we must face the fact that Korea will long remain a danger spot unless from the beginning the United Nations can at least lay down the basis of a program for eventual political collaboration between North and South.

ANY HOPE of such a program depends, of course, as all peace moves in the Pacific do, on the recognition of Peking China as a member of the United Nations. Britain has from the beginning recognized the fact of Mao Tse-tung's victory, and one of the remarkable results of the Commonwealth conference which accompanied the Coronation pageantry was the discovery that within the Commonwealth there is broad agreement on Far Eastern policy.

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The new Pakistan Premier favors Mao Tse-tung's entry into the United Nations; Mr. Menzies—and with him, no doubt, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who appears to live mainly in a state of loyal ecstasy—seems cautiously prepared for the same step; while the Prime Minister of Canada has spoken about the need of accepting the fact of Asian nationalism in terms not far different from those of Mr. Nehru. As for the United States, Mr. Eisenhower's promise to the Senate to lead the campaign against China's admission seems far from decisive. If America really intended to rule out the possibility of changing its mind on Peking's admission, Mr. Eisenhower would presumably have spoken of an American "veto." In any case the more quickly and graciously Mao Tse-tung is welcomed the better the chance for peace.

One corollary Britain must draw is that trade would flow freely between China and the West. Not only the much-abused left but the commercial, shipping, and insurance worlds are all chafing at the American-Formosan blockade of the China coast. No doubt the British have interested motives—just as no doubt American business has equally interested motives in seeing British ships prevented from trading with China. If we disregard these motives the fact remains that peace with China involves trade with China, that there is good reason to believe that Peking desires to maintain its Western commerce, and does not wish to become wholly dependent on the Soviet Union for its vast plans of development—even if the Soviet Union were able fully to supply China's needs. Clearly Britain should insist on annulling the U. N. resolution branding China as an aggressor and should at once begin trade negotiations with Peking.

THE MOST THORNY of those political issues "arising out of the Korean war" with which the forthcoming political conference must take account is the future of Formosa. Historically and geographically and by great-power agreements at Cairo, Potsdam, and San Francisco, Formosa belongs to China. The only argument against allowing Formosa to be handed over to Peking is that Communist China, having driven Chiang and his military staff off the mainland and suffered numerous threats since of renewed Kuomintang invasion, may now be in a mood to cut the throats of the Formosan exiles. To this the United Nations answer must surely be that Chiang and his close associates can find places of refuge with the rest of the exiled Kuomintang leaders and that Formosa itself must go back to Peking China as soon as the move becomes politically and diplomatically possible. The first steps, therefore, are public reaffirmation of Peking's right to Formosa and the withdrawal of America's subsidy to all Kuomintang troops.

Perhaps the United Nations might use some such technique as that which proved successful in dealing with the technical problem of ending the war between the Dutch and the Indonesians. In that case the appointment of an Australian (selected by the Indonesians) and a Belgian (chosen by the Dutch), with the right to co-opt a third member of the commission, proved a good technique for dealing with a host of awkward problems in a country recently at war. Formosa presents even more difficulties. But if the United Nations makes it clear that Formosa is to be returned to Mao Tse-tung, China has every reason to accept as reasonable a period of waiting while the soldiers are absorbed in other occupations and those who desire refuge are accommodated elsewhere. An early and useful part of this liquidation of Formosa as a base would be the swift withdrawal of the Kuomintang troops which now threaten the security of Burma.

If all this were actually accomplished it would be much, very much. Peace, even in the limited sense of winding up the cold war in the Pacific, would still be far off. Some even see a Korean truce as the beginning of further dangers; certainly the China Lobby hopes that ending the war in Korea may make possible more aid to the French in Indo-China and speedier rearmament in Japan. Peace clearly involves abandoning such schemes, just as it certainly depends on China abandoning an aggressive attitude (which is present in its propaganda if not in its actions) toward its neighbors in the East. In Malaya nationalism is a complex issue and no government exists to which the British, even if they are willing to forgo the dollar value of rubber and tin, can as yet pass over their authority. But it would be reasonable for other powers to urge upon Britain a swifter approach toward turning Malaya into a self-governing country. It is even more obvious and more important that the powers should aid those now very large forces in France which regret the French effort to reimpose its imperial rule in Indo-China.

CLEARLY we are now envisaging results that are unlikely to be obtained unless there has been a prior agreement involving all the great powers. Such an agreement necessitates a change in policy and in propaganda; the Voice of America, confining itself to news and the support of capitalism, would have to end its threats of war against communism, and Peking and Moscow, while necessarily urging the benefits of communism and stressing the inner contradictions of capitalism, would have to cease supporting militant activities against their neighbors.

All this is impossible? Unlikely, no doubt, now that the world is deep in the quagmire. But we shall not struggle out either by being satisfied with a little "tension-easing" or by idealistic pretenses that the difficulties can be solved by some sudden gesture. The reality is that confronted with the desperate damages of a world atomic war, the powers may still, stage by stage, enter upon this process of "disengagement," reducing, not abolishing, their armaments, removing frictions, rather than agreeing on solutions, and seeking by a change of tactics to reduce the chances of catastrophe. Above all—and here I think Britain has a special part to play between the ideologically obsessed nations, East and West—let us abandon silly talk about the Communist world having "a change of heart." The Communists cannot change their belief that capitalism is in decay and that communism is to be the eventual form of world government. But they can—and quite conceivably they are already in process of attempting the experiment—change their aggressive policy on the ground that it is too risky. In that case they will make concessions so long as they are neither humiliating nor vital to their security. We and the West have a right to ask such a change of policy of them, and they, in the interest of man's survival, have the right to expect us to meet them "at least halfway."

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Variations on Point Four

Geneva

AS EVERY year, an undesirable visitor made its appearance in the Economic and Social Council—hunger. It is not necessary to dramatize things or become emotional; figures alone are quite capable of telling the story. Though a long one, it can be summarized in few words: in a changing world one of the indisputably stable facts is human misery. A permanent cause of war, it mocks all the windy declamations about progress and humanitarianism. During the discussions of the report of the Technical Assistance Board the full truth came out: in spite of undeniable efforts and impressive accomplishments, the underdeveloped countries are becoming poorer every year. Even the raw materials they produce are subject to the arbitrary rules of a game whose stakes are the profits of a few privileged nations. While 10 per cent of the world's population are in a position to satisfy most of their daily needs and to live on a higher economic level than a few decades ago, 90 per cent are as badly off as in the thirties. In the United States $150 a week may not be considered an extravagant salary, but a third of the people of the world get less than $150 a year. Though it has been said a hundred times, let us say it the hundred and first: in this situation the Communists need do little to encourage revolt; misery does it for them.

This applies not only to the countries officially characterized as underdeveloped. While Geneva was discussing the report of the Technical Assistance Board, the Vigorelli parliamentary report was published in Rome. It revealed that of Italy's 11,592,000 families, 1,357,000, or 11.2 per cent, exist in conditions of extreme want "at the lowest level of life." Almost one-fourth of the population is inadequately housed; 92,000 families live in barracks or caves. Some 869,000 families, or 7.5 per cent, live without meat, sugar, or wine. And this is nothing to what a similar investigation would uncover in Spain.

It was natural that in such a world President Truman's Point Four should have been greeted with immense enthusiasm. But in the four years that have followed the great pronouncement, armies and atom bombs have swallowed most of the money that Point Four required to become more than a propaganda gesture against the Russians. The Technical Assistance report shows that funds for the U. N. program are also at low ebb and, as reported in these pages last week, threatened with further, crippling cuts.

It is to the credit of the officials in charge of the program that so much has been achieved with so little. As in the case of the U. N.'s Children's Fund and the World Health Organization, they have shown what the specialized agencies are capable of doing. According to the report, the number of fellowships and scholarships awarded increased from 845 in 1950-51 to 2,127 in 1953; the number of experts sent into the field went up from 797 to 1,626 and is expected to reach 2,529 this year. But much more money is required if the program is not to be curtailed.

THIS urgent need was seized upon and made the basis of a very clever move by the Russians and the other countries of the Soviet bloc represented here. To the surprise and discomfort of certain delegates the Russians promised to contribute $1,000,000 to the Technical Assistance fund. Listening to their statements I recalled a caustic comment of the chief American delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., last February in New York. Mr. Lodge noted "the absence of a number of governments who usually speak so loudly of their interest in assisting the underdeveloped countries and who are strangely silent when the chance arises actually of doing something useful." But now that the Russians are on hand and have spoken, we read reports from New York that the U. N. is "wary of the Reds' money" and that "the philanthropic arm of the peace offensive" has "left the United States grateful but skeptical."

I am in a position to dispel both anxiety and skepticism. At this very moment the Russians are conducting informal negotiations in the corridors with a view to joining other agencies of the United Nations. As readers of *The Nation* may recall, some weeks ago I reported that the Kremlin had decided to shift to the United Nations a large part of its diplomatic activity. This is being done by stages. First the Russians wanted to strengthen their position within the organization itself. This was partly accomplished during the last Assembly when on several occasions they were able to obtain a far greater number of votes for their resolutions than in previous years. The "automatic American majority" of everybody to five became a thing of the past.

Under the new circumstances the United Nations offers a useful and promising field of diplomatic maneuver for Russia and its associates. If hostile diplomatic action should isolate them in other fields, in a Big Four conference for instance, they will always have at their disposal the "world forum" of the U. N. But it is particularly through the agencies engaged in constructive work that they now hope to improve their position. The speech of Mr. Katz-Suchy of Poland on July 17 asserting that large-scale development plans could never be carried out so long as the economies of the backward countries were tied to fluctuations in the world market, and the proposals by him and Mr. Arutiunian that a positive policy of economic development be formulated, show that they are definitely committed to an active role in the specialized agencies. The idea of Russian technicians going into the underdeveloped areas may not be very attractive to some countries, but, popular or not, this new role is being undertaken with great confidence, and a lot will be heard about it in the months to come.

PROTESTANTS UNDER FIRE

Indignant and Aroused . . *by Malcolm Evans*

TOO often the American Protestant church has played the role of a knight in tarnished armor who rides into the gathering darkness bearing a blunted spear and a shield emblazoned with the motto "Come weal or come woe, my status is quo." Hardly more than a corporal's guard of laymen and clergy has rallied around him unless "the enemy" was materialism, secularism, communism, or Romanism, the four favorite objects of pulpit assault; only here and there have prophetic voices been raised against recrudescent fascism, McCarthyism, McCarranism, and so on. All this has now been changed. Clergymen and laymen of all theological persuasions have leaped into the fray against current threats to the Protestant position, awakened by the assaults of witch-hunters in and out of Congress on highly respected Protestant leaders.

Protestants were first aroused when Representative Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, suggested in a television appearance on March 9 that the clergy might offer a fertile field for investigation. He was thoroughly rebuked in numerous editorial statements and even by a vote of his own committee. One of his critics was Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. It is worth noting that Bishop Oxnam had only recently been transferred to Washington—in itself an indication of the increasing recognition in Protestant circles of the importance of having an able spokesman in the nation's capital. The significance of the transfer was doubtless pointed out to Velde.

Three days after Velde's TV show, Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., introduced a resolution calling for Velde's removal as committee chairman. The resolution was blocked by the Rules Committee, and on March 17 Velde received another assist from Representative Donald L. Jackson of California, who denounced Bishop Oxnam on the House floor as a man who "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week." The Washington *Post* countered by obtaining and publishing the committee's Oxnam dossier along with the Bishop's comments on the entries.

Meanwhile Herbert A. Philbrick, for nine years in the Communist "underground" as an agent for the F. B. I., had testified before Senator Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee that he had known seven or eight "hardened, disciplined, and steeled" Communists who posed as clergymen in the Boston area and that five of them were still preaching and aiding the party there.

On April 22 Oxnam talked privately with Velde and afterward characterized their conference as hardly "a meeting of minds." Velde agreed to consider specific recommendations for reform of the committee's procedures but later rejected them. The Bishop then blasted the committee again. The skirmish reached a climax on July 21, when the Bishop appeared before the committee. At the close of the hearing, which proceeded far into the night, the committee unanimously reported that it had "no record of any Communist Party membership or affiliation by Bishop Oxnam." On the issue of whether he had "served the Communist front" there was no vote. Moreover, by a straight party vote a motion to correct the Bishop's file by entering his denials was defeated.

Yet despite his own vigorous protests and the overwhelming backing given him by religious leaders and laity in all the major denominations and Jewish groups, the Bishop is still not "cleared" and is not likely to be unless he repents of the mortal sin of daring to expose the committee's un-American procedures. Judging from his words at the hearing, that can hardly be expected. Said Oxnam: "The preparation and publication of these files puts into the hands of irresponsible individuals and agencies a wicked tool. It gives rise to a new and vicious expression of Ku-Kluxism, in which an innocent person may be beaten by unknown assailants who are cloaked in anonymity and at times immunity, whose whips are cleverly constructed lists of so-called subversive organizations, and whose floggings appear all too often to be sadistic in spirit rather than patriotic in purpose."

THE ATTACK on Oxnam is not the only serious one directed recently against Protestant leaders of high standing. In March, Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, formerly president of Wellesley College and war-time commander of the WAVES, now vice-president of the National Council of Churches, an organization supported by thirty of America's principal denominations with over 32,000,000 members, was denied a place on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. The Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and chairman of the National Council of Churches Commission on the Maintenance of American Freedom, was smeared by the Velde group for having been a sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; that he sponsored the Congress in 1942 while Russia was our ally the committee omitted to state. Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., was attacked in two articles by Dr. J. B. Matthews in the May and July issues of the *American Mercury*, along with others whose names read like a Who's Who of Protestant clergy and educators. Matthews was recently forced from his position as executive staff director of Senator McCarthy's Investigating Subcommittee after President Eisenhower, without naming him, had

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MALCOLM EVANS, pastor of Spencer Memorial Church in Brooklyn, is chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This is the third and last of a series of articles on Protestant policy.

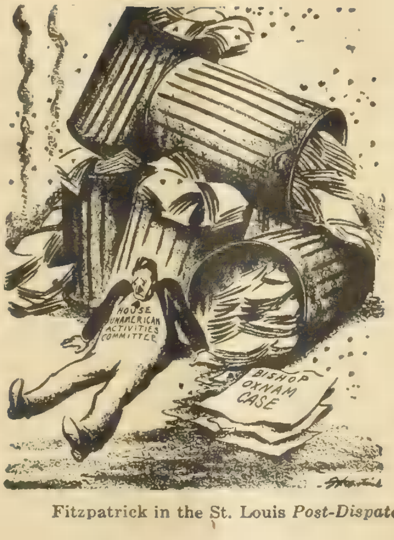
lashed out against Matthews's allegation that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Matthews claimed that at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen were Communist "party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party-line adherents, and unwitting dupes."

WHAT DOES THIS campaign against Protestant leaders mean? In attacking Bishop Oxnam, Bishop Sherrill, Mrs. Horton, and Dr. Mackay the witch-hunters are not exposing Communists or fellow-travelers. The unalterable opposition of all four to communism is a matter of public record. The inquisitors are rather intent on knocking off four persons who occupy positions of considerable influence at policy-making levels in their respective churches and in the National Council and who are passionately dedicated to the cause of human freedom and the eradication of injustice.

While criticism of clergymen as such is nothing new, onslaughts originating in Congress are without precedent in this country. There is much to fear in such attacks; nevertheless, Velde and McCarthy unwittingly performed a real service when they disregarded the maxim to "let sleeping dogs lie." Had they not gone so far in their mad scramble for headlines they could have pursued their witch-hunting virtually unchecked. But Velde in the case of Oxnam and McCarthy in the Matthews affair overreached themselves. They not only awakened the Protestant clergy but goaded Southern Democrats into action.

It is important to note the sources of support for the attacks on Protestant leaders. The chief non-Congressional advocate of investigation, as might be expected, is Dr. Carl McIntire, pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, New Jersey. Unfrocked by the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., McIntire in 1933 set out on a ministry of disruption. Having done all in his power to discredit the Federal Council of Churches and its successor, the National Council, and also the World Council of Churches, by setting up rival bodies, he recently published a twenty-three-page pamphlet characterizing Bishop Oxnam as a "prophet of Marx" and is circulating petitions calling for an investigation of communism among churchmen. McIntire has been joined by such figures as Dr. W. W. Breckbill, president of the divisive American Council of Christian Churches—a group McIntire was instrumental in founding, recently repudiated by the Evangelical Methodist Church—and Dr. William H. Bordeaux, general secretary of the American Council, who has aided Allen Zoll in his attack upon the public schools. For the record it should be noted that J. B. Matthews did research for Zoll in 1949, helping him compile the pamphlet "How Red is the Federal [National] Council of Churches?" Two articles by Ralph L. Roy in the *Christian Century* (May 8 and May 15) fully document this phase of the attack on the churches. A brochure entitled "Plain Facts on the National Council of Churches," spelling out the attack by McIntire and his fellows, may be obtained by writing Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York.

While McIntire's attack has received little support from churchmen generally, Monsignor Francis Walsh suggested in a sermon at St. Patrick's Cathedral that communism is a by-product of the Protestant Reformation. Some Protestant journals, among them *Christianity and Crisis,* while deploring the attack on Bishop Oxnam, have conceded the right of Congress to investigate the clergy. The *Christian Century* (April 22) was more representative of Protestant opinion: "The churches should be as reluctant to invite the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate their ministers as any decent man would be to invite the town bully to probe his relations with his own family."



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

The Files Collapsed

HOW BEST can Protestant churchmen meet the present unwarranted assaults? The Very Reverend James A. Pike, dean of New York Cathedral (Episcopal), gave a good answer when he suggested in a cathedral sermon, "They can of course quite properly protest the un-American character of [the committee's] procedures, its trial by press and television, its reversal of the principle that a man is innocent until proved guilty. But important as this approach is, it is negative. A positive counter-assault should be launched."

The smearers could not now single out the Oxnams, Sherrills, Hortons, and Mackays for abuse had we, as Protestants, not failed in recent years to push the social applications of our faith. We have left in an exposed position the few who have stressed the fundamental Protestant tenet that the Lordship of Christ extends to every area of life. We have allowed fear of reprisals from within and fear of communism from within and without to shackle us. As Dean Pike declares, "Let the church rise to its responsibilities to bring a critique on unrighteous conditions in our land, and we will demonstrate that there is a healthy ferment that is by no means communistic and in fact is the best defense against communism. We will thus surround our brethren who are being smeared . . . that there will be confusion in the smearers' camps . . . for they will know that they cannot investigate us all, and if they try to smear us all they will be made ridiculous in the public eye."

The time has come when we must push the social implications of the Gospel and push them hard. The fruits of theological inquiry and understanding of the facts of history have cleared the ground for an orthodoxy which affirms that precisely because we take the Gospel seriously we dare not dodge its social imperatives. Such an orthodoxy must inevitably lead us to obey the social message of our faith in such a way that "this nation [and this world] under God will have a new birth of freedom."

How, then, can Protestant social pronouncements be implemented more effectively? On the national scene greater effort must be expended in building unity and cooperation in all areas of Protestant endeavor. It would be wrong to attempt to defend ourselves by purging our councils of controversial personalities. We need more leaders who will say simply with Dr. Mackay, "I have never supported any cause which on its own merits was unworthy of support by an independent Christian citizen of this country who is sensitive to human situations. If in any instance Communists, unknown to me and for their own reasons, were interested in the same cause, that does not invalidate the importance of the cause, nor does it make me responsible for any casual coincidence in my interest and theirs."

A PRINCIPAL reason for the failure to implement Protestant social policy is the gulf between decisions at the national level and study and action at the grass roots. Seldom do rank-and-file church members even hear about the social-policy pronouncements of denominational conferences. Basically the minister is at fault. He may have few opportunities in the Sunday-worship service to grapple with social issues, but he can see to it that they are included in the church's educational program from kindergarten to adult instruction. He can also establish a social-education-and-action committee in which independent thought and free discussion will foster a sense of social responsibility.

Above all, the local minister must weld isolated individuals into a "fellowship of the concerned," a community willing to attempt translation of social creeds into social deeds. No church fellowship can demonstrate its "concern" solely within church walls. It must be closely involved in the community it serves. The time has come for a more thorough study of ways and means of inaugurating community action. Such explorations, aided but not limited by local interdenominational councils, would bring together clergymen and church laymen and even non-church community leaders interested in discussing local applications of Protestant social policy.

No clergyman can spend any time in a parish without realizing how many of the "faithful" have never accepted the view that the rule of God over men proclaimed by authentic Christianity embraces all aspects of human existence—not only individual and spiritual but also political, social, and economic. Their faith is a narrow, individualistic interpretation of the Christian religion. They do not realize that every social system is subject to divine judgment and that no institution of society, church, or state is exempt from criticism. Ignorance, fear, threats, and ambiguities inhibit social impulses.

Now is the time to rise above fear and ignorance and to press beyond threats and ambiguities in carrying out the social implications of Protestantism as derived from the Gospel. Let us launch a positive counter-assault against the forces and conditions which breed tyranny "whatever mask it wears."

MONRONEY OF OKLAHOMA

Bad Medicine for McCarthy . . *by George Milburn*

IT LOOKED as if the United States Senate had been altogether buffaloed. When that august assemblage reconvened for the Eighty-third Congress last January, only one man was still in there to fight creeping McCarthyism—the venerable junior Senator from New York, Herbert H. Lehman. Meanwhile Wisconsin had returned the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy himself by a decisive, not to say resounding, vote.

A cynic once observed that the main objectives of a United States Senator are to pass his water and stay in the United States Senate. However that may be, brave and honest men sometimes get seated in that exalted chamber. Senator Lehman is such a man. Even though the hustings were strewn with grisly exhibits of what had happened to men who got up and opposed McCarthy, the aging liberal chose to keep meeting the challenge single-handed and head-on. His pious colleagues, some of whom were expressing their private opinions of McCarthy in such unprintable language that there was no need to declare it off the record, were content to sit back and watch Lehman go it alone against the powerful pettifogger.

All of a sudden, just as Lehman seemed to be losing his fight, he was championed by a younger Senator whose name was strange to most newspaper readers and TV viewers across the land. Washington commentators, out of their sagacity, wrote that Senator Lehman's help had come from a most unexpected source. But no person who has followed the political career of Mike Monroney from Oklahoma was at all surprised. His continuing attack on McCarthy which began the other day was just the sort of deliberate and forthright action that could be expected of him, once he had thought it through.

When reporters asked him why he had waited so long to join forces with Senator Lehman, the lank, six-foot Okie toed the floor with all the diffidence of a baseball player who has just busted the R. B. I. record. You would have thought he was about to say, "Gee whiz!" But what Mike Monroney actually did say on the transcript was: "Now look, fellas. It's like walking up to a man who's got a handful of stink bombs. And you've got on your good suit. So he flips that stink bomb at you, and you don't like the odor."

GEORGE MILBURN, one of Oklahoma's most distinguished native sons, is the author of "Oklahoma Town," "No More Trumpets," and other books.

Never a headline hunter, a painfully shy man for a politician, in fact, Mike Monroney takes his responsibilities as a United States Senator so seriously that he seldom cuts loose with the salty wit which is his natural endowment. When he got fed to the craw on the chicaneries and indecencies of McCarthyism he could not sleep. At dawn one Monday morning he got out of bed and drove to the Senate office building, where he spent several hours batting out a speech with the hunt-and-peck system of a seasoned newspaperman. He delivered his speech on the floor of the Senate that afternoon, and it splashed front pages all across the country.

> It would seem to me that the book-burning incident has done far more harm than good in foreign countries. It has made us look ridiculous to the Europeans because the techniques employed are so reminiscent of the totalitarian governments and their thought control which we so despise. Surely in such a sensitive area, such books which might have been dangerous could have been quietly removed instead of by the "Keystone cop" chase of Messrs. Cohn and Schine across all Europe.

McCarthy waited for a week before he came back with the anguished beller of a bully who has been beaten. In the closing moments of a radio-TV broadcast Sunday night he charged Monroney with "a flagrant example of anti-Semitism." Perhaps it is significant that morning newspapers left this salacious tidbit out of their column-length coverage of the McCarthy interview. But the New York *Post* broke the story the following afternoon, and the same day Senator Lehman rose in the Senate to retort:

> In a telecast yesterday the junior Senator from Wisconsin made the accusation that recent criticism by the junior Senator from Oklahoma . . . directed against the two staff members of the McCarthy investigating committee, Mr. Roy Cohn and Mr. David Schine, constituted a flagrant example of anti-Semitism. . . . This is a wholly false and ridiculous charge. . . . I—a Jew, sensitive to any religious bias—have been strongly critical of the behavior of these young men. . . . To brand criticism of them as "anti-Semitism" is pure and arrant demagoguery, raising an ugly symbol in defense of indefensible conduct. As for the junior Senator from Oklahoma, it is unnecessary for me to absolve him of this cheap charge. Yet I cannot forbear from affirmatively attesting that he is one of the fine characters of the Senate, free of bias, hate, and prejudice—a gentleman of understanding and of courage.

Senator Monroney

An alert reader of the New York *Post*, with laudable knowledge of motion-picture lore, wrote in to suggest that maybe what McCarthy really meant was "anti-Sennettism."

But it is no laughing matter that thousands of people were impressed by the foul blow while only a few know much about Monroney. Mike is probably the only man in the United States Senate with enough sense of humor to read into the *Congressional Record* what he called his "pan mail," after his attack on McCarthy. These are revealing documents, and it is worthy of comment that most of them were anonymous and bore postmarks of the enlightened Eastern seaboard rather than of his own "Grapes of Wrath" bailiwick. Here are some samples, as quoted by Monroney:

> My favorite billet-doux is from a lady signing herself Mrs. Mary Thomas, Garden City, N. Y. It reads: "Having helped the ministers to crucify McCarthy—move over for Molotov."
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> This letter was postmarked in Brooklyn: "Drop dead, you lousy S.O.B. You have the blood of 300,000 American boys dripping from your stinking hands. You are a murderer and a traitor. Read this, fall dead." (Laughter from the Senate was indicated at this point).
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> Another letter, unsigned, comes from Norwalk, Connecticut. It reads: "Why don't you shut your big mouth—McCarthy is right—I only hope he gets you by the (obscenity) and you can bet he will." (More Laughter)

Later Senator Monroney inserted into the appendix of the *Record* a couple of friendly editorials from small-town Oklahoma newspapers. But the pay-off came a few days later when the titular editor of the Tulsa *Tribune*, Dr. Richard Lloyd Jones, a venomous octogenarian, who has set himself up in Tulsa as a tanktown Colonel McCormick, came out with an editorial headed by an epigram fresh from "Bartlett's Quotations":

> *The passionate love of Right, the burning hate of Wrong.*
>
> We need STATESMEN. We need them desperately. Yet look at what the Democrats of Oklahoma call statesmen. . . . The Democratic Party recalled the great soldier who could have saved our sons and won the war.
>
> . . . The Democratic Party of our state has sent to the Senate an affable gentleman by the name of Mike Monroney. We need STATESMEN, not affable fellows. MEN who are so passionately AMERICAN that their devotion to our Flag is not obscured by the narrow limitations of petty partisan obsessions.

Fortunately for Oklahoma and the nation, the folks up on the creek, who seldom see the Tulsa *Tribune*, are not quite so astigmatic as Dr. Jones, who spends his summers in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. They can recognize a statesman when they see one, and they have been sending Mike Monroney back to Congress, first to the House of Representatives, ever since 1939.

AND MIKE MONRONEY is about the most unlikely candidate for public office that could be found in a long day's march. He doesn't sport an elk's tooth on his watch fob, but he could wear a Phi Beta Kappa key if he were that kind of man. Born too late or too soon, he cannot claim to be a veteran of any war. Monroney played championship football in high school, but he distinguished himself in college by busting loose against the "fraternity" system at the University of Oklahoma.

He is a born newspaperman, even though fate has shoved him into the United States Senate. His story is a little like that corny yarn about the incipient violin virtuoso who got his fiddling finger caught in a door jamb. But that really happened to Mike Monroney, in a way.

Monroney distinguished himself as a political reporter on the Oklahoma City *News*, but his newspaper career was broken off by his having to take over the management of a furniture company in Oklahoma. Back in the halcyon days of 1928, Mike Monroney had a high old time running the joint. He wrote the funniest damn ads anyone in Oklahoma had ever seen.

Came 1929. The New Deal saved Mike Monroney from going bankrupt. He became a Believer then, but he was not elected to Congress until ten years later.

A news photographer new in New York tells this story about Monroney's first — unsuccessful — campaign for Congress: "I was workin' on the *News*, see, and I come to take his pitchure. He says he don't want his pitchure in no paper he's worked for—it wouldn't look right. Publicity or sumpim, he was worried about. So what comes next? This Monroney says that I can take his pitchure O. K. so long as I do it quiet like. So I get him backed off in a corner—and you know what happens? The damn flash bulb blowed up and everybody at the party come running over to see what happened."

Thus with the career of Senator Mike Monroney from Oklahoma. He is the kind of dogged Western fighter whose voting record may not always jibe with what some of the people back home may like but who can be counted on to act with courage and honesty in the United States Senate.

RESISTANCE IN ILLINOIS

Is the Tide Turning?

by R. Will Burnett and Henrietta DeBoer

Urbana, Ill.

THE successful fight against the Broyles bills in this central Illinois community of Champaign-Urbana should encourage all who had begun to despair of stopping the trend toward thought control. The first of the two bills introduced by Broyles in the Illinois Senate on February 20, 1953, S.B. 101, would have created a fifteen-member Seditious Activities Investigation Commission charged with the duty of investigating any activities of any "person . . . association . . . or society . . . which are suspected of being directed toward the overthrow of the government of the United States or the state of Illinois." The second, S.B. 102, would have made it a felony "for any person knowingly and wilfully to (a) commit . . . any act intended to overthrow or destroy . . . the constitutional form of the government of the United States, or of the state of Illinois . . . by revolution, force, violence, or other unlawful means; or (b) advocate, abet, advise, or teach by any means any person to commit, attempt to commit, or assist in the commission of any such act under such circumstances as to constitute a clear and present danger to the security of the United States, or the state of Illinois. . . ." The bill would have made it a felony for a person knowingly to remain a member of a "subversive" organization, punishable by a $5,000 fine or imprisonment of from one to five years. It would have outlawed "subversive" organizations in the state and charged an assistant attorney general with responsibility to submit to county grand juries information relating to the activities of Communist and other "subversive" organizations or persons. Various public officers, including the police, would have been called upon to supply him with information and assistance. All public employees would have been required to swear that they were not "subversive." Public agencies would have been called upon to discharge any person concerning whom there was "reasonable ground" to believe that he was "subversive."

IN THE BEGINNING these bills were expected to pass both houses by overwhelming majorities. Similar bills had passed both houses in the previous session but had been vetoed by Governor Stevenson. This time it was expected that Republican Governor William Stratton would sign promptly.

It was first realized that opposition to this year's bills was not entirely a lost cause when thirty-two representatives of Illinois organizations sought to speak against them at the Senate hearing on March 17. Among these organizations were chapters of the American Association of University Professors of the University of Illinois, Northwestern University, and Illinois Normal University; a committee representing 126 campus groups at the University of Chicago; the Illinois League of Women Voters; the Chicago Area Universalist-Unitarian Association; the American Jewish Congress; the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church; the Chicago Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; the Chicago Teachers Union; the Illinois Education Association; Hadassah; and the State Council of the C.I.O. Eight persons, chiefly representatives of veterans' organizations, appeared in behalf of the bills; no large non-veteran organization sent representatives to speak for them. Yet the Senate committee recommended passage.

The real fight began after the hearing. Opposition witnesses and spectators who had expected a rational discussion of the merits of the bills were shocked by the bullying tactics of some members of the committee. Five housewives from Champaign-Urbana who watched from the galleries were moved to write a letter to local papers, copies of which

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R. WILL BURNETT is professor of education at the University of Illinois; HENRIETTA DE BOER, a Champaign, Illinois, housewife, was secretary of the committee that opposed the Broyles bills.

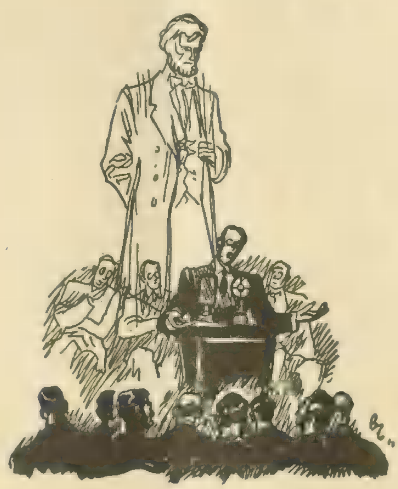
were distributed to papers throughout the state. Opposition in the twin cities, seat of the University of Illinois, rapidly became articulate.

The Champaign-Urbana Peace Council held a luncheon at which Professor R. N. Sullivan of the Law School presented an analysis of the bills. The university chapter of the American Federation of Teachers asked for and received from the Twin City Federation of Labor a statement of opposition for presentation to the legislature. Three professors of the College of Education drafted a critical analysis of the bills which was signed by forty-seven persons, chiefly from the College of Education, and sent to the press and to members of the legislature. Finally, the student organization, WORLD, called a meeting of faculty, student, and community groups to coordinate local efforts against the bills. At this meeting the Champaign-Urbana Committee to Oppose the Broyles Bills was born.

THE FIRST THING the committee did was to announce a public meeting in Loyalty Hall of the McKinley Foundation (Presbyterian), at which Senator James W. Gray of East St. Louis, who led the opposition to the bills in the Senate, was guest speaker. Prominent members of the student body, the faculty, and the churches also spoke.

Other influential community leaders began to air their views. Henry P. Rusk, dean emeritus of the College of Agriculture, described by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* as "American as a prairie cornfield," said in an address to the Champaign Rotary, "I have enough faith in representative government to believe that if people who cherish the traditions that have made this country great will vigorously express their views, this bill will not pass unless amended so that it will be a positive rather than a negative force for the protection of human dignity and the preservation of a free America." Stewart Scott Cairns, chairman of the Mathematics Department, in a statement to the press urged all friends of the university to do their utmost to bring about the defeat of the Broyles bills. Subsequently in a radio debate with Norval Hodges, a local Legionnaire, Cairns called S.B. 102 "itself subversive, tending to overthrow a basic principle of American justice." A resolution signed by 283 Illinois mathematicians supported this position. The university senate, consisting of more than four hundred full professors, passed a resolution opposing the bills.

Local ministers joined in the fight. The Reverend Paul Burt, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church near the university campus, told his congregation he had "deep apprehension of the evil consequences" of the Broyles bills if passed. The Reverend Dwight Enberg, pastor of the Church of the Brethren, told the press that the proposed legislation "seems to contribute to the mass psychosis which is leading directly to World War III." The Reverend Arnold Westwood, of the Urbana Unitarian Church, went to Springfield to testify against the bills. Others wrote letters of protest to legislators from this district.



A group of housewives living in a small-homes subdivision in Champaign, having heard about the Broyles bills through releases sent out by the League of Women Voters, studied the text and went to work. From their own funds they made 500 reprints of the bills and attached a letter which said in part, "Our form of government does not condemn an individual until he has been shown to be guilty by fair trial and due process of law. . . . If you are opposed to this bill as we are, please write today to your legislators." These were delivered to their neighbors.

Other evidence that the fight against the Broyles repressive legislation was not confined to persons connected with the University of Illinois was furnished by a radio program of the local League of Women Voters, broadcast over the university station, WILL. This was a panel discussion of the bills by a leading Champaign business man, a minister, a veteran, and a housewife. John J. Bresee, state's attorney of Champaign County, declared before the Rantoul Rotary Club that the bills would force applicants for state positions to prove their innocence before being employed, which would be contrary to the American tradition of presumptive innocence. His statement was circulated among all Illinois state's attorneys by the Committee to Oppose the Broyles Bills.

The press of the state was generally against the bills. The Chicago and Illinois bar associations were against them. Laird Bell, Harold W. Swift, and Edward L. Ryerson of Chicago were some of the business and professional leaders who insisted as in 1951 that the bills would "not fulfil their apparent intention but are unwise and dangerous."

PERHAPS the proponents of the bills overextended themselves. The swift and angry reaction of a conservative community like Champaign-Urbana testifies to the good sense and basic fairness of the American people at a time when politicians are trying to capitalize on anti-Communist hysteria. When Senator Meyer at the Senate hearing informed a witness that the purpose of the bills was not to prohibit full exploration of ideas but to prevent people from reaching the wrong conclusions, he outraged honest conservatives everywhere. When the Legion witness named the American Friends Service Committee and the Packinghouse Workers—and Senator Lottie Holman O'Neill threw in the "One Worlders"—as the kind of people these bills are designed to "get," the purposes of the proposed legislation were fully revealed.

The Broyles bills are dead today. Here in the Middle West it has been possible, at least for a time, to stem the movement toward thought control. The avalanche of mail that descended on members of the House and Senate and the Governor brought about the defeat of S.B. 101 and the drastic amendment of 102. Then, when the watered-down version of the latter passed both houses, Republican Governor Stratton, whose liberal record thus far has amazed everyone, vetoed it. A great victory for intellectual freedom has been won. Could it be the turning of the tide?

BOOKS

Russia in Flux

RUSSIA: WHAT NEXT? By Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press. $3.

MALENKOV: STALIN'S SUCCESSOR. By Martin Ebon. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.75.

MALENKOV. By Robert Frazier. Lion Books. 25 cents.

THE KREMLIN VS. THE PEOPLE. By Robert Magidoff. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

CURRENT SOVIET POLICIES. Documentary Record. Frederick A. Praeger. $6.

By Mark Gayn

BEFORE me, as I write, lie some twenty recent books on the Soviet Union. Evidence of the vast interest in the subject, they are also a measure of our ignorance. For in most of them bias marches alongside emotion, and denunciation masquerades as analysis.

One of the very few happy exceptions is Isaac Deutscher's new study. A small book compared to his monumental biography of Stalin, "Russia: What Next?" is in a way another tour de force. For having turned his manuscript over to the printers only six weeks after Stalin's death, Mr. Deutscher in effect staked his professional reputation on the accuracy of his forecasts. Perhaps the best proof of his prophetic gifts is the fact that none of his predictions have yet been shown wrong, some have already come true, and the book remains as fresh, pertinent, and enlightening as it was back in April.

What distinguishes Mr. Deutscher from the vast majority of writers on Russia is that he deals with ideas. Where others report isolated events, he detects trends; where others hunt for intrigue and conspiracy, he probes for the basic political and economic forces which must in the end dictate the behavior of the leaders. The Soviet Union to him is decidedly not "the Kremlin" but an immense and complex political organism subject to the laws that govern the development of any society. Mr. Deutscher is not really interested in Malenkov the man, but he is profoundly interested in the organism and the laws.

HIS THESIS is briefly this. When Lenin and Trotsky brought Marxism to Russia they saw the Bolshevik revolution as part of an international revolutionary movement. Any day, they felt, the workers of Europe would rise, overthrow their capitalist masters, and join Russia in a united proletarian revolutionary front. Russia could survive only because it was a segment of this enormous front. It was some years before this notion was abandoned. "Lenin died at a moment when history had overtaken him," Mr. Deutscher argues. "His illness and death relieved him of the necessity of grappling with a dilemma which he might have found insoluble."

The original Leninist assumptions and attitudes thus had to be revised, and it fell to Stalin to become the spokesman and leader of the revisionists. The main political product of his work was isolation. Since the workers of the world were neither willing nor able to rise in arms, Soviet Russia had to survive alone.

Out of this isolation sprang strange plants. One was the rapid growth of autocracy—which was already in evidence under Lenin and which, according to Mr. Deutscher, Lenin deplored. A revolutionary democracy of the 1917 model could not mobilize a peasant nation for an all-out industrial effort, nor did the Bolsheviks now command sufficient popular support. Another important product of this new isolationism was that Marxism, essentially a Western political theory, was superimposed on a non-congenial Oriental background. The Bolshevik Party, Mr. Deutscher maintains, had "to cut itself loose from the specifically Western tradition of Marxism. It had to lay itself open to the slow, persistent infiltration of native backwardness and barbarism, even while it struggled to defeat that backwardness and barbarism." Out of this came the incredible "primitive magic" of the Stalin era, which left such a heavy imprint on the methods of government, culture, diplomacy, and Stalin's own role.

Out of the Bolshevik isolationism—disguising itself as "socialism in one country"—came the cynical use of foreign Communist parties, and of the Comintern, to promote the Soviet Union's ends. Foreign revolutions could be, and were, sacrificed to prevent crises that might have endangered Russia. In 1948 Stalin told the Yugoslav Kardelj that he had tried to persuade Mao Tse-tung himself to dissolve his armies and collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek.

The autocracy, the Red magic, and the isolationism were all earmarks of the Stalin era. But there were others. Millions of peasants were taught to operate a lathe, and millions of new workers were taught labor discipline—often with a barbaric severity—and the better of them were given rewards that re-created a class society and made a mockery of socialism. However it was done, Russia was industrialized, and when the big test came in the summer of 1941, it withstood it.

BUT EVEN as the end of Lenin's era preceded his physical death, so did the end of Stalinism precede Stalin's decease. The enormous industrialization had changed the minds and *mores* of the Soviet people. The newly created literate class could be made to utter the

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MARK GAYN, *author and foreign correspondent, has first-hand knowledge of Russia and other Communist countries.*

mumbo-jumbo of Stalinist black magic, but it could not be made to believe in it. The people had outgrown their framework of Stalinist politics, methods, and institutions. Just as importantly, while Stalin continued to talk of isolation, in fact the isolation had long ended, and communism was triumphant in a third of the entire globe. Last October, in what now appears to have been intended as his political testament, Stalin suggested isolation for this one-third of the globe, but that no longer made sense. Stalinism was dead in all but the name.

The men under Stalin have been aware of the profound changes at home and abroad, and Mr. Deutscher assumes that there has been a prolonged and furious debate in the Red inner councils which is not yet over. On the basis of Yugoslav testimony he believes Malenkov to be the leader of the faction that sees as its prime need a drastic change in the ways of Soviet life. In other words, the political structure and philosophy have to be modernized, to make them match the fact of Soviet industrialization. This is not an easy process, for there is opposition from the Stalinist diehards as well as from such vested interests as the secret police. Mr. Deutscher accurately forecasts the fall of Beria and the muzzling of the police by the party. Parenthetically, he also foresees a rise in the importance of the army, though he doubts a Bonapartist putsch.

But out of the need to concentrate attention on the momentous problem at home comes the anxiety to eliminate all causes of friction abroad—for years to come. Thus, again accurately, Mr. Deutscher forecasts the course of Moscow's "peace offensive" and the relaxation of Stalinist controls and methods in the satellite world.

American critics have dealt cruelly with Mr. Deutscher's book—some because his analysis has its roots in Marxist thought, others because he is an ex-Communist, still others because "dimly on a distant horizon" he sees Malenkov leading the Communist Party toward "democratic regeneration." In the reviews I have read, the critics have dealt with disjointed and minor areas of the book, without presenting the bone and muscle of Mr. Deutscher's theme. It is true, of course, that like all hasty books this one is not without flaws. There is an occasional startling reference to a dubious source; there are doubtful points and debatable arguments, certainly including the author's hope for "democratic regeneration" under communism. But, withal, Mr. Deutscher has produced a piece of original, well-reasoned, and supremely important thinking on the most significant topic of our day. It can only whet the reader's appetite for his forthcoming two-volume biography of Trotsky.

AFTER Mr. Deutscher's work nearly all other recent books seem mediocre. The two biographies of Malenkov have also been done in a hurry, but where Mr. Deutscher has provided depth, Mr. Ebon and Mr. Frazier lack it, and where he has dealt with ideas and political phenomena, they have put emphasis on rival ambitions in Moscow. Both biographies are padded. Mr. Ebon does it legitimately, by devoting close to half of his book to the reprint of Malenkov's important speech of last October. Mr. Frazier includes such chapters as Malenkov and Sex ("This chapter is the first attempt made anywhere . . .").

Robert Magidoff's book is made of far better tissue, if only because the author is a conscientious reporter with a first-hand knowledge of Russia. Much of its material could, in fact, be used to illustrate Mr. Deutscher's thesis, even though in all likelihood Mr. Magidoff would not see eye to eye with him. Certainly Mr. Magidoff's grim and detailed account of life under Stalinism, and of the resultant strains, would support Mr. Deutscher's argument that Malenkov must undertake reforms if he is to avoid an internal explosion.

Finally, there is a volume that must become indispensable to a student of Russia. "Current Soviet Policies" is a compilation of all the important Soviet documents since last October. It is all there: Stalin's testament ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R."), the case of the Kremlin doctors, Mao's eulogy of Stalin, and even some faked Soviet photographs in *Pravda (Truth)*. The material comes from the valuable *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, and there is a brief introduction by Leo Gruliow. A reader armed with this volume, and with Mr. Deutscher's study, is well equipped to handle anything that may come to him from the dimness of Moscow.

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New Books in Brief

Jefferson on the Air

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE. Edited by and with an Introduction by Dumas Malone; Written by Morton Wishengrad, Milton Geiger, Joseph Mindel, George Probst. Beacon. $3.50.

This is a pleasantly arranged and illustrated reader's version of twelve radio plays presenting episodes in Jefferson's life and some ideas of his that men need to be reminded of. The plays were put on the air for the first time in the autumn of 1952 as part of the Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, and microgroove recordings of them may be had from the association's headquarters at the University of Illinois. Of the plays it may be said that they dramatize the undramatic Jefferson effectively, that they are sweetened with unforced humor and sentiment, and that they are as persistently didactic as the man himself. Their success on the air, with and without the aid of the television camera, has been general, and they should continue to be useful. Jefferson's ideas are necessarily presented somewhat in isolation from their historical and psychological contexts, but as that is how they survive anyway it is hardly an objection to their further propagation over the air waves. All in all, the volume represents a commendably conducted experiment and will be worth study by anyone engaged in similar work.

Applied Gandhi

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By Dhirendra Mohan Datta. University of Wisconsin Press. $2.50.

This book is an analysis of Gandhi's ideas under the headings: Background of Gandhi's Philosophy; God, World, and Man; Morals, Society, and Politics; Moral Leadership of the World. The author is a distinguished professor of philosophy in the University of Patna, India, who spent the academic year 1951-52 as visiting professor at the universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Though Gandhi himself was not a philosopher, the appeal of his ideas lay in their origin in traditional Hindu religio-philosophical thought and the persuasive application which he made of them to modern Indian conditions. They were, too, the directive principles of his private life as well as his public career. Professor Datta, by identifying and defining these ideas, illustrating them from Gandhi's writings, and adding a lucid commentary of his own, provides a brief, instructive aid to the understanding of Gandhi and of India.

Help for Psychopaths

HOPE FOR THE TROUBLED. By Lucy Freeman. Crown Publishers. $3.

A simple and instructive guide "to the various aids available for the emotionally disturbed," by the author of "Fight Against Fears," the story of her own experience with psychoanalysis. Although written on a popular level, for a large audience rather than a sophisticated one, it is sound, useful, and often entertaining. Miss Freeman avoids all the pitfalls that her material and her approach might lead her to. When she permits herself—as in the section on the indiscriminate use of shock treatment and psychosurgery (lobotomy), to deal with more intricate material, she is both acute and eloquent. This is perhaps the best section of the present book; the comment of a "schizophrenic" girl on the real meaning of her shock treatments is illuminating. "I didn't want the insulin to cure me. I wanted it to kill me."

Very Continental

CHÉRI and THE LAST OF CHÉRI. By Colette. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

This is a new translation by Roger Senhouse of stories that are perhaps Colette's masterpieces. They trace the history of a handsome, spoiled young gigolo and of his mistress, the demi-mondaine Léa de Lonval, whose whole life has been devoted to men, and who makes the tragic error, in her maturity, of falling in love. In the first book Chéri is also caught by his relationship with Léa; after his marriage he returns and plans to make a new life with her, only to notice, in the morning light, the signs of her age. Colette's heroine, a remarkable person, is left looking into her bedroom pier glass, "wondering what she could have in common with that crazy creature." It is a penetrating and brilliant description of French courtesan life in the pre-war world of

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the 1910's, an ironic and sympathetic Continental tale, quite inconceivable in an American setting, absolutely convincing as it is. In the second book Chéri's life goes rapidly downhill; he returns once more to find his former mistress—this generous, wise, gallant woman—holding herself together by sheer will-power and excellent corsets. But Léa accepts fate and her "sexless dignity," while he disintegrates in the slow, flat, merciless way which Colette describes so well. The two books are quite different in tone; the first one is unique; both are excellent.

Call-Girl and Racketeer

MARTHA CRANE. By Charles Gorham. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

A curious novel which leads one to the conclusion either that Mr. Gorham is an immensely gifted novelist with rather slight intellectual equipment or that, in his own medium, he is doing no better than the "hucksters" he takes off so brilliantly in the area of commercial entertainment. Immensely readable, this story of a call-girl and a Greek racketeer has literary and moral pretensions, but that is all.

Films

Manny Farber

IT WOULD be silly to underrate Hollywood's current battle with stereoscopic film technique. The conversion to 3-D or its alternative, the wide screen, is not any overnight occurrence dreamed up as a counter-attack against television. Hollywood's move toward "giant screen" effects and a three-dimensional look about the actors has been going on in earnest since the period of "The Best Years of Our Lives." In fact, it has been the chief drive in the work of every important American director except De Mille, who never changes, and Huston. The basic objective in "new vision" films seems to be the same as that of "flat" films—a more accurate and natural image.

What you usually see on the new aluminized screen is a picture in which the actors' contours are extremely sharp and there is little building up of the figure with dramatic light effects. The 3-D director, in order to make you aware of the depth factor in a scene, tries to lead your eye quickly past the actors. Along with sharpening the outline of bodies, there is an effort to clarify the "feeling" of negative spaces—the spaces in a composition that are more or less unfilled. One of the most overworked images in the new 3-D's is a view through a frame made of an animal's legs, the boughs of a tree, or the opening between the wheels of a wagon. The frame intensifies the feeling of space behind it, making a sort of hole between the front plane of the screen and whatever is seen in the background.

The result of this three-dimensionalism is a more exact impression of masses. Flat cinema tended to put so many pounds on the actors that the rarest sight in a Hollywood film was a small wiry figure. Now for the first time a lot of lean or close-knit shapes are showing up in films—such as those of Guy Madison and Frank Lovejoy in "Feather River"—and some actors who were getting too bulky for the screen, like Mitchum, seem to have suddenly shrunk.

UNFORTUNATELY, working in a 3-D film does not seem to improve the acting of stars. "Second Chance," the first 3-D with stars in the leading roles, amounts to a sort of hurried tour through Cuernavaca and Taxco. The characters are all chasing one another and fleeing from some dreadful thing in the United States. Jack Palance, an incredibly hardbreathing gunman, is trying to get as far from a crime investigation as possible, Linda Darnell is trying to shake Palance along with her past as a famous gun moll, and Bob Mitchum, also pursuing Darnell, is a prize-fighter drifting down hill from a fight in which he killed an opponent. These unhappy expatriates are not far from

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the characters in any Hemingway short story, but the actors, except Palance in his familiar "burning coal" performance, drift through the story as if it were a bad dream. Darnell's one effective scene is the product of a carefully planned shock—after thirty minutes of being clothed to the neck in black she is suddenly sprung on the audience in a gay, low-cut job. The three-dimensional expanse of Technicolored flesh is all but dazzling. Mitchum always shows good sense in his self-consciously indolent portrayals. He acts unpretentious as a celebrity in a Mexican town, is frankly lascivious the moment he sees Darnell, and manages to look agile and crafty in the prize ring. But that prize-fight scene is the only one in which he seems to be awake.

The actors apparently lose heart when they are shrouded in bad to fair photographic effects. Every actor before he operates must be placed in an awkward composition that carefully defines the front, middle, and back planes of the picture. The shot that made the greatest impression on me was the very first—the back of Palance's head coldly cutting into the bottom of the screen while one of his gangster enemies parades unknowingly before him in the foyer of a hotel. This rigid composition repeats itself almost as often as the "trick" shots—the gun blasting straight at your eyes, the rocket showering sparks on your head, Mitchum dangling Jack Pickford-fashion from a rope attached to a busted cable-car.

Something should be said about the dark, confining spectacles one wears at 3-D films, the multiple sound tracks that give the impression of voices coming from the side of the screen, and the wide screen with all the compositions "masked" top and bottom to fit. However, movies like "Charge at Feather River," "Arena," and "Second Chance" are mainly notable for their simple-minded stories in which there is always a chase after some prize, quarry, or goal as though movement—almost any kind of movement—were the key to depth.

"The Band Wagon" is a unique musical that takes place mostly backstage and shows how a sagging revue was "saved" by a fading star dancer. Nanette Fabray steals a picture that runs through enormous amounts of scenery, as only Director Minelli can make it do.

"Night Without Stars" is a nicely handled story of Riviera intrigue dealing with a nearly blind English lawyer and a power-crazed French lawyer. It has no substance whatsoever.

"From Here to Eternity" is a somewhat truncated and not very bold version of the famous Pearl Harbor novel: intelligent and enjoyable but with too many schmaltzy touches like Clift's beautiful trumpeting on just a bugle's mouthpiece. Except for Sinatra's angry, precocious Italian, the soldiers remind you of Hollywood stars. The girls—Kerr and Donna Reed—are realistic, worn-out, and quite disturbing. More later about this one.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

WHEN Virgil Thomson, in a review of the Columbia recording of Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess," after speaking of the excellence of its famous melodies and the weakness of the recitatives and passage work that cemented these solid musical bricks together, went on to say that the work had no musical shape but was merely a series of very fine musical numbers held together by the play, I wondered that he didn't perceive further that these musical numbers—e.g., "Summertime," "Bess, You Is My Woman Now," "It Ain't Necessarily So"—were in style and expressive connotation the songs of a Gershwin musical show, and acquired no meaning connected with a play about Negro inhabitants of Catfish Row when they were sung by Negroes in "Porgy and Bess." And reading some of the reviews of the revival of this "folk opera" the past season, I wondered again at the failure to perceive this incongruity of a play about Negroes set to the songs of a Gershwin musical, and the fallacy underlying it—the idea that the composer of first-rate American show music was the man to write the American symphony or opera, and that show music was the material to make it out of. This was like saying the Viennese symphony or opera had to be made by Johann Strauss out of his waltzes; and if Johann Strauss had acted on this idea he would have produced works like Gershwin's Piano Concerto and "Porgy and Bess," which are filled with Gershwin show music that communicates in these works exactly what it would communicate in a musical show. And "Porgy" represents the additional fallacy that because the Negro's jazz and blues contributed to the amalgam of Broadway show music, Broadway show tunes are the musical medium for any play about Negroes.

The occasion for speaking of this is the recent production of Blitzstein's "Regina" by the New York City Opera. In an article before the original Broadway production a few years ago Leonard Bernstein cited the public's acceptance of the operatic device of double soliloquy at one point in "South Pacific" in support of his contention that "out of this natural musical theater—one which is

. . . wholly an outgrowth of our culture—is emerging our opera, intelligible to all, exciting, real, and fitting." Fitting, it seems to me, when it is comedy, but not—judging by "Regina"—when it is melodrama.

Not having seen Lillian Hellman's play "The Little Foxes" I don't know whether in the last scene Regina's demands backed by threats of exposure caused her brother to waggle a finger at her and call her, with mock reproachfulness, a greedy girl. If they did, this moment of grim humor didn't break the continuity and tension of the scene. But in "Regina" it becomes *Greedy Girl,* a musical-comedy song with a clever and amusing lyric, and an interpolation long enough not only to break the tension of the scene and the continuity of the action, but to establish a musical comedy context in which the melodrama becomes as unreal and absurd as the serious moments are in Rodgers and Hammerstein musicals.

And elsewhere in "Regina" such incongruous contexts are created by some of the serious arias which also have the melodies and lyrics and the expressive connotations of show songs. Much of "Regina" is in fact an American musical; and there is nothing wrong in an American musical, but I can't see it working as a setting of a play like "The Little Foxes," nor does Blitzstein's mixture of American musical and verismo work for the play he has made himself out of "The Little Foxes."

The musical-show portions of "Regina" testify to Blitzstein's gift for that genre; from most of the other portions one would conclude that it is exclusively for that genre. He is able to whip up a crescendo of intensity for Regina, to contrive for her the effective device of the innocent-sounding waltz to which she sings venomous words; but for the expressive requirements of the other characters and dramatic situations he reveals an inadequacy of musical imagination and invention that merely reaches its extreme form in the occasional abandonment of music and resort to speech. What he has done in "Regina" is use his gift for musical shows to cover his lack of the gift required to set "The Little Foxes" to music.

Apparently the directors of the New York City Opera hold the ideas I have discussed in this article, including Bernstein's about our opera emerging out of the musical shows that are our "natural" musical theater. I infer this not merely from their producing "Regina," but from their statement last winter that they intended to produce "Show Boat" in order to realize the musical values of this piece that had not been realized on Broadway—a statement which indicated that they too, like C. B. S.'s James Fassett, were unaware of the difference between a Picasso "Guernica" postscript and a Peter Arno cartoon, and of the fact that each has its own quality, its own value, its own perfection. The music of "Show Boat" is some of the loveliest of its kind; but I know of no values in this kind beyond the ones realized in the Broadway productions of such works—which is to say, none of the kind that an opera company is concerned with.

Letters

The "Official" Labor Press

Dear Sirs: Ben Pearse's article, The Labor Press, in your July 25 issue presents an excellent summary of some of the problems of trade-union publications in this country. There is one aspect of the problem of gaining reader interest, however, which Mr. Pearse does not deal with.

He writes that "for the most part, the union paper is not intended to be anything but a house organ, reflecting the policies of the elected officials." That is all too true. What is notably missing in almost all union publications is any provision for the expression of the opinions of sections of the membership or individuals who disagree with the elected officers on matters of policy or the manner in which policy is carried out. The stimulating effects of controversy are almost completely lacking.

In this respect, the union press fails to perform one of the most important educational functions open to it. Intelligent and active members who try to participate in the formation of policy by writing critical letters or articles for the papers find that they are generally suppressed. It is little wonder that even members who start out by being interested eventually come to the conclusion that their union paper is not going to deal with vital issues except in the form of "official" statements heavily larded with "official" optimism and "official" double-talk.

Labor, one of the best of the union papers, is just as guilty of this "house organ" attitude as most others. But it has a special problem, since it is controlled by "Fifteen Recognized Standard Railroad Labor Organizations." At times some of these fall out in their approach to problems, and then the editors of *Labor* are in the soup. Almost never do they follow the obvious and educational method of letting both sides present their case so that the membership may judge the issues. Usually they print almost ludicrously vague articles on such disputes, so that the members must read the daily press or find out from their own officers just what the argument is about. *Labor* of course rigidly excludes any seriously critical letters from its "Editor's Mail Bag" columns.

This policy of the labor press reflects the attitude of most labor leaders toward criticism from the ranks. A labor editor who sought to give full play to democratic discussion in his paper would soon be looking for a job. But there can be no doubt that this aspect of the labor press greatly decreases the interest which it holds for large numbers of trade unionists.

GORDON HASKELL,
Assistant Editor, *Labor Action*

New York

How Can It Be Vitalized?

Dear Sirs: Ben Pearse's Fifteen Million Readers Plus is exciting news. A good labor paper in every one of fifteen million homes, with a possible thirty million readers, might well be the answer to the one-party press. But the labor press as a whole will need a terrific jazzing-up—a task that should be placed high on the agendas of labor conferences and conventions. The handful of notable exceptions only emphasize the abysmal dulness of the mass.

Still, the effort to improve the writing should not lean too heavily on those who make a profession of damning the adjective. Simplicity, yes; since the vast

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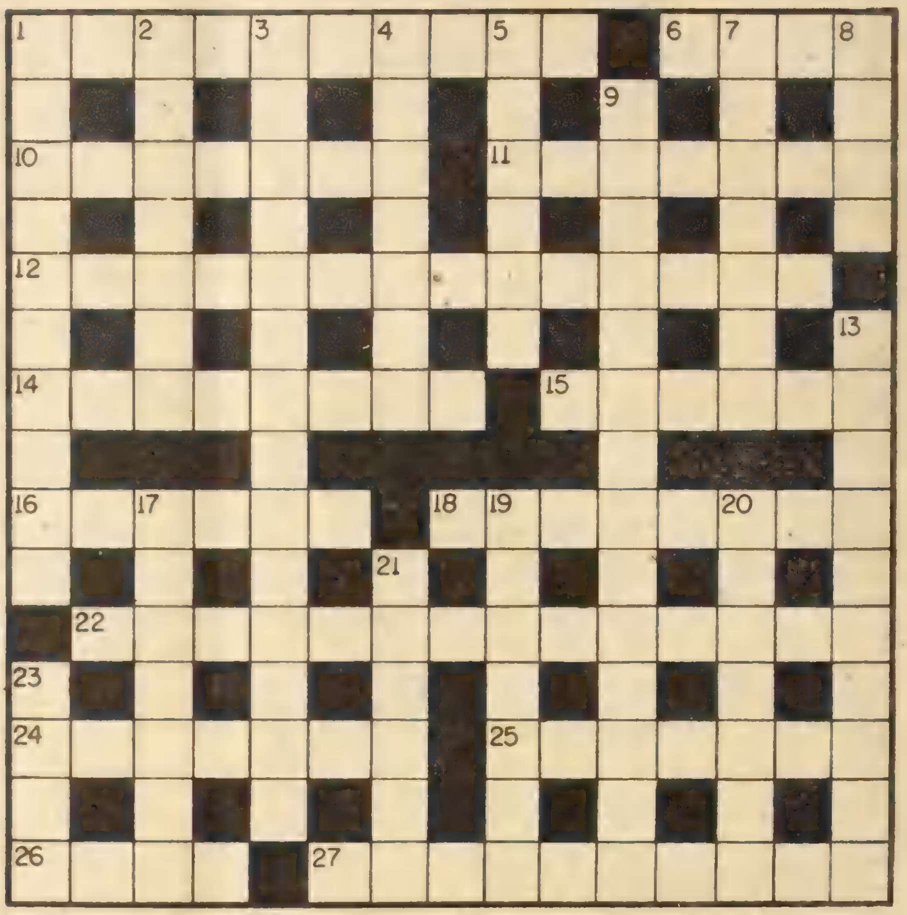
Crossword Puzzle No. 527

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Shaded lane? (5, 5)
6 Misled with a lack of medical authority. (4)
10 Simpers, as a way to attract attention. (7)
11 Coats are not found on those exemplified by Jack Ketch. (7)
12 What's a microcosm? (3, 1, 5, 5)
14 and 9 down. A word to the wise seldom goes! (2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 5)
15 Sounds like a sort of sea scout. (6)
16 Pastry sold at a London garden, or won at the fair? (6)
18 Does the saying imply the horse would have to, if one's timing is off? (8)
22 Certainly not vesper Magnificats. (7-7)
24 Looks with affection? (7)
25 The Tale of Jim Thorpe, perhaps? (7)
26 Usually not held as long at 4 as at the bank. (4)
27 Not high degrees of speed! (10)

DOWN

1 Dip, and the core of the candle is around! (10)
2 This is spread on a little thick. (7)
3 Their occupation might be habit forming. (5, 9)
4 "Met" in its Italian equivalent? (2, 5)
5 Not so well as it used to be? (6)
7 He calls for the coat you might have put on! (7)
8 The way to look for the first of 22 to break. (4)
9 See 14 across.
13 Flowers to Wordsworth, for example? (He's usually considered superior to them!) (10)
17 and 23. Worked in the past with something associated with the press. (7, 4)
19 Inclined not to be what one who 27 does. (7)
20 Support. (7)
21 Implying the air has only one 26 at a time. (6)
23 See 17 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 526

ACROSS:—1 MAJOR INTERVALS; 8 RODOMONTADES; 10 CLEARFIELD; 13 OX-EYES; 14 INNUENDO; 16 EARMUFFS; 17 BEAT IT; 19 TIER; 20 MONTE CARLO; 22 POLE-VAULTING; 23 BEAR TO THE RIGHT.

DOWN:—1 MOROCCO LEATHER; 2 and 11 JUDGE LEARNED HAND; 3 REMORSEFUL; 4 NUNCIO; 5 ENABLING; 6 and 15 VIEW OF TOLEDO; 7 FOOD FOR THOUGHT; 9 BARNSTORMING; 12 TUBERCULAR; 18 ATTACH; 21 DOUR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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majority of our union membership has not had much education. But who has not seen simplicity degenerate into a deadly dulness! To catch and hold interest we need vigor, color, freshness, variety—and above all a concern for the reader as a human being.

Would it be feasible for *The Nation* to have a kind of symposium on "vitalizing the labor press"? The idea has tremendous possibilities. I should very much like to hear from others on the subject. My address is 2502 Mishawaka Ave., South Bend.

NICHOLAS LENTZ, Shop Steward

South Bend, Ind.

To Ben Robbins

Dear Sirs: Three Arrows Cooperative Colony recently celebrated the seventieth anniversary of Ben Robbins, several times the president of our cooperative. A humanist, humanitarian, equalitarian, and so very spirited in his honesty and integrity, Ben has explored the deepest areas of creative living by his dedication to social responsibilities. *Nation* readers, to many of whom Ben Robbins is a symbol of the cooperative spirit, may enjoy this birthday tribute to him.

AN ADAM FOR TOMORROW

Life complained because he dared to smile
When she, in whim, her Gorgon head displayed
Or when, as Lady Fortune, would beguile,
Declined to stoop for dross before him laid.

But at his will he ravished her instead,
Revealing charms the cruel gods forbade
Debasing men so fellowship they dread
To flee from life in ego mantle clad.

In teaching all his wants to do with less
He held a mirror up to Life to show
How beauty seeded deep in selflessness
Was best designed to make the spirit grow.
So Life surrenders all for him to savor
Though jealous that mankind receives his favor.

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The
Passion
of
Sacco
and
Vanzetti
By
Howard
Fast

HOWARD FAST has been called "the biographer of man's struggle for dignity and freedom." We know of no better definition for his work. It is today twenty years since the publication of Howard Fast's first novel by the Dial Press. During the space of those twenty years, he has become the most widely read of all living novelists—his books translated into every written language on earth. At the same time, his name has become a symbol of the people's resistance to tyranny in America.

Two years ago, Howard Fast began a novel on the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. When he began to write, the Rosenbergs still lived; Harry Truman was president of the land; and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois faced trial as "an agent of peace."

The manuscript of this new novel proceeded slowly. Draft after draft was discarded. As Fast puts it:

> *"The difficulty in writing seemed to increase in relationship to the closeness of the theme. Here was a theme torn out of the very heart of America's agony. Again and again, I failed in what I imagined should be done and in what I felt must be done. The final result can only be called an attempt to interpret a part of a struggle I have been very close to for a long time."*

Nevertheless, the final result, a book called THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, is considered by many to be the most important of Howard Fast's books. It is the tale of the last eighteen hours in the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; it is also a study in the continuing pattern of judicial frame-up and murder here in America —and an investigation into the sources of strength in people who are the victims of these monstrous incidents.

But above all, it is a gripping and moving novel—a book you must not only read yourself, but put into the hands of your friends.

At the BLUE HERON PRESS, we are endeavoring to see that thousands of Americans read this book—to prove that McCarthy and his like cannot prevent the circulation of the truth in America. We believe this is a good book, a weapon for the people of America—a book filled with love for America and concern for the best traditions of America.

> *That is why we are turning to you now. We must sell as many copies of this novel in advance as possible; this is the only salvation for a small publishing house which has no other capital than the energies of a few devoted people. We have asked Howard Fast to autograph a first edition. He has agreed, and we are taking advance orders for it.*

Though the book will not be published until September 10th, the autographed first edition will be mailed out a month before then. Clip out the coupon below and mail it to us with three dollars ($3.00) in cash or check. If you have already subscribed, introduce a friend to the work of Howard Fast. It is one of the best ways we know of advancing the people's cause in America today.

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LATIN AMERICA: SHALL WE LOSE IT? by WALDO FRANK

AG 18 '53

THE *Nation*

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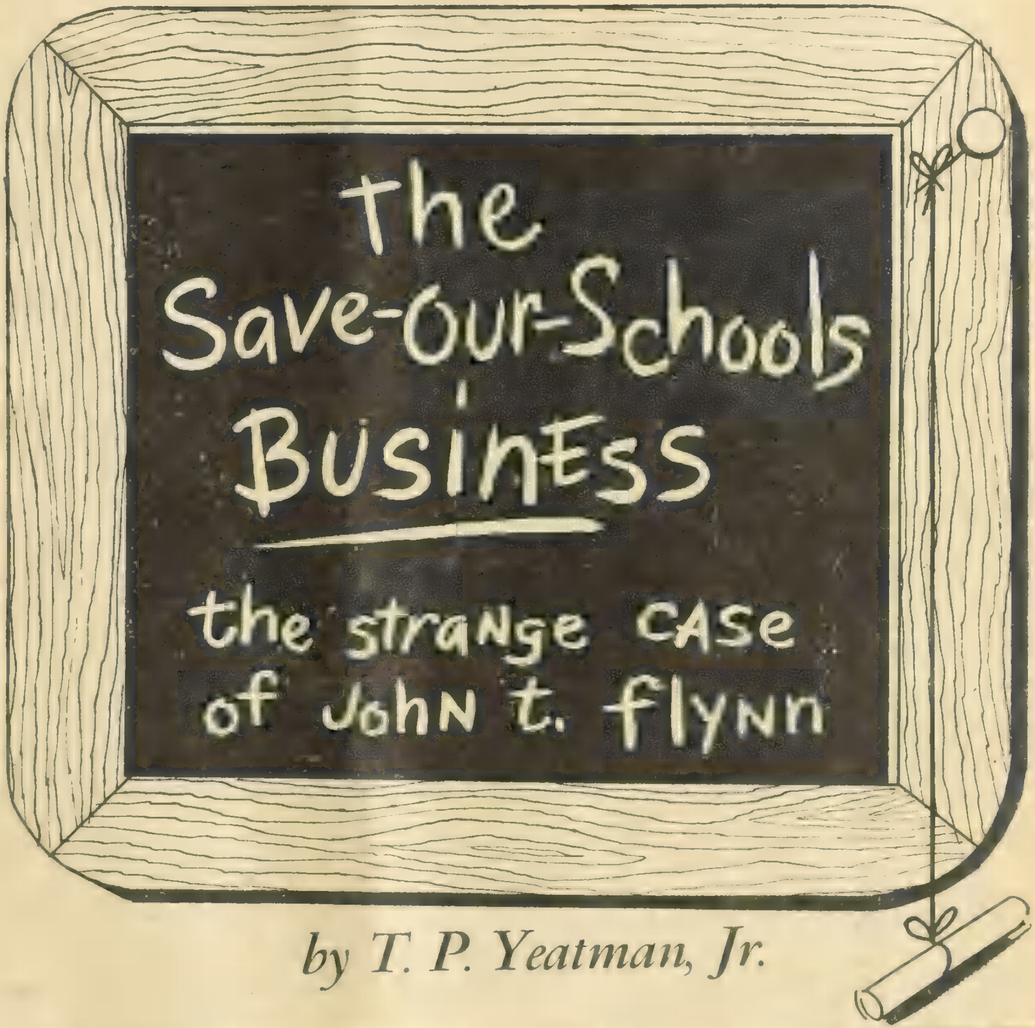
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André Gide *Joseph Wood Krutch*

A Review of Justin O'Brien's "Portrait"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE *Nation* Bulletin Board:

EMERSON once said "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." In this time of recantation and disavowal of past beliefs there are many who might call on Emerson to support them. Whether or not you agree with him, you'll be fascinated by the Yeatman study (page 128) of The Strange Case of John T. Flynn—the story of a man who certainly hasn't permitted a "foolish consistency" to shackle his mind. If Mr. Flynn would like to offer an observation, we submit the wise words of the child who said, "My memory is the thing I forget with."

. . . Professor Alfred McClung Lee in his interesting book on "How to Understand Propaganda" (Rinehart) deplores today's "pall of orthodoxy." He writes: "To combat the growing and stultifying orthodoxy of our day we must somehow find new ways to learn what is actually happening in the major power struggles internationally, nationally, and locally." Lee suggests one way when he adds that such "unorthodox publications" as *The Nation* "have an influence vastly greater than their tiny circulations, and their kind should be multiplied."

. . . The Honolulu *Record* and the Honolulu *Advertiser* both reprinted the article by Judge Metzger on why he was no longer a federal judge from the July 18 *Nation*. The *Record* noted that Delegate Joseph Farrington's Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* had ducked the story thus far. . . . Kansas City *Call* ran Peter Abrahams's July 11 piece on the Jomo Kenyatta trial. . . . St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, in its "Between the Book-Ends" column, used Judge Charles E. Clark's brilliant *Nation* review of William Winslow Crosskey's "Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States." . . . National *C. I. O. News* ran a good-sized feature based on Ben Pearse's July 25 article on the labor press. Reaction to this article from labor circles was that Pearse knew his way around a very complicated field. . . . Malcolm Logan's Fable for Americans was picked up by the Reverend Eugene Kreves for his bulletin, *Natural Religion*. Mr. Kreves also commented that *The Nation* "is one of the best journals of contemporary life."

. . . A California friend writes us that the Council of the Los Angeles Medical Association has passed a resolution banning Communist doctors from membership on the ground that "any member of the Communist Party cannot act in a manner to accord with the letter or spirit of the Principles of Medical Ethics of the [A. M. A.]." This may include abjuring such matters as good old capitalistic fee-splitting and replacing the scalpel with the sickle. Our friend adds: "Next time the doctor reaches for your appendix, find out if he's had his loyalty check-up."

. . . Here's how one *Nation* reader made effective use of the magazine. John Grifalconi of Cincinnati, Ohio, asked for, and got, permission to reprint Alan Barth's spring article on threats to academic freedom (Congress on the Campus). He then had the piece reproduced via photo-offset and sent it to a large group of people.

. . . Dr. Fritz Sternberg, distinguished economist and a *Nation* contributor, will be in Los Angeles Wednesday evening, August 19, to speak on "The Change in the Nature of War." Dr. Sternberg's address is sponsored by the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice of Los Angeles.

. . . *Nation* readers might like to combine some relaxation with the opportunity to say hello to Carey McWilliams—who will give a talk the weekend of August 15 on Freedom and American Culture at Ann Chester's pleasant resort in Woodbourne, New York.

. . . Along with a three-year renewal ($17—saving of $4 over the one-year renewal rate) comes this letter from a government employee: "I do not presume that my beliefs are necessarily yours or that they ought to be. It is enough that you continue to have the courage to describe and interpret as objectively and intelligently as you are now doing, regardless of whom the truth displeases."

Letters

Voice of Freedom

Dear Sirs: I am astonished that there is not more objection in America to the inquisition by your new Holy Office into the lives and opinions of American citizens and eminent aliens. The law which permits this inquisition is a bad one, and in my opinion everyone, whatever his opinion, ought to refuse to obey this law in order to promote its repeal. It is somewhat ironic that in America, which was once regarded as the land of liberty, the most resounding voice in favor of freedom should come from a German. I sincerely hope that Einstein's splendid lead will be widely followed.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Richmond, England

Letter from Casals

Dear Sirs: I write to you in the hope that you will join me in aiding the thousands of Spanish refugees in France whose losing battle for freedom and subsequent exile from their homeland has been forgotten. Many of them are today in hospitals. Thousands are destitute—in need of food, medical care, and, not the least, moral encouragement.

A few of my American and European friends have joined together to form Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., of which the New York address is 45 Astor Place, Room 311, New York 3, N. Y. Your contributions to this organization will be used for immediate help to these unfortunate human beings.

Prades, France PABLO CASALS

Clarification from Dr. Hsu

THE EDITORS have received a letter, unfortunately too long for publication in full, from Francis L. K. Hsu, whose book, "Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life," together with "North from Malaya," by William O. Douglas, was reviewed on July 11 by Owen Lattimore. Mr. Hsu makes four points:

1. He is an anthropologist, not a sociologist.

2. Mr. Lattimore wrote that "Mr. Hsu was born in South Manchuria and went to high school in North Manchuria; so that the first foreign influences to impinge on him were Japanese and Russian rather than Western." Mr. Hsu states that "all the Chinese schools . . . were run on a Western model," and that English, not Japanese or Russian, was the second language.

(Continued on inside back cover)

Volume 177, Number 7
New York, Saturday, August 15, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Washington Takes It Calmly

The timing and manner of Malenkov's announcement that "the United States has no monopoly in the production of the hydrogen bomb" are perhaps more significant than the feverishly discussed issue of its accuracy. The whole statement was refreshingly matter-of-fact and non-belligerent. Once again the Soviet Premier emphasized that outstanding differences could be settled by agreement, reaffirmed Russia's desire for "a peaceful co-existence of the two systems," and specifically denied the existence of any "objective grounds" for a collision between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. Epithets were sparingly used, and at one point Malenkov referred to "the ideology and policy of the most aggressive groups in the United States"—a pleasant concession that the policy of these groups is not necessarily that of the American people.

The timing doubtless foreshadows a new Russian initiative in the United Nations on disarmament and international control of atomic weapons. Paradoxically it may be easier to achieve a "balanced," stage-by-stage plan of disarmament and atomic control now that the Soviets have both the A-bomb and the hydrogen bomb, since they need no longer fear that the stage-by-stage procedure would weaken them while simply postponing any real progress on atomic control. The United States may also be more inclined to negotiate now that it no longer holds the trump cards: collective bargaining has always implied some degree of equality in the strength of the parties. Perhaps because Congress was on its way home, Malenkov's statement was received in Washington with none of the near-hysteria displayed after President Truman's announcement of September 23, 1949, that the Soviets had exploded an atomic bomb. Can it be that each side is developing a more mature appreciation of the other's strengths and weaknesses?

With a Dash of Bitters

Reporting on his thirty-six-day visit to ten South American republics, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower explained that a major purpose of his mission had been to obtain "a broad continental perspective" on conditions affecting our relations with Latin America. The failure to develop such a perspective—the approach suggested by Waldo Frank's article in this issue—has consistently undercut our well-meaning but intermittent and often absent-minded attempts to establish mutually beneficial and durable relations with the Latin American republics. When larger issues have loomed, we have neglected these relations in a manner that has infuriated our neighbors; to be treated in an off-hand, forgetful fashion is even more irritating than to be slapped down or bullied.

Since the start of the Korean war, and particularly in the last two years, we have acted as if Latin America did not exist; now, belatedly, we are showing a reawakened but naive awareness. It would be pleasant to believe that Dr. Eisenhower's amiable public-relations sortie had repaired the damage, but the bullish reports on his mission must be taken, as the *Journal of Commerce* suggests, with "more than a dash of paprika." What he gave the Latin Americans was a pat on the back. Indeed, about all he could tell them was to be patient and wait for the publication, one year hence, of the report of the seventeen-man commission studying foreign economic problems. What they wanted to hear, of course, was that the Export-Import Bank would step up credits for the development projects on which they pin so large a measure of their hope for economic improvement.

Skirmish on Capitol Hill

In the skirmish on Capitol Hill over the Administration's request for a $15,000,000,000 increase in borrowing power, the Democrats, united for once, forced the Secretary of the Treasury to retreat in some disorder. Now if toward the end of the year the government is unable to meet its bills, it will be compelled to call a special session of Congress and stand in the spotlight defending itself against charges of extravagance.

For this setback Mr. Humphrey has largely himself to blame. A request for a modest increase in the debt limit would have been legitimate. The anticipated gap between income and expenditure in the second half of 1953 is $10,500,000,000, to cover which $6,000,000,000 has already been borrowed. Another $2,500,000,000 could be borrowed under the present law, and the rest could be obtained by drawing on Treasury cash holdings, which could be safely reduced to $4,000,000,000. But since

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proceeding on these lines would leave little margin for miscalculations or emergencies, an increase in the debt limit of, say, $2,000,000,000, could have been defended.

Mr. Humphrey not only asked for too much; he also attempted to rush Congress by postponing his request until the legislators were set to adjourn. His excuse that he was waiting to see what happened to the appropriation bills was thin, for since Congress has consistently voted less than the Administration asked, he has long known what his maximum liabilities would be.

The increase requested was ridiculously excessive unless the Administration is anticipating a new international crisis, or unless, as some Democrats suspect, it hoped to raise the debt limit quietly this summer the better to cut it dramatically next year when such action would have the maximum electoral impact.

New Crisis in Asia

In his address to the Governors' Conference at Seattle, President Eisenhower underscored the strategic importance of "the far-off corner" that is Southeast Asia. Should Indo-China fall, the peninsula would be "scarcely defensible." India would then be outflanked and Burma imperiled. And if the free world lost all that, how long would it hold the "rich empire of Indonesia"? Against this background, the President pointed out, the $400,000,000 appropriated to aid France's war in Indo-China could not be regarded as a "give-away program." It strikes us, however, as being precisely that.

Various reports from Southeast Asia in the past two weeks indicate that the real danger there is economic, not military. A sharp decline in the prices of raw materials—rubber, tin, cocoanut products, timber, kapok, and even of rice—has brought a curtailment of imports and deferment of strategic development projects. Rightly or wrongly, we are being blamed for the price slump. Thus the Secretary of the Malayan Trades Union Council asks if we are trying to reduce Malaya to the status of an American satellite. "Malaya," he points out, "is fighting a Communist war; so why does America grudge paying us a fair price for tin and rubber?" With trouble brewing, Japanese industrialists are busily promoting new joint enterprises with native interests as a means of regaining their former position in Southeast Asian markets.

This new crisis in the Pacific was not caused by the Korean war; the war delayed it by pushing up the price of raw materials to a new high in 1951. Only since the end of the war has Washington been forced to face the bad news that has been accumulating there for the last two years. Military aid will not resolve this crisis. Even a victory in Indo-China would not resolve it. Yet if the crisis deepens it can have a profound effect on the post-armistice political conference scheduled for October.

Splitting the Protestant Ranks

In summoning the Reverend Jack McMichael soon after the Oxnam hearing the House Committee on Un-American Activities is attempting to split the Protestant ranks. By harassing such men as McMichael and Dr. Harry F. Ward the committee seeks to force the more conservative Protestant leaders to abandon them, that is, to regard them as "expendable."

Protestant leadership should stand firm on the proposition that Congressional committees are miles off base in investigating the clergy. If they hold fast to this, they may soon be surprised to find Messrs. Velde and Jackson in the mourners' row, confessing their sins and seeking forgiveness. The argument will be made, of course, that the McMichaels and Wards cannot be defended without prejudicing larger Protestant interests, but once the left flank of the Protestant salient is turned, the entire line will be endangered. For Velde and his merry men are not interested in the Reverend Jack McMichael of Upper Lake, California. They are hunting bigger game, as Thomas L. Stokes pointed out in a recent column. "Representative Velde and Representative Jackson," said Mr. Stokes, "are obviously inching up gradually to an investigation of Protestant churches represented in the National Council of Churches of Christ, a majority of the Protestant churches." And he added that it might be a good idea if the Protestants were to make an investigation of their own to find out "who and what is behind this political attack on them so they may bring the plot out into the open if the committee persists." The suggestion is well advised.

Did You Miss These Items?

Not so long ago Jimmie Tarantino, a prize-fight columnist turned radio gossip, told his KYA listeners in San Francisco that Fern Bruner, a San Lorenzo school teacher, was a "reported Communist or Communist sympathizer." As might be expected, the slander was traced back to a poison-pen letter or tip from a busybody housewife who had been told that United World Federalists, in which Miss Bruner had been active, was part of the Kremlin's propaganda network. Such delusions, of course, are not uncommon in California, where only the other day the Un-American Activities Committee announced that it intended to investigate UNESCO. But last week a jury awarded Miss Bruner $55,000 damages —$25,000 against Tarantino, $25,000 against Station KYA, and $5,000 against the station manager. We agree with Miss Bruner that the victory is not hers alone "but for the whole teaching profession."

From Ohio, too, comes a word of cheer. Governor Frank Lausche has vetoed a bill outlawing subversive activities which had passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 119 to 2 and the Senate by 21 to 11. Said the Governor: "In the zeal to apprehend culprits let us not leave a wake of ruined lives and reputations of innocent Americans."

The Supreme Court and Governor Warren

Senator William Knowland is said to have demanded, as his price for accepting the idea of a truce in Korea, the Senate leadership, complete control of California patronage to the exclusion of Vice-President Nixon, and the appointment of Governor Warren to the first Supreme Court vacancy, then expected to occur "some time in October" (*The Nation*, June 20, 1953, p. 516). More recently, a curious war of nerves has been launched to induce Justice Felix Frankfurter to retire. It has taken the form of inspired stories that his letter of resignation is on the President's desk, pointed inquiries about his health, a drumbeat insistence in the gossip columns that he is about to retire, and more recently direct questions from California political writers about when he intends to retire.

Governor Warren would quickly relieve his own, and by this time nearly everyone else's embarrassment, if he would publicly repudiate this unseemly campaign. For our part, having recently reread Justice Frankfurter's memorable dissent in *Sacher* vs. *United States*, we wish him good health, long life, and many more years of distinguished service on the court.

Can the U. N. Get Us Off the Hook?

THE public business of the U. N. General Assembly opening in New York next Monday may divert notice from the session's more subtle meaning. The obvious functions of this Assembly are, first, to adopt a resolution expressing gratification at the conclusion of the Korean truce, and, second, to recommend what shall be the composition, date, and place of the post-armistice political conference and to discuss its scope. An especially interesting matter to be determined is which countries shall participate in the conference.

As we see it, however, the Assembly's more important function may be to expose United States policy to the influence of some of its critics in the U. N. Since the Eisenhower Administration took office last January, its position in world affairs has been shaped primarily by the Colonel Blimps who dominate Congress. On Far Eastern questions pressures from Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek reinforce this diehard Tory majority. It was the attitude of these combined forces that prompted the London *New Statesman and Nation* to write of "the complete reversal of roles between East and West" since

Stalin's death. As the Russians have been showing increasing flexibility, the United States has grown more and more rigid. In the words of the *New Statesman,* it is we who have become the "Nietmen," shouting "Not on your life!" at any suggestion of revising our obsolescent policies.

We refuse to countenance any easing of the trade embargo against China even after the Korean truce. We cling to our grotesque recognition of the exiles on Formosa as the government of China and as China's representatives in the U. N. We are bitter-enders on the war in Indo-China, regardless of the yearning of the people of France, of the Associated States, and of Vietminh to end the killing and prevent economic ruin. Our intransigence in the Far East is paralleled in Europe by our refusal to acknowledge that the European Defense Community, pivot of our policy, is moribund. Such rigidity cripples our leadership in international affairs.

The U. N. Assembly may produce a healthy reminder that the United States is as little able to go it alone politically as militarily. Restiveness among the Soviet satellites is being matched, in different form, by greater self-assertion among America's partners. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of meek compliance with the will of the United States by Britain, France, and lesser non-Communist countries. In both the Soviet and American camps centrifugal tendencies are replacing centripetal ones.

IN ADVANCE OF the Assembly's discussion of the coming conference on Korea, the British and French ambassadors, in talks with Secretary Dulles, have lodged their dissent from United States plans. Sir Roger Makins has stated that the British refuse to be committed by the Dulles-Rhee agreement to walk out of the conference after ninety days if it fails to make satisfactory headway by then or if the Chinese and North Korean Communists appear to be shamming. The British and others think this sounds altogether too much like an ultimatum, a threat to break off talks unless the Communists, having fought the war to a stalemate, are ready to surrender at the conference table. In serving notice that Britain would not necessarily be bound by arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Korea, Britain's ambassador was warning against continued American appeasement of Syngman Rhee.

Washington and London have also been differing on whether India should be invited to the conference. The State Department's tentative list of participants includes the Philippines and Thailand but puts a question mark after India. Nehru has refrained from requesting a seat, although it was the Indian compromise proposal on war prisoners which led to the Korean armistice. We have been going to great lengths to jump through Syngman Rhee's hoop, but there are limits beyond which we will not go. It would far exceed reasonable limits were the United States to propose or acquiesce in India's exclusion from the post-truce conference.

Furthermore, Rhee has been trying to embroil the United States in new hostilities by a device which the Eisenhower Administration has not yet imparted to the American people. He has inserted in the proposed United States–South Korea security pact a provision which would assure our recognition of the South Korean government's authority over all Korean territory up to the Yalu River. Acceptance of this clause would commit United States armed forces to drive the Chinese Communist armies from Korea. In his letter to Rhee of June 6 President Eisenhower made it clear that the United States recognizes the Korean Republic's writ as running only in territory now under its administrative control or hereafter *peacefully* brought under it. It follows that we are bound to reject the fancy recognition joker Rhee has smuggled into his treaty draft.

FRANCE is also dissatisfied with American plans for the conference. In one of their secret talks last month Foreign Minister Bidault pressed Dulles to put Indo-China on the agenda. Ambassador Bonnet recently renewed Bidault's suggestion. But after wavering for several months Dulles has finally chosen to confine the conference to Korean problems. To include Indo-China, he argues, would enlarge both the number of participants and the agenda; unwieldiness is to be avoided, he says. Dulles reminded the French of their bitter opposition last winter to a U. N. debate on the Indo-Chinese conflict and remarked, a little facetiously, on French inconsistency in now demanding discussion of Indo-China at a conference which after all is another U. N. forum.

France has answered by saying it may call a parallel conference and open direct negotiations with Ho Chi-minh and Communist China for a settlement of the Indo-Chinese war. Today this may be a bluff by Bidault. But it could happen that a new French government—such a one as was almost formed by Mendès-France last June—would at last yield to exasperation and despair at home and try to wind up the slaughter in Indo-China.

The British, French, and other interested U. N. governments now seem likely to accept the temporizing American formula. This contemplates a second Far Eastern conference on broader issues and with a bigger list of participants—if the post-armistice deliberations on Korea go smoothly. In the meantime the United States appears determined to stifle even the small chance of accommodation at the impending conference. Dulles has proclaimed that we will never buy Korea's unification by agreeing to Communist China's entry into the U. N. He has indicated that if necessary we will repudiate our previous position and veto the admission of Peking. He ignores the view of Britain and other U. N. countries that the question is not subject to a veto because it concerns a change of one country's representation rather than the seating of a new member state.

FINALLY, Dulles has included in his draft treaty with Rhee an article enabling the United States to keep its armed forces in Korea for an indefinite period. Dulles says this would be a right, not an obligation. However, the first item on the fixed agenda for the post-armistice conference is the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. By signing a pact entitling America to retain a garrison in South Korea, we are hardly inducing the Chinese Communists to evacuate North Korea.

On the eve of the General Assembly the best that can be hoped is that Dulles is bluffing. After all, in the long armistice negotiations both sides inched away from their earlier incompatible positions and managed to reach agreement. What is disquieting is to note the strait-jacket into which Congress has thrust the Administration's foreign policy. Choice of William Knowland, champion of a vanished Asian past, as majority leader of the Senate can only intensify anxiety on this score. There has been at least one memorable occasion, however, when the influence of the United Nations outweighed that of Congress. That was last November when the American delegation, reduced to a minority of one in the Assembly, dropped its hostility to India's prisoner-of-war resolution and belatedly joined its supporters. This was a rare performance. That it was possible at all encourages us to hope the climate of the impending U. N. session may also thaw some of our frozen attitudes.

LATIN AMERICA

Shall We Lose It? . . *by Waldo Frank*

THE chemist, to measure the interplay of forces in a protein molecule, employs symbols. His understanding may not go far, but at least—since his *x, y, z,* refer to the specific matter—it will not go wrong. When the contemporary American discusses Asia or Latin America he uses vast words—communism, democracy, dictatorship, civilization—that reflect his own subjective status and lead him *away* from the event in question. From false view comes false judgment—and wrong action. Thus we accept a "mandate for democracy" in Korea, and find ourselves fighting half a billion Asians; self-righteously oppose their government as a "satellite of Moscow," and find ourselves bound to a discredited exile on an island. Thus, also, we send equipment to Latin American armies for "hemisphere defense," and the arms are turned by despisers of democracy against their people, teaching them to hate us.

Our relations with the southern two-thirds of our hemisphere are not so bad as with Asia, but muddle is doing its best to bring about the worst. It is not impossible that the future historian may write, "The failure of the United States as a world leader within fifty years of its rise, the beginning of its economic and cultural decline, and its political isolation were the result of ignorance—ignorance propagated by well-intentioned leaders, exploited by demagogues, stratified in the people by the most efficient news service on record." To speak of all Latin America in one article would be rash, even if the nations, races, climates, covered by that vague name were less complex, less chaotic. There are, however, a few keys to understanding.

Recently General Carlos Ibañez was elected President of Chile by a 70 per cent vote. He had been President in the twenties, had frightened the people by his dictatorial trends, and for years had lived in exile. Perón of Argentina went to see him, and they agreed on a plan of union for the two states. The Chileans got wind of this and demonstrated in the streets against it. It would have been a step toward that larger federation which Latin American leaders, since before Bolívar, have dreamed of. Why did the Chileans oppose it? Because they distrusted a union engineered by "strong men." Why did they elect Ibañez by a clear majority? Because the constitutional governments in Chile had done too little to solve its social and international problems, and Ibañez, with Communist support, promised to partition the great estates and control the industries. But why did the nation's political democracy during the past decades not extend into the field of economics? Partly because the culture of Spain and the church, ingrained in the folk, resists empirical values of well-being. Many a Chilean worker prefers a meditative day off with a gallon of wine to earning extra pay for a pair of shoes; fears neither poverty, his immemorial companion, nor the death of his malnourished child—who thereby takes a short cut through this vale of tears to heaven.

So the fault is with the church? But there is a Catholic party in Chile that practices a united front for social action with both Socialists and Communists. And the Chilean worker, whose forefathers joined the army of San Martín, after Chile was free, to clear the Spaniards from Peru, today gazes with sympathy across the Pacific upon the

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WALDO FRANK, novelist and cultural critic, is among the best-known American writers in Latin America. His latest books are "Birth of a World," a biography of Bolívar, and the recently published novel "Not Heaven."

revolution of his Chinese brothers. The situation, you see, of this one small country is complex, and this is the only safe generalization one can make about it.

ACROSS THE ANDES (during the centuries which formed the traits of Argentina and Chile the voyage took months; now a plane takes twenty minutes), a few weeks ago, the Peronist "mob" in Buenos Aires went on a rampage and burned two buildings—the palatial Jockey Club and the Casa del Pueblo, which housed the best labor library in town and the plant of the suppressed Socialist *Vanguardia*. The bulletin of the American I. A. D. F. calls the Jockey Club "cultural center." Well, its members, the opulent landowners and their parasites, speak French, follow the styles of Paris, and pay huge honoraria to visiting lecturers. But they rejoiced when, twenty years ago, the army unseated President Hipólito Irigoyen, who was beginning to break up their estates into immigrant farms, and Perón resulted from that counter-revolution by strict logic. They are hostile to Perón, not because he is corrupt, not even because he is incompetent, but because of his expropriative taxes. Why did the mob burn the People's House? The history of Tammany Hall gives part of the answer. If New York in 1870 had occupied such a dominant place in the nation as Buenos Aires does, if the New York police had controlled the United States army, might not Tweed and Oakley for a time have run the country?

Perón, like many demagogues, has brought immediate, superficial benefits to labor: for instance, he has relieved the subhuman misery of the sugar workers and despite inflation has increased the real wages of the lowest class. His wife, Evita, with her rhetorical largess to unfortunate mothers and children, undoubtedly won the naive love of the urban proletariat. Thereupon the liberal and radical press began calling her a whore—which increased her popularity and the people's anger. Irigoyen, a profound man, failed because he was too poor an administrator and too old to steer his liberal ship into port against the choppy winds of vested interest at home and abroad. In his day Buenos Aires was becoming a socialist city—in a nation still psychologically feudal. Such complexities delayed success. Perón applied simplicities, putting on a loud show of syndicalism, expropriation of wealth, national hatred of the "Colossus of the North." It will not work, of course. And the people are learning. But meanwhile he has the army. And it is not real democracy he will have to show in order to get support for it from our State Department.

Even the word "army" misleads. In a majority of the republics it has meant oppression clamped upon social chaos. But the Brazilian army opposed slavery, worked for forty years with the intellectuals for its gradual, bloodless abolition, and in 1889 peacefully eased the empire into a republic. Mexico's army, under great leaders like Juárez and Cárdenas, has stood for constitutionalism. The church blessed the recent bloody regime of Laureano Gómez in Colombia; the army threw him out.

Colombia, we are told, has been a democratic nation with two long-established, legally competing parties, Liberal and Conservative—and with a culture so high that the most exquisite poets are the national best-sellers. In 1946 a left-wing Liberal leader, Eliazir Gaitán, split his party, and after nearly two decades of Liberal rule the Conservatives came back to power. In 1948 the Pan-American Conference met just outside Bogotá under our State Department, which barred labor representatives in general and Gaitán in particular. He was shot to death in a central street, and with spontaneous fury the citizens burned the heart of their city, including many gracious monuments, among them the colonial palace of San Carlos where Bolívar once ruled and planned a united hemisphere for free men. For five years the Conservatives have held power by wholesale slaughter of Liberal opponents. This surely looks like "deterioration" of democratic rule? But in fact Colombia's republic has resembled the republics of ancient Greece, based upon helots. The prosperous classes have been a sort of club, Liberal-Conservative, rigging the elections, dividing the spoils—and producing poetry virtuosic as Valéry's—while under them toiled a voiceless people: peasants, miners, coffee-pickers, mingled Indian, African, and Hispanic. Gaitán broke the club rules by seriously speaking to the people. His death, the rage of the rioters in every Colombian town, the thousands of political murders mark a birth, tragic but organic, in the social consciousness of the country.

MEXICO, Guatemala, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia—each of the twenty republics is in some phase of a profound demotic movement. But the phase is always unique: because of the country's combination of Spanish or Portuguese with Indian or African, or both, or neither; because of the cultural traits of its population before the Conquest, high in Mexico and the Andes, savage in Argentina, Venezuela, the Caribbean; because of the presence or lack of late European immigration; because of the pressures of the United States, due to proximity or to the republics' products and their relation to war and cold war; and finally because of *timing*. Thus Mexico in 1910, despite pressures from the North, could launch a full-fledged cultural revolution; it bogged down and is impeded in its economic aspects, yet it created a permanent base—as has Uruguay under totally different conditions. (Perón and our new high tariffs now place Uruguay in peril.) But Guatemala, moving only today, meets an organized "anti-Communist" campaign that isolates and stifles it. And Bolivia, stirring at long last from its abyss of exploitation, is forced to expend so much of its realized resources to "compensate" the owners of nationalized mines, who have wrung billions from the blood of the poor, that its freedom to develop agriculture, to diversify industry, to heal the morale of a conquered and sick people is tragically hampered.

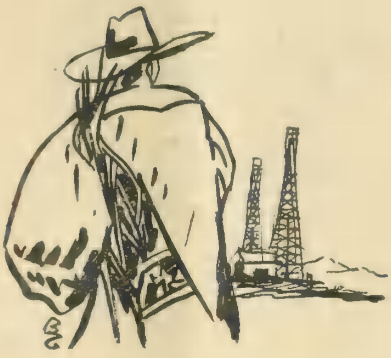
We must first of all consider the effect on these disparate countries of trying to begin their political life under replicas of our Constitution—the result of their once romantic adoration of the United States. No premise of race,

geography, economy, culture, the ingredients of our law, was present in America Hispana. Leaders like San Martín and Bolívar knew this; but no country acted upon it except Brazil, whose Portuguese base guaranteed shrewdness in politics and commerce. The genius of Spain has not been political since Philip II; and it will take more than genius, it will take generations, to fuse the chaos of Spain's colonies into a social order. By paradox this handicap stems from spiritual strength. Not since Rome has there been an imperialism so creative as Spain's. Rome enslaved, but its law structured new peoples from Byzantium to Britain. The conquistadores cruelly and lustfully exploited, but they kept the Indian and the African *culturally alive.*

The Hispanic spirit was stated in Spain's principle of international law, a century before Grotius; in the New Laws of the Indies (1542), the most humane labor legislation in the world before the nineteenth century. But it was enacted in the common life of man and woman. By 1810 there were no longer Spaniards, Portuguese, Indians, or Negroes in America Hispana; all these warring ethnic traits had been transfigured into the chaotic, unself-conscious beginnings of *new peoples.* Anglo-Saxon modern institutions, and Hispanic medieval ones, fitted this world as the starched gear of a London garden party would fit an Amazonian explorer. The nineteenth century hardly sufficed to learn that lesson.

WHILE Pax Britannica ruled the waves and the Monroe Doctrine—with a few accidents like Mexico's invasion by Napoleon III—sealed the frontiers, Latin America stewed in its own juices. Its progress, even political, was great. With the new century came external complications. American Big Business barged in, and the Big Stick, symbolized by Theodore Roosevelt's cynical rape of Panama. Both found corrupt domestic elements to work with. But slowly the republics stiffened; the Big Stick, Big Business days seemed gone. Then the World War ran into a Second, and froze into the cold war of today. Latin America's export-import markets had been fairly diversified, which meant freedom from undue pressure by any single nation. Now the United States loomed into first place, creating a magnetic field that has distorted the normal groping growth of Latin American institutions.

The premise of social democracy is a balance of economic groups, an axiom Marx ignored. With the twentieth century the Latin American possessing classes—the church is the largest owner of land—had grown degenerate, but the new producing classes are still too immature, in culture more than in skills, to balance and replace them. This explains the predominance of the army and of that normally anti-democratic class, the bureaucrats. These two uncreative groups of power stand ready everywhere to do business with the selfish and shortsighted power of the United States—for their own ends. A new, disguised form of Dollar Diplomacy and the Big Stick once again threatens America Hispana.



The intellectuals share the immaturity of the other productive groups, although like them they are building strong foundations. The universities are in close touch with labor and politics, whence their frequent purges and suppressions; the poets, perhaps the best in the world today, are not alien from the peasants. The case of Rómulo Gallegos in Venezuela is archetypical. This outstanding novelist and teacher, with the help of intellectuals and the best officers of the army, won the confidence of the people, who elected him President. The slow, organic process of structuring the productive classes began, but before they could assert themselves, the army, feeling its vested power threatened, threw Gallegos out. Analogous was the rise and fall of the Peruvian, Haya de la Torre, who was the heir of a great cultural movement of the twenties and whose aim was to integrate the urban, industrial, and rural classes of the country. Yet the presence of such men and such values has become a Latin American tradition, suffused among the people. Political immaturity and titanic problems of communication bring temporary defeats, but the tradition is bound to gain against *caudillismo*—if the struggle is not tilted in favor of the generals by outside interference.

Another advantage of the Latin American intelligentsia lies in their many capitals. In the United States, with its two centers for a continent, one must shout to be heard. But one can whisper in Quito, Montevideo, São Paulo, Havana, and the word reverberates. And true words carry with soft voices better than with shouting.

THE HISPANIC roots encourage the culture of *persons.* The Latin American is not specialized, and this gives him breadth and depth. But also it delays his competence in political method; for human engineering is less easily mastered than the comparatively simple technics of physics. Therefore the nations are vulnerable to the simplicities of soldiers and of demagogues. The intellectuals are no longer tempted to imitate our Constitution. But sensibility, even catholicity, without rigorous control, makes for self-indulgence, a prevailing Latin American vice; and this in turn encourages romantic despair and romantic solutions.

Thus we find major poets like Pablo Neruda and Nicolás Guillén, leading novelists like Jorge Amado and the brilliant Ecuadorian school, essayists of acumen like Juan Marinello and Maria Rosa Oliver, artists of the caliber of Siqueiros and Diego Rivera, following with desperate hope the Communist line, because they are convinced that regimentation by the United States and its parasites, military and political, is more of a menace to their world than Russian armies. They are undoubtedly right; which does not refute the shallowness of their thinking. The worship of the machine by both American civilization and the Communist Party—those *frères ennemis*—is alien to the Hispanic ethos with its deep culture of the person. Far too many good men south of the Rio Grande see the threat of the United States in close-up, that of communism at long range. One can sympathize with their lack of focus; *but they can't afford* *it*. A new radicalism, both practical and creative, is needed for Latin American survival.

This is of course *their* problem; we cannot do the work for them. But since their success or failure involves ours, our problem is to let them do it.

THE BENEFITS of F. D. R.'s "good neighbor" policy have been exaggerated. The level of our diplomats was greatly improved—we began to send down men who did not lump Mexicans and Brazilians as "the natives." Technical assistance in industry and health nourished the stabilities of the producing classes. Trade under reciprocal treaties was encouraged. But Roosevelt was in no position to change our basic and complacent ignorance of Latin America. Had he been able to persuade our public schools to introduce a compulsory course in comparative American cultures, naturally including the pre-Columbian, and to teach Spanish or Portuguese as the second American language, his good-will might have laid foundations that would be beyond harm by the Ignorance (capitalized) of Eisenhower and his salesmen.

Certain measures we should immediately take. We should send no arms, no military missions, to the republics. The chance of their falling into the hands of men hostile to their people and ours is far too great; the loss of freedoms, implicit in such transactions, is too certain. We no longer ship marines to collect debts, but a military bargain with a Trujillo or a Gómez is a subtler form of invasion, a surer way of turning neighbors into haters and—by the simple psychology of peoples—into romantic admirers of our enemies.

We should not, of course, restrict business with nationalized industry, as we did for several years when Cárdenas took over the Mexican oil fields. *Neither should we buy more than we need.* A crisis in Bolivia, for instance, because we buy less tin, or in Chile because we buy less copper, or in Mexico because we buy less silver simply proves that the economy of these nations is unsound. Hand-outs will not make it better. But there should be no protective tariffs in our hemisphere. Because of them Germany already is regaining its lost markets, while meat in the United States remains outrageously and unnecessarily expensive. Recent discriminations by the Export-Import Bank against Latin America are dollar diplomacy in reverse, certain to split the hemisphere and weaken the dollar.

Ignorance: this is our basic problem. It comes from profound spiritual and intellectual shortcomings in our culture; and against these, alas, there is no cure but the rugged one of more self-knowledge. The American hemisphere, in human and natural resources, is the *minority hemisphere*. As the new Hispanic world rises through its vicissitudes to selfhood, the United States could find itself a minority nation in the minority hemisphere. It could be that having squandered our vast initial stock of Latin American good-will, we might destroy the hemisphere itself as an economic-cultural organism. For there are many ties, strong and growing, to draw Indo-Hispano-Afro-America toward Asia, Africa, and Europe. American ignorance means isolation.

SAVE-OUR-SCHOOLS, INC.

Strange Case of Mr. Flynn . . *by T. P. Yeatman, Jr.*

RADIO philosopher John T. Flynn is greatly worried—and is worrying many other people—about subversion in our public schools. In November, 1952, Mr. Flynn devoted five radio talks over a nation-wide hook-up to exposing "how a number of influential educators, teamed up with socialist propagandists and politicians, have been trying for twenty years to shape the minds of children in support of socialist theories." Printed as a pamphlet entitled "They War on Our Schools," these talks have provided the main ideological ammunition for crackpot attacks on the public schools from coast to coast. Who Owns Your Child's Mind? an article on the same theme which appeared in the October, 1951, issue of the *Reader's Digest*, has been distributed with a lavish hand—by unidentified donors. According to Mr. Flynn, "reds," "pinks," and philosophers of the "welfare state"—a category which presumably includes such highly respected educators as Harold Rugg, William Kilpatrick, and Willard Goslin—have for years been working, in a sinister manner, to make socialists out of even the tiniest tots in school. More recently, on February 24, 1953, Mr. Flynn thrilled the assembled membership of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association with a vivid account of the twenty-year-old socialist conspiracy to infiltrate the public schools, his speech being titled America's Unknown War: The War We Have Not Begun to Fight.

But why is Mr. Flynn usually so careful to fix the inception of this conspiracy as "twenty years" ago? And what was he saying about education then? Were the "enemies" of education the same then as they are today? Or has the plot changed?

Flynn contributed a column headed Other People's Money to the *New Republic* from May 10, 1933, through November 4, 1940. There were 389 of these columns, and many of them were critical of business philosophy, or business practices, or just plain business. Together with Flynn's 1931 book, "Graft in Business," they were used as supplemental reading in some college and university courses. Is it not pos-

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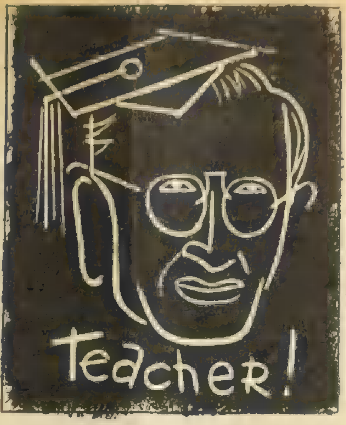
sible that *by his present standards* some of those columns and "Graft in Business" might be subject to question? Those of us who call ourselves liberals do not regard Mr. Flynn's writings in 1930-40 as in any way subversive. But we are disturbed by his criticism of the writings of others during a period when he himself was possibly more militantly liberal than they.

IN SHORT, is Mr. Flynn at present a sincere conservative, or is he a Johnny-come-lately opportunist? In going over the material in the *New Republic,* I found some significant statements in his September 9, 1936, column, which was called To Get Rich Scare the Rich:

> The art of getting rich consists largely in capitalizing the emotions, weaknesses, follies, fears of the rest of us. . . . An English philosopher has widely observed that there are certain men who understand the technique of getting money. They are the rich. There are, however, others who would like to have money but do not understand the methods by which this is done. For them the only hope for riches is to fasten themselves upon the rich. They become the publicity men, shirt-stuffers, apologists, sycophants, jesters, and so on. At the present moment the best system for men and women who want to be writers but also want to be rich is to trade upon the fears of the rich.
>
> The world is full of alarums. The Red menace sparkles on every side. Raids upon his money bags are threatened from every quarter. This is the natural atmosphere for the rich man's terrors. Therefore the first thing to do is to play upon those terrors. Scare him some more. Then invent some racket for protecting him from those perils.
>
> One good field—which is the occasion of this outburst to the acquisitive writer—is the schools. There the Bolsheviki are ceaseless. They are stealing the souls of our children and poisoning the minds of our teachers. They are being taught the wickedness of wealth and undermining the constitutional props. Therefore what better racket than to save the schools from this monster. Therefore organize an agency like, for instance, the National Republican Lettergram Service of Washington, D. C. Send out letters, bulletins, circulars, and pamphlets keeping loyal teachers advised of the march of the Reds upon the schools. Then you can call on patriotic rich men to subscribe $100, $150, or maybe $1,000 to carry on this great work.

Mr. Flynn's current crusade has unquestionably caused a good deal of excitement among business people. Here is part of a telegram sent out in 1953 by a group of business men in a Southern city to other business men in the area.



> Major force retarding socialism and upholding constitutional liberty has been John T. Flynn in *Reader's Digest,* other magazines, and books like "The Road Ahead" reaching millions. Right now Flynn effectively reaching his largest and most responsive audience of millions of families through America's Future 1,200 daily and weekly quarter-hour programs on more than 300 radio stations. Response very much greater than from books or magazine articles. Need is urgent to continue and increase Flynn coverage quickly making this nation-wide influence to help the new Administration uproot decades socialist welfare state, infiltration in schools, and other institutions influencing public thinking.
>
> Will you join with us in helping America's Future take advantage this great opportunity by giving now your support to this highly important non-partisan educational effort?
>
> Please mail check payable America's Future, Inc. (tax deductible) to [name and address deleted].

In addition to the telegram two letters were circulated. One dated February 26, 1953, announced a gift of $5,000. The other, dated March 4, 1953, told of Mr. Flynn's "impressive talk" at the meeting of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association. It said in part: "Much work remains to be done to help the Administration and the new Congress to root out twenty years of socialist infiltration, and Mr. Flynn points the way as to how this can be done most effectively."

Yes, business men seem to be stirring to Mr. Flynn's call to save the nation from the alleged socialist machinations of the past twenty years. Remembering his earlier writings, some people wonder if he is trying now to put out fires he helped kindle. Or doesn't he remember what he wrote about the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia in his *New Republic* column of July 29, 1936? Mr. Flynn was disturbed by pernicious influences on the schools at that time too, but the ogre was the New York Stock Exchange, not "pinks," "reds," or advocates of the "welfare state."

> The University of Virginia has been making headlines with what it is pleased to call its Institute of Public Affairs. One of the most important subjects discussed was Business and Finance. . . .The selection of the speakers was intrusted to the New York Stock Exchange, and the invitation to the speakers actually went out from this great institution of learning on Broad and Wall streets. The able and impartial gentlemen selected by the Stock Exchange to present "a variety of points of view" were about as you would expect. Thomas Jefferson, who had done so many things, chose to have carved upon his tombstone as the two achievements worthy to be mentioned at his grave, that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and founder of the University of Virginia. Is it too much to believe that the great founder must have vibrated vigorously in his coffin as he beheld from the other shore the great institution he had built crawling with "scholars" and "students" from Wall Street. Indeed, one may ask what the people of Virginia may think of this performance—their proud university turned into a sounding board for the audacious Casino at Broad and Wall. . . .

MR. FLYNN has always worried about teachers, but his reasons now are somewhat different from what they were in the past. Take, for example, his column in the *New Republic* on September 7, 1938, a date well within the past two decades so often named by him as the period of socialist infiltration.

> In the neighborhood paper which comes to my home I have noticed for some time a feature called "You and Your Affairs." This feature is a five-hundred-word editorial discussion of public, chiefly economic, affairs by some college professors. . . . There is nothing to indicate that this is not an editorial feature in good faith, a free discussion of public affairs by authorities speaking out in the freedom of true scholarship. But the amazingly reactionary character of all these releases, together with the general appearance of the feature, produced a suspicion in my eye, long practiced in the ways of newspaper make-up. I called the city editor of the paper and asked him what syndicate this feature came from, and after looking it up, he told me it was supplied by the Manufacturers' Association. The Manufacturers' Association, of course, I do not

> feel too angry about. It is made up of practical men who are out for the dough. One does not look for high standards of ethics in these people. . . . But what shall we say of the professors who collaborate in the swindle? After all, they are supposed to have deliberately chosen the path of learning rather than profits, to be scholars rather than acquisitive money hunters. They are supposed to have higher standards of conduct. Were they being paid for these fraudulently presented articles? And if so, what kind of money is this to find in a professor's pocket?
>
> This strikes me as an excellent case for the American Association of University Professors to investigate. It would be unjust to charge that they were paid without proof. But there is plenty of this money floating around. A week scarcely passes that I do not get an offer to do a little writing for some industrial or commercial enterprise or organization and, I suspect, at rates sufficient to buy quite a batch of professors.

On November 22, 1939, or somewhat less than fourteen years ago, Mr. Flynn contributed an item to the *New Republic* entitled Professors on the Pay Roll. A writer in *Business Week* had suggested that business men should take more interest in college teaching in order to further the teaching of the American way of life. Mr. Flynn commented sarcastically: "It is a noble and inspiring proposal. Only it leaves you a little in the dark as to what the American way is. All that is clear is that it is located somewhat near the cash drawer."

And again on November 4, 1940, he wrote:

> Here is a precious item of news from that great Metropolis of Light and Learning—Chicago. . . . Superintendent Johnson has set the teachers and principals of the schools to work censoring books that the kiddies will be exposed to. He has started sort of a textbook spy hunt. Even such old standbys as "Robinson Crusoe" and "Swiss Family Robinson" and "Grimm's Fairy Tales" are being searched for evidence of work by long deceased fifth-columnists. Even the arithmetic is not overlooked, to be certain that no subversive philosophy lurks in the "examples." Magazines like *Child's Life* and *American Boy* are being combed for evidence of the hated enemy of the "American way."

HERE IS another matter for contemplation. If, as some believe, Mr. Flynn is the modern Moses to lead our schools and our nation out of the wilderness of an alleged socialism, why did he vote for the Socialist Party Presidential candidate in 1936? That was seventeen years ago, well within the twenty-year period. In the November 4, 1936, issue of the *New Republic* he wrote:

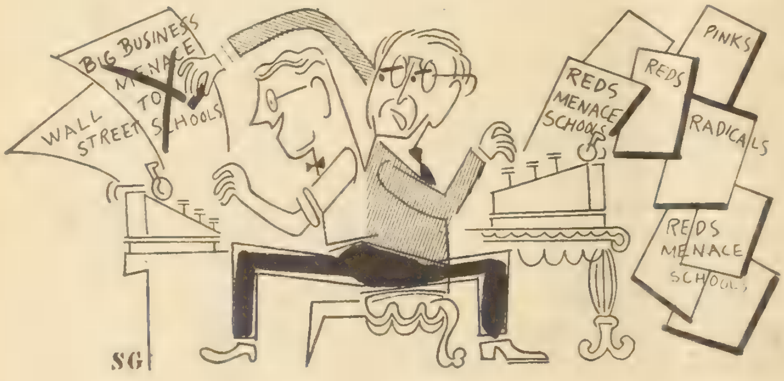
> The great choice which confronts the people of every country today is—who is to control their economic societies? By control I mean conscious, deliberate, planned control. In the past, societies have worked more or less in the interest of the business groups. But they have not worked so well. Now all sections and almost all schools, save a few moss-covered ancients, are convinced that a deliberate and conscious regulation of economic society must be undertaken. But the unsettled question is—who will get possession of the instruments of control?
>
> In Europe the choice assumes the form of a death struggle between fascist and communist or socialist. In America the struggle is as yet a little obscure. But essentially the war is the same. Will the control be in the interest of society and its toiling masses? Or will it be in the interest of profits and investments? Will it be in the interest of the production of wealth for the nation, or will it be in the interest of "prices" and "values"?
>
> In this country there has been a powerful movement by business to deliver control of our economic life into the hands of organized business. They call this movement "self-rule" in business. It is, I sincerely believe, the most sinister movement in our midst. . . .
>
> Mr. Roosevelt has not been necessarily for the surrender of this economic government into the hands of big business. He is for turning it over to business—little as well as big. But I am opposed to surrendering into the hands of little business, into the hands of profit-hunting groups, big or little, the power to make and enforce the laws affecting the economic areas dominated by innumerable trade associations. . . .
>
> How, then, may a man vote? To vote for Thomas, I am told, is to waste one's vote. I do not think so. It is, I feel, the only way to vote and not to waste one's vote. I am not a Socialist. But I shall vote for Norman Thomas. I believe that the best use to make of the ballot next Tuesday is to cast it so as to confront whoever is elected—Roosevelt or Landon—with a large vote for Norman Thomas. That will be a good thing for the soul of either of these gentlemen.

The Mr. Flynn who is today so violently attacking the socialism that he charges has been infiltrating into our schools and the nation for the past twenty years seems to have had a good deal of sympathy for it in 1936. The whole column in which he announced his vote for Norman Thomas certainly sounds "pinkish" by his present standards. Consider, too, his statement of June 2, 1937, in the *New Republic*: "Turn what way you will, you can see no light for the hard and soft coal mines but government ownership."

On the question of subversive activities, surely Mr. Flynn has not forgotten his attack on J. Edgar Hoover and the F. B. I. in the *New Republic* of March 11, 1940, a mere thirteen years ago:

> But increasingly the Bureau [F. B. I.] has been concerning itself with opinions. It has introduced into its functions the investigation of what it calls subversive activities. Now what are subversive activities? Communism is subversive, let us say. But what is communism? Who is a communist? Who is to define a man's political views and activities and determine whether he is subversive or not?

Many of us are firmly convinced that American teachers as a whole are strongly opposed to real anti-United States subversive activities, and so we vigorously object to Mr. Flynn's current scare tactics. When we hear him speaking almost hysterically over the radio, we recall his advice to acquisitive writers quoted above. Three sentences from that column stand out: "Scare him some more. Then invent some racket for protecting him from those perils. . . . Then you call on patriotic rich men to subscribe $100, $150, or maybe $1,000 to carry on this great work." Has Mr. Flynn become an acquisitive writer?



J. Alvarez del Vayo

Germany's "Military Dynamic"

Paris

WITH the French Parliament in summer recess, the European army is also taking a long vacation. No matter how reassuring occasional official statements may sound, nobody here expects ratification before the year's end—if then. But if the European army is in eclipse, the partisans—German and American—of a German national army are on the job. They argue that too much time has elapsed since May 9 of last year when the six Western governments agreed to create a European army. They see a growing interest in Big Four talks, a lessened one in European Defense Community schemes. The armistice in Korea has accelerated both tendencies to a degree few people on the other side of the Atlantic seem to realize.

These developments have stimulated talk of a possible alternative to E. D. C. —a military regroupment in which the United States, West Germany, and Franco Spain would be the key factors. Informed official French sources were aware that the recent trip of Herr Blank, future German Minister of Defense, to Washington had implications which were never publicly reported. Accompanied by General Heusinger and other German military experts, he came back extremely confident and encouraged. According to those French sources, he carried in his dispatch case a precise plan for rapidly transforming the projected German army—if E. D. C. should fail—into a national army.

The preparations are in fact so well advanced that Chancellor Adenauer can threaten the French with this alternative if they continue to stall ratification of the European army. He did so indirectly at his press conference on July 31 when he said: "Within this defense community, the so-called 'military dynamic of the Germans will be limited and kept on the right line." He knows well that German "military dynamic" is much more than a quotable phrase.

Since the foundation of the Reich the mission of the German army has been not merely to defend existing frontiers but to expand them. It would be indeed naive to expect a Germany locked between the Saar and the Oder-Neisse to use the arms given it to fight for the principles proclaimed by democratic Americans. Those who cherish this dream will be rapidly disillusioned if they follow the present German electoral campaign. Take, for instance, July 26 at Cologne. A crowd of nearly four hundred thousand has gathered to hear Dr. Adenauer. The refugees from the lost province of Silesia are well represented. They applaud the Chancellor when he assures them that they will one day regain their homes. The reaction is less enthusiastic when he repeats twice "by peaceful means." Then it is the turn of the former Reichstag President, Paul Löbe, a statesman who commands respect both for his years and his honorable record. Löbe also favors the return of the refugees to their homes, but recommends tolerance; once they have returned, they should try to conciliate those Poles who may wish to remain. In his fifty-five-years' political career he has probably never been so booed and abused.

MANY NAZI army officers and civil servants have been liberated by those seeking the votes of Hitler's former followers. The moment they are free they speak with extraordinary self-assurance and frankness. Dr. Naumann, Secretary of State for Propaganda under Hitler, who was arrested when his plot against the Bonn government was exposed by the British, has been freed by the Supreme Court. In his first speech after his release he said he was sorry Chancellor Adenauer, whom he considered a "great personality," had allowed himself to be misled by the British. Naumann has been put on the ticket of the extreme-nationalist German Reich Party in three states.

The era of "denazification" has faded into an unreal past. On his return from the United States a few weeks ago Adenauer's special envoy, Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn, reported that Secretary Dulles fully understood the desire of the government to strengthen its position by freeing most of the still-detained war criminals, and had spoken in this sense to the British and French. Every step favorable to the Nazis is acclaimed in Bonn as "realistic" policy, as was Washington's decision to recall from Germany all American diplomats with a reputation for liberalism.

The generals are the most ardently courted as the campaign advances. Candidates for Parliament particularly like to address audiences of former Hitler officers. At a large meeting in Hanover addressed by speakers of various parties, twenty thousand officers and ex-soldiers cheered each reference to Germany's glorious past. All branches of the S. S. were represented with the exception of the Gestapo—the moment for that has not yet arrived. Right and center parties compete for the favor of any general who distinguished himself in the war.

Such are the circumstances in which the future German army is being prepared, in case the European army fails to win ratification. These circumstances prove beyond any doubt that even if Chancellor Adenauer wins the elections, he will be forced farther and farther to the right. Meanwhile Russian propaganda for unification is having its effect on a population passionately committed to that objective. Three of the big moderate papers that normally would have supported Adenauer—the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and the *Deutsche und Wirtschaft Zeitung*—no longer defend his full identification with American foreign policy. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* has even reproached him for adopting a line which may cause Germany "to miss its historic chance" to reach an agreement with Russia that will reunite the country.

ONE-PARTY TELEVISION

It's Big Money . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

MAYBE the subject would not seem quite so important if the present Administration had not shown such a taste for selling political programs with the same approach and techniques that are used for selling automobiles and detergents. But since that is so, it may be worth while to consider briefly the present trend toward corporate domination of that mass-communications system of immeasurable potentiality, television.

A similar trend has of course long been visible in the newspaper field, where concentration of ownership and control have presented the country with a *fait accompli,* the one-party press. The development takes on particular significance now because the Republican Administration controls the Federal Communications Commission, and because the Siamese-twin relationship between the Administration and big business means that any one-party television set-up would inevitably tend to give the Administration all the breaks.

The whole philosophy of government regulation of broadcasting, whether by radio or television, is that it must be kept competitive. From the beginning of the F. C. C. the government has been committed to the prevention of monopoly and the diversification of ownership. But the going is very tough. Television is rapidly becoming big business. It is still less expensive, of course, to become owner of a new TV station than to establish a metropolitan newspaper, but the gap is narrowing. More and more, dominance in the field lies with those who can git thar fustest with the mostest money.

To an extent, this is admittedly a natural development. Television is a new field offering very large profits, and it is bound to attract the big money. It also offers direct and often deadly competition to the newspaper, radio, and moving-picture industries, and in sheer self-protection the leaders in those fields are going to get in on it as fast and as extensively as they can.

In addition, however, there is the fact that to run a TV station you have to have a government license. The channels available are limited. A license, therefore, is worth money—in some cases, a great deal of money. Technically, licenses are renewable annually and can be revoked; actually, any government agency is going to be very chary of revoking a license the value of which may run into millions of dollars. In practice, if you have a license it is your property, and if you choose you can sell it.

Sales must be approved by the F. C. C., to be sure. In that fact lies whatever protection the public has against the trend toward monopoly. The first question, then, is about the commission's rules with regard to TV-station ownership. These rules are fairly simple: single ownership of stations whose service areas overlap is forbidden; in any case, no one person or corporation may own more than five stations. By implication ownership of as many as five stations *is* permitted.

Recently the number of five-station owners has increased from three to six. Until this spring the only five-station owners in the country were NBC, the recently merged ABC-United Paramount combination, and CBS, which owns three stations and holds substantial minority interests in two more. Then the March issue of the trade magazine *Broadcasting-Telecasting* announced that TV's "charmed circle" had acquired three more inhabitants, listing them as the Storer Broadcasting Company, which had made a tentative agreement to buy WRBC-TV at Birmingham for $2,400,000; the Empire Coal Company, which had got its fifth authorization for Channel 67 in Indianapolis, and the Grant Wrathall–Frank Carman–David G. Smith group, which had got a construction permit for Channel 2 in Salt Lake City.

The price paid by the Storer company was moderate. The record high is $8,500,000 paid last winter by Westinghouse for the Philco-owned station WPTZ-TV in Philadelphia. The previous high had been $6,000,000 paid by CBS for the facilities of WBKB-TV in Chicago. It should be noted that the principal item of value in these transactions is the license itself, since the cost of the equipment does not remotely approach the prices paid. The license, of course, simply represents the right to exclusive use of a particular channel, a right conferred by the people of the United States through their government.

EQUALLY INTERESTING is the trend toward increased ownership of TV stations by newspapers. At present 355 TV stations have been authorized, of which 185 are in operation. Of the 355 authorized stations, fifty-one are owned outright by newspapers or by their wholly-owned subsidiaries; in thirteen, the majority stock ownership is held by newspapers; in twelve, individuals owning substantial newspaper stock hold a majority interest; in seven, newspapers hold a minority interest; in three, individuals who own newspaper stock hold a minority interest. To summarize: of the 355 existing or authorized TV stations, 86—or approximately 25 per cent—have newspaper affiliation of

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one kind or another. Interestingly enough, the same percentage applies to the ownership of the 2,000-odd existing or authorized radio stations throughout the country.

The advisability of newspaper ownership is one of the controversial issues in connection with the granting of TV licenses and the approval of license transfers. Is competition promoted or diminished when an established leader in one field of communications takes control of an outlet in a new and competitive field? The F. C. C. has never formally ruled on the question. Its chairman, Rosel H. Hyde, an Idaho Republican who was named to the post by President Eisenhower a few months ago, told the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters that the F. C. C. should not "discriminate" against license applicants because of the nature of the applicant's business. In other words, the commission should not arbitrarily rule that a newspaper should not enter the television field.

THE MANEUVERINGS that can go on when a powerful newspaper wants a television channel were strikingly illustrated a few months ago in connection with competition for a license for Channel 10 in Milwaukee. The city has three VHF (ordinary commercial frequency) channels: Channel 4, held by the Milwaukee *Journal:* Channel 12, for which two Milwaukee commercial firms are competing; and Channel 10, which the F. C. C. had set aside for non-commercial use by the new educational segment of the industry now beginning to take form.

Channel 10 was sought by the Milwaukee Vocational School in line with the F. C. C.'s ruling, but the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, a Hearst paper, filed in opposition. In February, Senators McCarthy and Wiley of Wisconsin wrote to the F. C. C. urging that "in the best interests of the people of Wisconsin" the channel be withdrawn from educational use and assigned to the commercial field. But the commission, with Commissioner Hyde dissenting, dismissed the Hearst bid on April 1.

Then things began to happen. John C. Doerfer, former chairman of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, was appointed to the F. C. C., a step which gave the Republicans a commission majority. About the same time Senator McCarthy opened an extraordinary one-man "hearing" on the F. C. C., calling in Democratic Commissioner Eugene H. Merrill, who was about to be replaced by Doerfer, and Paul Walker, then chairman of the commission and about to be replaced by Hyde. The hearing was not public and no transcript of the proceedings has ever been released; apparently the primary object was to delay any F. C. C. action on the Hearst paper's application for a rehearing until after the political complexion of the commission was changed. If that was the scheme, it worked. At any rate the Hearst paper's application for a rehearing is still pending.

Shortly thereafter an unusual maneuver took place in Wisconsin, where the legislature hurriedly passed without public hearings, and Governor Kohler signed, a law creating a new state television council, empowered to take over any educational TV station which might be set up in the state. The state of Wisconsin can now argue that even if Channel 10 should retain its educational status, not the Milwaukee Vocational School but the state council should be the agency to get it.

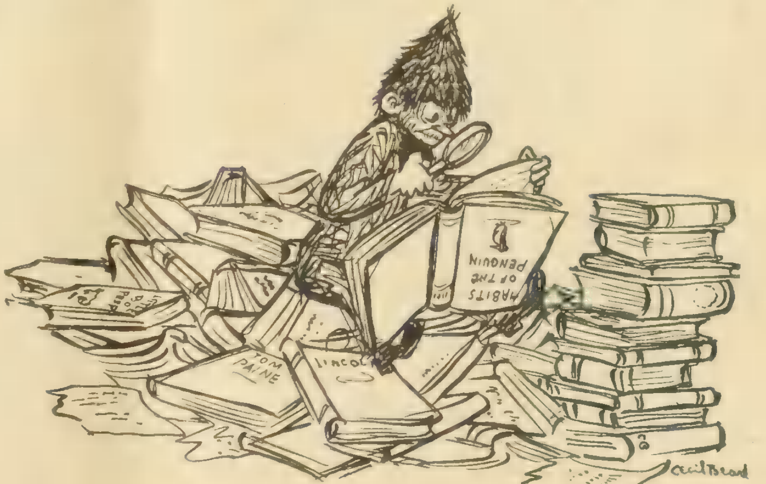
The Milwaukee situation, incidentally, is not the only TV problem in which Senator McCarthy has shown an interest. He recently introduced a bill into the Senate which would require all radio and TV stations to keep permanent record of everything they sent out over the air, presumably to make things easier for his investigators. Had such a law been in effect in 1950, the Senator would have been caught cold on his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech.

What will happen next in Milwaukee is anybody's guess. The case reveals the wide range of pressures which can be applied when a powerful newspaper—or any other powerful corporation—wants to get in on the TV business. The trend toward monopoly is naturally affected by such pressures.

MEANWHILE the big TV operators are strongly urging that the limit of five stations under single ownership be set aside. The squeeze is on to "clean out the left-wingers and the New Dealers" from the F. C. C., just as it has been on to purge other government agencies; such a "cleansing" would undoubtedly mean that the big operators would have their way. The general understanding here is that if something along this line is not accomplished by the F. C. C. under Chairman Hyde, there will be a new commission chairman a year from now.

This is, of course, *your* air the commission and the operators are dealing with; it is *your* license that carries such a heavy cash value; and it is *your* government that is setting out to persuade you of its high-souled devotion to the public interest by means of "simulcasts" carefully framed and angled by the most expensive advertising men in the business.

So the great crusade takes another step forward.



News Item: A county superintendent of schools in California has promised his district school boards a guidebook to enable them to avoid buying "Communist-tinged" textbooks.

BOOKS

Did Gide Represent Our Time?

PORTRAIT OF ANDRE GIDE. By Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THE popularity of André Gide is certainly not of the widest possible sort, but among people of consciously literary interests it has grown to imposing proportions. As a matter of fact, it would be not too much to say that at the time of his death there was no other living man whom so many such people were ready to accept as *the* representative writer of our time, almost as one who might be called the Hero as Man of Letters. Mr. O'Brien's substantial study, partly biographical but with the main stress on an analysis of Gide's thought and temperament as revealed in his principal works, is likely to remain a major presentation of the subject. Mr. O'Brien is a specialist in French culture; he enjoyed the confidence of Gide, whom he saw from time to time over a period of many years; and he has threaded his way with great dexterity through the ambiguities and inconsistencies of his subject's mind. He conceals nothing, but his sympathies are never overridden by the irritations so evident in the brief excerpts recently published from the journal of Martin du Gard.

Now if Gide really was the representative man of letters of his time, what was it that made him so, or—if that question is too strong—what are some of the outstanding characteristics which were at least compatible with his position and hence of some significance in suggesting the temper, the preoccupations, and the ideals of the group which accepted him as representative?

First of all one will notice, of course, that he was preeminently a pure writer—despite the fact that he was also a moralist in the Manichean sense that Baudelaire and Huysmans were moralists, which means most aware of good in connection with evil. From childhood he was already "literary" in a sense that Englishmen or Americans rarely are and already tacitly assuming that man writing is man engaged in the occupation which best becomes him. As one reads Mr. O'Brien's account of his friendships at the Lycée Henri Quatre or of how, while still in his teens, he frequented the salon of Mallarmé, one realizes how rarely any English or American writer grows up in a similar atmosphere and how unlikely it is therefore that he will ever take literature as quite so self-evidently the final end of man. But if the literary world of England and America nevertheless accepts Gide as the representative writer, that perhaps means that it is ready to accept as an ideal a degree of absorption in literature itself, a remoteness from the everyday business of life, which is uncommon even among those native writers who are accused by the socially and politically minded of having no concern with "social significance."

THAT GIDE flirted briefly with communism and then revolted against it certainly helps to make him typical, but typical is not the same as "representative," and it is possibly more significant that he should further mark his separateness from the non-literary public, that he should distrust popularity, and that in an age which outside literature has been fanatically devoted to the ideals of health, normality, and "adjustment" he should say: "Health does not seem to me such an enviable possession. It is merely an equilibrium, a state of mediocrity in everything. . . . A humpback is a man plus a hump, and I prefer that you should look upon health as a deficiency of disease."

Some might even maintain that his homosexuality—he preferred to be more precise and put himself in the sub-class of pederasts—was another characteristic which contributed to his representativeness. He at least regarded it as a fact of primary importance, partly perhaps because it so perfectly demonstrated his anarchical "sincerity" and determination to "be himself." The tendency to "dissociate" is also certainly one of the strong tendencies of our time, and Gide early made up his mind to dissociate love from pleasure. "I have ceased," he said, "to believe in sin"; and he was convinced that both love and pleasure would be purer as well as more intense if the heart and the body went their separate ways. Following no doubt Gide's own attitude, Mr. O'Brien speaks of Gide's first experience with the pleasures of pederasty as a "liberating encounter" and of Gide's first contact with other men who shared his taste as "an important step in Gide's moral liberation."

One of the portraits which Mr. O'Brien publishes—taken in 1926—reveals a kindly and humorous face not in the least embittered or ravaged. That is not at all what one would say of a portrait of most mature "immoralists," such as, for example, Baudelaire. It certainly does not contribute to making Gide seem typical. But perhaps it makes him representative by suggesting that those modern seekers who find little except relativism and anarchy deserve for their integrity and their talents a better fate. In any event, and for whatever reason, the fact remains that the "representative" contemporary search for certain seemingly admirable things has a way of finding an awful chasm at the end of the road.

Gide is undeniably representative in that his grand goals have been sincerity, freedom, and the discovery of the real self. But does it make him even more indubitably representative if we say that in each case the nearer he came to reaching one of these goals the more clearly it seemed to reveal itself to be, not the stable absolute which it has been the best dream of mankind to find, but some relativity, or delusion, or vacuum?

What does "sincerity" reveal except what was once thought to be the shameful? What does the "real self" turn out to be except a welter of conflicting impulses in the face of which it is possible to say only that I am what I am, must do what I do, and that therefore good and evil are one? What does freedom in the end come down to but

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JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly The Nation's *drama critic, will bring out a new book this fall, "The Best of Two Worlds."*

that *reductio ad absurdum* the *"acte gratuite,"* typified by the motiveless murder committed by the hero of "Les Caves du Vatican." Against the stultifying doctrine of either economic or psychological determinism Gide seems here heroically to assert the freedom of the will—but it is only in doing gratuitous evil that it can clearly manifest itself.

IT IS TRUE as Mr. O'Brien points out that when the dadaists seized on the term *acte gratuite* as a slogan and made the accomplishment of such an act the most significant human achievement, Gide not only repudiated their attitude but also asserted that he did not mean to imply the reality of free will, only to distinguish between acts which have an obvious motive and those which "elude the ordinary psychological explanations." Presumably he would not approve the judgment of Guillaume Apollinaire, who when undertaking to name the "freest spirit that ever lived," chose—the Marquis de Sade. But the step or misstep from Gide to Apollinaire is easily taken. Is it, perhaps, all but inevitable unless in some way or to some extent one asks, "Sincerity *about* what?" and "Freedom *for* what?"

Many modern writers have promised to plunge into the abyss in order that, having known evil, we may come at last to understand good. While still a very young man Gide himself wrote to a friend, "Literature must be hurled into an abyss of sensualism from which it will later emerge altogether regenerated." This has a very familiar ring. Perhaps I am not the only one beginning to ask, "Just how much later is that likely to be?" Have those who proposed the program merely demonstrated again that though the descent into Avernus is easy the coming up again presents difficulties?

Whatever one may think of such questions, at least one fact seems clear. If Gide is the most representative modern writer, then literature seems to be widening the gulf between itself and the spirit of the age as that spirit manifests itself in other activities. That spirit is—and in the view of some disastrously so—pragmatic, utilitarian, instrumentalist, materialistic, and committed to the worship of norms, of averages, and of commonnesses. But it is certainly not obvious that literature will correct the extravagances of an alien age if it insists upon the fanatical cultivation of opposite extravagances instead of attempting, somehow, to mediate between the two.

Prognostic

There comes a moment late in summer
When yellow pulses like a muffled bell,
A tremor foreboding the mortal stroke,
The first faltering of the chlorophyll.

This is not the yellow haunting the mind
In ghost of crocus, daffodil, lemon-bright
Forsythia, new butter of the daisy disk,
Yellow dissolving light, dissolved in light.

That airy yellow, cream yellow, flaxen yellow,
Spirit yellow washed pale gold by the spring sun,
Together with flesh of primrose, jonquil, buttercup,
Has long since drowned in a heavy sea of green.

No, this yellow is waxen, tawny, buff,
Mottled gold of straw, wheat stalk, corn husk:
Darkness is a presence, fog an interfusion—
This is antique amber holding an inner dusk.

There comes a moment when thought reverberates
And yellow is a passing bell; indeed, tomorrow
Stains the world hectic, speckles it with red fever,
Then wastes and crumples it to dry brown sorrow.

SAMUEL YELLEN

Magic over Korea

FOLK TALES FROM KOREA. Collected and Translated into English by Zong In-Sob. Grove Press. $4.50.

Professor Zong, of the Central University in Seoul, has been actively interested in the literary and folkloristic heritage of his country for the past twenty-five years, or since he was a young student in Tokyo. This is therefore no haphazard collection of tales thrown together to meet the obvious need of Westerners, and particularly of the English-speaking peoples, for a key to the Korean *Geist.* This careful selection of ninety-nine tales is the product of ceaseless research and the culling which went into the publication of two earlier volumes—one, translations of Korean tales into Japanese; the other, a two-volume collection of "Fairy Tales from Many Countries" which Professor Zong edited for British publication and which contained the first selection of Korean folk tales available in English.

The vast selective work of which the present volume is the end result reveals a fine, sensitive, and orderly mind, ideally suited to interpret an unknown culture to the neophyte. It must be remembered throughout that these tales were largely unrecorded, hence are filtered now through a single talent. This would explain the similarity, even occasional monotony, not of the subject matter but of the treatment. And Zong's desire to communicate and explain in the smallest compass possible would excuse the interpolation in the text of the tales themselves of pertinent facts which might best have been referred to in notes. The desire to eliminate academic apparatus so far as was possible probably dictated Professor Zong's method.

Reminding us that Korea has known an evolving culture which spans four thousand years and which has been influenced by a half-dozen major religions, Professor Zong has given us a brief glimpse of his country's complex history, enough background, that is, to permit reading the tales somewhat in context.

The collection itself is divided into five groups: myths or tales "which describe the creation of the world and of natural beings"; legends, including tales derived from anecdotes about individuals "which contain some historical facts"; fairy tales; fables; and finally the summarized autobiographical lays of three early writers which have been retold so often as to become part of the popular heritage.

This breakdown gives the reader a chance to see, in different forms, the reactions of the folk-voice from various parts of the country to the conditions, geographical and economic, under which the people have lived. The folk tale is unique as sociological source material, and Zong's collection is exceptionally rich.

The Appendix includes an index of sources and an excellent index of subjects in which, for example, we find that death is referred to in thirty-one tales while a flower occurs in but one; the horse, by the same token, is more important than the village and the tiger than the horse; the mountain and night each outranks any reference, however frequent, to human beings (man, woman, son, daughter, husband, wife), and brooding magic and incantation, entered under a hundred disguises, hangs over all.

FRANCES KEENE

New Books in Brief

Roots of Abstract Art

THE ORIGINS OF ART. By Gene Weltfish. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50.

Three decades of scholarly research undertaken by the author, a pupil of Franz Boas, lie behind this elaborate synthesis of what anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology have contributed to a solution of the problem of the origins of art. The present work is a detailed and specialized affair, but its point of reference to a riddle of basic human significance should recommend it to the more general reader. The argument rests in the main on a study of the arts of weaving and pottery as practiced by Indian tribes in Oklahoma and the Southwest, but the author has much to say about the significance of the prehistoric cave paintings of the Ukraine, France, and Spain. In fact, she finds parallels of absorbing interest which seem to indicate fundamental human approaches to artistic expression. The most important of her conclusions is that abstract art is as old as representational art and as elemental, and that it need not be interpreted as having symbolic meaning. On the contrary, abstract art develops out of the process of making things, and the weaving of mattings appears to be the primary source, both in prehistoric times and in the development of the art of primitive Indian cultures.

An epilogue contains a number of answers to popular misconceptions, such as that one can learn about the origins of art by watching children learn to draw, and that the cave paintings are beautiful because the cave man was a naive child of nature and painted them spontaneously out of a primary urge.

Anyone who supposes that modern abstract art has no profound roots in human experience, or that it is mere contemporary superstructure, or that the Graeco-Roman tradition is somehow more noble and valuable ought to ponder Gene Weltfish's deductions.

A Great Rank-and-Filer

ERNEST BEVIN: PORTRAIT OF A GREAT ENGLISHMAN. By Francis Williams. British Book Center. $4.50

Blending affection with an admirable candor, Mr. Williams easily convinces us that Ernest Bevin was indeed a great labor leader and a great Englishman. But many readers will question the further claim that Bevin was also a great Foreign Secretary, although possibly future historians will decide that his share in the reconstruction of Europe compensates for the abject failure of his Palestine policy. In any case, this was the final phase of an astonishing career, the story of which is well worth the telling.

Bevin, who left school to work on a farm at the age of twelve, was nearly thirty before he became a trade unionist. His ability and drive soon overcame the handicap of a late start, and by the time he was forty-five he had organized the largest labor organization in the world, the Transport and General Workers Union, and was perhaps the most powerful figure in the British labor movement. The methods by which he acquired this power and the ways in which he used it were often rough. He was ruthless in action and did not bear opposition gracefully. On the other hand, he never became a careerist, never lost "the art . . . of remaining a member of the rank and file." That was the secret of his immense success as war-time Minister of Labor. In that capacity he directed the most comprehensive mobilization of man-power ever undertaken by a democratic country, exercising a dictatorial authority over the lives of all Britons. It was, however, an authority secured not so much by penalties as by the loyalty of the workers to a man they knew was always loyal to them.

Soviet Life and Fiction

THROUGH THE GLASS OF SOVIET LITERATURE. Views of Russian Society. Edited by Ernest J. Simmons. Columbia. $4.50.

The purpose of these interesting essays by five members of the Russian Institute of Columbia University is to reveal various facets of the Russian contemporary scene through Soviet fiction. The situation of women and their role in family and public life are examined at some length by Louise Luke. Bernard Choseed shows us Jews as portrayed by Russian and Yiddish novelists. Gene Sosin, Rebecca Domar, and Robert Hankin study, respectively, the children, theater, and drama in Soviet education, the case of Zoshchenko, the satirist, declared "enemy of the people" by Communist critics, and the post-war literary polemics. Novels, short stories, and plays are used as source material and to illustrate social trends.

This method inevitably raises the question of the validity of literary evidence in a country where the arts are rigorously controlled by governmental agencies. Professor Ernest J. Simmons, in his illuminating and widely documented introduction, attempts to establish some criteria for judging how far Soviet fiction can be accepted as a truthful reflection of life. He points out that while Soviet writers enjoyed a certain

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amount of creative freedom in the twenties, strict ideological discipline has been imposed since 1946 and socialist realism has been the only permitted style. And he emphasizes that whoever wishes to use Soviet literature as valid sociological evidence must take these shifts into account. The tightening or loosening of controls in the different periods of Communist evolution has had and still has a direct bearing upon the veracity of Soviet fiction. In other words, every Russian novel or poem must be placed in the political and economic context of a particular period. Only with these reservations can it be used as basic material for understanding Soviet society.

Napoleon as Gog

FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN. By Martin Buber. Translated from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. Harper. $3.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Napoleon was striking across Europe toward both Egypt and Russia, some of the Hasidic rabbis in Poland and Hungary viewed him as the Biblical figure Gog whose triumph and destruction would herald the redemption of Israel. Martin Buber, professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has taken the series of Hasidic legends clustered around this theme and turned them into a remarkable chronicle—perhaps one of the best books of the year. Not much is revealed about Napoleon, of course, but a great deal is told about the world of the Hasidim and their way of life.

To an ousider, it is a curious mixture of pagan and religious influences, of magic and morality, of metaphysical thought and the simplest, deepest kind of piety. The central figure is Rabbi Jacob Yitzhak, the "Seer of Lublin." His opponent in the struggle, the Yehudi of Pshysha, has the same name, and is his loving disciple as well as mortal enemy, intellectually and morally. The Freudian undertones are instructive as well as fascinating; the circles of the lesser rabbis may remind you of the Arthurian legends or of the origins of Christianity itself. Altogether an original and moving chronicle, full of wisdom and not without humor. "O Eternal," says one of these Biblical visionaries, "if you will not redeem the Jews, at least redeem the Goyim."

In the Vale of Kashmir

KINGFISHERS CATCH FIRE. By Rumer Godden. Viking. $3.50.

Probably Rumer Godden belongs to the Elizabeth Bowen area in English writing of private sensibility, limited perfection, but her own insights are directed outward toward areas of experience that are both more exotic and more vital. The present tale concerns an English widow in India who determines to make her own way—and seek her salvation—in a primitive village. She starts an herb industry to support herself; she is impulsive, generous, and extravagant. She is kind to the villagers where they don't understand kindness; she can be harsh, unconsciously, where they don't understand harshness. She discovers gradually that she has become the victim of a plot to destroy her through narcotics and poisons, while her daughter is attacked and left for dead by the goat-herd children.

The novel is well worth reading, though the moralism preached toward the close is less effective than the ironic vision of experience embodied in the narrative itself. Miss Godden's heroine is on the side of virtue, but her largeness of character and intensity of belief, including real ruthlessness, make it clear that life is not only a matter of good-will. The descriptions of the Kashmir scene are admirable.

Theater

Harold Clurman

London

IT IS characteristic of the London stage today that the most generally admired production—which I arrived too late to see—was that of the seventeenth-century play "Venice Preserved," and that the two productions I liked best among those I did have the opportunity to see were revivals of Shakespeare's "Henry VI (Part 3)" and Shaw's "The Apple Cart."

The English theater today is a theater of actors and old plays. The work of a Christopher Fry, a T. S. Eliot cannot be said to constitute a contemporary national drama. For the rest there is the competent entertainment of craftsmen whose plays might be compared to engaging conversation on topics of current interest—and the presentation of foreign shows, particularly featherweight comedies and musicals from the United States. The most attractive aspect of the English theater to me is the steadiness of its activity and the loyalty of its audiences.

The production of "Henry VI" stirred me on a number of counts. The play has a kind of crazy turbulence and sudden eloquence that are rousing in a way which more ordered plays rarely achieve. Watching this chronicle of internecine struggle in England's fifteenth century, one feels as if one were thrown headlong into a world of grandiose savagery which sets us whirling in its chaos and yet redeems us by imparting a sense of almost godlike elevation.

As I sat before the excellent production given by the young company of the Birmingham Repertory Theater (playing at the Old Vic), I felt the perpetual contemporaneity of Shakespeare as an *English* playwright. The play did not seem an archaic piece of dramatic literature but something that was part of the audience's family history. There appeared to be a continuity of tradition between the kings and queens of the War of the Roses, Shakespeare's record of it, and the people seated in the theater. The actors too, for all their youthful delicacy, looked very much as if they were the direct descendants of the race of knights they portrayed.

"The Apple Cart" was a bore when it was done by the Theater Guild in New York in 1930. In the production at the Haymarket—what a charming theater, as are most of the London playhouses—the play becomes a delightfully civilized prank.

The change has been accomplished by giving it a luxuriously gay background—the couch for the "love scene" of the second act is of impossibly extravagant dimensions; by casting it handsomely with actors who speak well; and

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by treating it generally with a certain lack of "seriousness"—part Max Beerbohm caricature and part 1920 revue—that benefits Shaw immensely. Noel Coward's King Magnus is more the gorgeous snob than the incisive seer the author envisioned, but I am not sure that in this instance the fashionable decorativeness of Coward's manner is not an asset.

"ESCAPADE," by Roger MacDougall, strikes me as a London slicky. The play begins almost farcically—though this is probably due more to the performance than to the writing—with a picture of a pacifist propagandist who blusters, bellows, and browbeats everyone and consequently is beginning to bore his wife. Their marriage seems on the verge of a split when they discover that their sons at a secondary school have taken off in an airplane for an unknown but alarmingly remote destination. The second act is an amusing, almost disarming picture of a sympathetic headmaster's difficulties with the brightly "hep" youngsters of his school in league with the two boys who have disappeared. In the third act we learn that these boys—who, by the way, are never seen—having taken their father's preaching as an incentive, have flown to the seat of the U. N. to present a statement of their earnest pacifist convictions, attested to by the fact that they have risked their lives to do so. This act is a sly tear-jerker, playing on both our sympathy for youthful idealism and the Englishman's profound hope for peace.

I can understand the success of Graham Greene's controversial "The Living Room." What is controversial about it is that while it suggests a religious (Catholic) message, it is likely to disturb the religious and the Catholic even more than others.

The play follows a conventional plot pattern: a young girl from a devout Catholic family falls in love with a married man whose hysterical wife refuses him a divorce. The girl's wards (her aunts) insist on cutting her off from her sinful love; she is determined to follow her feelings. But these become confused when she faces the wife, for whom despite the woman's destructive possessiveness she begins to feel pity. The girl also notices that her lover is torn between his love and his need to protect his wife. In despair the girl turns to her uncle, a disabled priest, for positive consolation and support. But the priest in anguish admits that he has no conclusive word of solace to offer the girl. He only feels sure that she must do what tradition ordains, that is, renounce the man she loves and have faith in God and his healing. The girl, unable either to believe in God or to stand by her instincts, commits suicide.

If I am not certain that my interpretation of the play's crucial scene conveys its true meaning, it may be because of something ambiguous in it and its author. I am certain, however, that Greene's feeling rejects complacency and that much of the play evinces an abhorrence of bigotry or habitual religious dogmatism. What commands the audience's attention aside from its literate writing and a certain brooding intensity in its atmosphere is that it reflects something the audience is concerned with in terms of an intimate personal dilemma it can understand.

The play's actual fabric is poor: most of the characters are schematically sketched, the situations are foreshortened to accommodate an awkward dramatic structure, and there is, for all the fine words, a deficiency of full expression, which is due not only to imperfect artistic means but to a lack of spiritual candor on the author's part, as if his faith were either a compromise of some sort or of such a nature as to bewilder or horrify those whose religious faith is more innocent.

BOTH "Escapade" and "The Living Room" are given with a professional expertness that is usually praised for smoothness, tightness, clarity, and scenic accuracy. The directors know their jobs; the actors have authority. That is why it is necessary to say that both plays are quite badly done. "Escapade" is all tricks—momentarily gratifying but rather cheap and discomfiting in the end. "The Living Room" is approached more solemnly. But that excellent actor, Eric Portman (probably miscast), with his fine voice and chiseled readings, utterly destroys the sense of inner disarray which is the essence of the priest's part in this play. The director has made so great an effort to render each moment meticulously neat that he has ironed out the "folds" of life that the play might contain if it moved with a less stiff precision. A charming young actress, Dorothy Tuttin, is winning and convincing till she really has to *act* the play's critical situations. Only Mary Jerrold, who is cast as a childlike old lady, brings the air of life and truth to the proceedings. The technique of the others is too "polished" to provide anything but favorable notices.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE early English keyboard music issued by London (LL-712/3) includes one magnificent piece, Bull's "In Nomine," a fantasy on a plainsong melody, played well on the organ by Geraint Jones; and on the same record (712) are a few other pieces I liked: Gibbons's A Fancy in A re, also played by Jones, Tomkins's Pavan in A minor, played well on the harpsichord by Elizabeth Goble, and Byrd's well-known Earl of Salisbury's Pavan and Galliard, played by Miss Goble on the virginals. The other pieces by Byrd, Philips, and Bull on this record did not hold my interest; nor did the ones on the other record, except the anonymous "New Noddy," played on the harpsichord by Thurston Dart, and Gibbons's Lord Salisbury's Pavan and Galliard, played by Miss Goble.

Nor did I find interesting the two Gibbons Fantasias and Locke Consort of Ffowre Parts played very beautifully by the New Music Quartet (Bartok 913); but on the reverse side are the superb Pavan and Chacony of Purcell, which, one is amazed to read in the notes, "were Purcell's first instrumental works, written when he was little more than twenty years old." They take, I might add, only fifteen minutes to play, making the 12-inch side and record rather expensive.

The Marais Suites Nos. 4 and 5 for viola da gamba and figured bass, played well by Eva Heinetz and Ernst Victor Wolff, harpsichordist (EMS 8), I found uninteresting.

Mozart's Sonata K.526 for violin and piano, the finest of the series, with a wonderful Andante movement between two delightful fast movements, and the Sonata K.454, which has a lovely Andante, come off the record (London LL-739) unenlivened by the playing of Frederick Grinke and Kendall Taylor.

On the other hand, enchanting is the word for the fluidity, grace, and elegance of the playing of Pierre Fournier and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger in a beautiful Vivaldi Cello Concerto in E minor, some charming Pièces en concert by Couperin originally for viola da gamba and figured bass, and the so-called Boccherini Concerto in B flat (London LL-687). The notes go so far as to say the Boccherini's "authenticity has been questioned"; but a few years ago I had the dependable word of Charles B. Farrell, who had traced every theme to its source, that the Cello Concerto in B flat is actually a work by Grützmacher using themes abstracted from several works of Boccherini and often "grotesquely altered"; and that the "form, harmony, general style, accompaniments, and orchestration, all of which are the sole work of the 'editor,' have nothing whatever in common with Boccherini's practice." Farrell quoted a passage from van der Straeten's "History of the Violoncello" in which van der Straeten, after deploring the "sonatas" that Grützmacher "pieced together from half a dozen original compositions," and the "concert edition" of Bach's solo sonatas "in which he crowds additional chords, passages, and embellishments, distorting these great and fine works," goes on to make the nonsensical statement "Yet for all that, we must be thankful for the many works which he has rescued and made accessible." Nonsensical—here as in the case of Rimsky-Korsakov and "Boris Godunov"—when what has been made accessible is not the great works but distortions of them, which keep the true works from becoming known.

Writing after my criticism of Horowitz's recomposition of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," Farrell went into "the whole business of altering other people's music, a practice that began at the end of the eighteenth century . . . Dr. Burney may have thundered against the 'bestialities' of Blow and the licentious chords of Gesualdo, but at least he wasn't moved to rewrite them. But it wasn't long after the turn of the century that the 'corrector' began to rear his head; and he flourishes to this day" (as Ralph Kirkpatrick has shown more recently in a discussion of Scarlatti's harmony and the "corrections" in the Longo edition).

"The nineteenth century," Farrell continued, "was the first to show any interest in the past; but its musicians were ignorant of the conditions under which the music of earlier times was written, and indifferent to the requirements of its own time for its performance, and were interested only in making it palatable to their own time in terms of the available resources of their time for performance." Hence their "editions" of the classical literature, which moreover publishers could copyright, and from which players of today still learn this music. Having just investigated the classical literature for cello, Farrell had found only the Bach sonatas, the Vivaldi sonatas, and the Haydn D major Concerto available in reliable editions. And even with this edition of the Haydn now available, "to this day cellists usually learn the Haydn concerto from Gaevert's 'edition,' which, besides being rescored, has half the recapitulation of the first movement cut out because Gaevert didn't understand the nature of its form." Similarly with Corelli's original available in Chrysander's edition, violinists all play the Leonard "edition" of Corelli's "La Folia," which "should be called Leonard's 'La Folia,' which is what it is."

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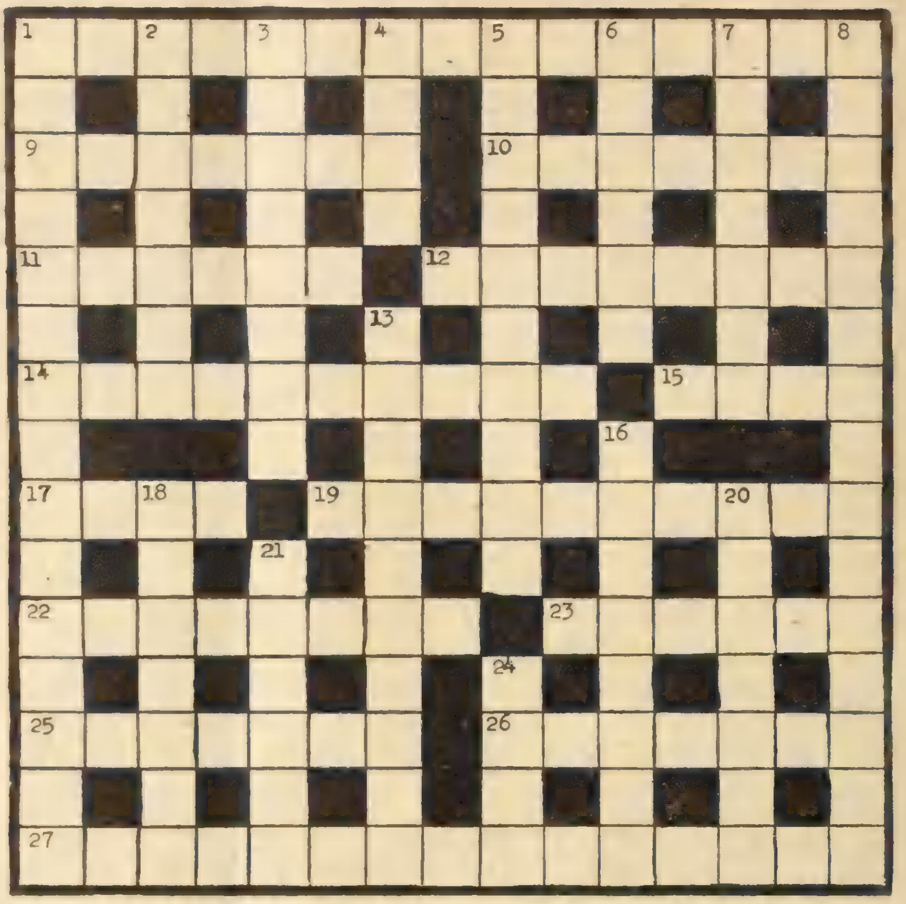
Crossword Puzzle No. 528

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A scheme for getting into the office on time? (11, 4)
9 Wounds, chickens, and people get it. (7)
10 Continue to act up. (5, 2)
11 Putting the question royally? (6)
12 Is in good-humored raillery and railing. (8)
14 The ring-pin gets broken as part of the operation. (10)
15 Quiet little fellow, in the money. (4)
17 Transported, in part. (4)
19 Discharged on time in a French city. (10)
22 Mad about the equipment? It's one way to promote a little green stuff! (8)
23 The end of dinner at seven, for some people. (6)
25 They may be said to be a structure of rosin in the bone. (7)
26 Insulation, but not to a remedy, perhaps. (7)
27 What happens if you're unable to count? There's some doubt about it! (3, 5, 3, 4)

DOWN

1 Cleveland's jurisdiction? (6, 9)
2 Spot. (7)
3 Sailors in the drink? (8)
4 This killer might be 9 to kill. (4)
5 This should be holding fast each inning. (10)
6 Mountain, clear and hot. (6)
7 It might be the first habit a child acquires. (7)
8 He gets no 15 as a result of his activity. (15)
13 You could find a sorry state here, in a rather vulgar way. (2, 3, 5)
16 Flesh appearance, as it were. (2, 6)
18 Haunt, perhaps. (7)
20 If you can't do this, 27! (7)
21 Found in sign or ensign. (6)
24 Notice when this goes over! (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 527

ACROSS:—1 BLIND ALLEY; 6 ISLE; 10 IMPRESS; 11 HANGERS; 12 IT'S A SMALL WORLD; 14 and 9 IN ONE EAR AND OUT THE OTHER; 15 STUCCO; 16 KEWPIE; 18 PUSHCART; 22 MORNING-GLORIES; 24 REGARDS; 25 ATHLETE; 26 NOTE; 27 UNDERRATES.

DOWN:—1 BAILIWICKS; [redacted] IMPASTO; 3 DRESS DESIGNERS; 4 LA SCALA; [redacted] EXHALE; 7 SHELLAC; [redacted] EAST; 13 POETASTERS; 17 and 23 WROUGHT IRON; 19 UPGRADE; 20 ALIMENT; 21 UNISON.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

3. Mr. Hsu points out that he did not say Chiang Kai-shek could not overthrow Communist rule in China by force, but rather that he could not do so "without colossal American aid."

4. Mr. Hsu disagrees with the reviewer's statement that China "went Communist in a landslide." He does not believe that the Chinese accept the Communist ideology or that they "will long countenance the totalitarian excesses which a minority may indulge in under the influence of that philosophy." He believes that the Chinese have supported the Communists—not "communism"—in order to get lower taxes and an end to graft, and an end to Western domination.

Comment by Lattimore

MR. LATTIMORE'S comments on Mr. Hsu's points, in the same numbered order, are as follows:

1. I appreciate Mr. Hsu's professional purism in distinguishing between anthropology and sociology; but I would point out that his book is an exercise in social anthropology, and that in describing a social anthropologist as a sociologist no diminution of Mr. Hsu's professional standing was intended.

2. Mr. Hsu is quite right in calling attention to the Western influence in Chinese education in Manchuria; but the passage in my review was merely introductory to the main statement that in order of time Mr. Hsu was exposed to Western European influences first and to American influences later.

3. On the question of restoring Chiang Kai-shek to control of China through "colossal American aid," it can reasonably be argued that the aid would have to be so colossal that it would result, if it succeeded at all, in an American conquest of China rather than a "liberation" of China by Chiang.

4. Many people agree with Mr. Hsu's analysis of the reasons for which non-Communist Chinese accepted a government dominated by Communists. I do myself, in large measure. That is why I used quotation marks in saying that China had " 'gone Communist.' " But the point still remains: Why did so many Chinese follow, and so many more tolerate, a leadership that appealed with the slogans of communism when they had never on the same scale followed the Kuomintang leaders who used slogans that were in such large part culturally Western, politically democratic, and ethically Christian?

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FRANCE ON STRIKE—BY J. A. DEL VAYO

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August 22, 1953
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Dulles in Asia

AFTER CONTAINMENT, WHAT?

by Mark Gayn

Third Force in the U. N.	*Barbara Castle*
New Crisis in Kashmir	*R. V. Thakur*
McCarthy in Texas	*Paul Daggett*

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Around the U.S.A.

Students Are Waking Up

Chicago

ALTHOUGH students are the ones who will ultimately suffer most from the current drive to destroy academic freedom, they have in general been apathetic in the face of this threat to their future. A turning point may have been reached, a real student movement for academic freedom started, at a recent student conference on academic freedom held at the University of Chicago.

At the first session the delegates, from twelve universities and colleges, gave a standing ovation to the keynote speech of H. H. Wilson, associate professor of politics at Princeton and contributing editor of *The Nation,* who told them that they were perhaps the only force that could change the climate of opinion; "the faculties will not take the initiative."

After analyzing the relationship between education and political power in America, Dr. Wilson emphasized that not only academic freedom but political freedom was at stake and that political weapons must therefore be used. Strongly defending the right of a Communist to teach, he pointed out that failure to understand this one key issue had resulted in continuing defeats for the supporters of academic freedom. Acceptance of the dictum that a Communist may not be permitted to teach, he said, focuses investigation on beliefs and associations rather than on overt acts and means political police on the campus.

The two other chief speakers were Dr. Howard K. Beale, professor of history at Wisconsin, who discussed recent threats to academic freedom, and Dr. John J. DeBoer, professor of education at Illinois, who spoke optimistically of the student's role in defending it. The conference divided itself into three workshops to discuss the rights of teachers, the rights of students, and the implications of the investigations. Each workshop brought out a resolution which was discussed, amended, and voted upon by the plenary session.

• The resolution on teachers' rights formulated three principles: (1) the only valid criterion for the hiring and firing of teachers is their professional competence; (2) neither Congressional investigation of a teacher's political beliefs or associations nor the witness's invocation of constitutional privilege should disqualify a teacher or place on him the burden of demonstrating again his qualifications; (3) political beliefs or associations, *including Communist Party membership,* are not and ought not to be the basis for judging ability to teach.

The resolution on student rights placed major emphasis upon full freedom of thought, expression, and association within the academic community. It called for free access in the classroom to every side of all questions, the selection of professors on the basis of their academic qualifications and teaching ability, and the right to be "judged on mastery of course material and not on the acceptance of one point of view."

The resolution on the implications of legislative investigations was carefully thought out and adopted only after a long and spirited discussion. In a severe indictment of the methods employed by investigating committees, "which lead people to regard witnesses as stereotypes rather than individual persons," the resolution declared that the investigators were promoting anti-democratic attitudes by encouraging "cynicism about the value of human dignity." In this stifling atmosphere, it continued, "the development of leaders with the ability for creative and critical thinking is dangerously retarded. Those who hold unpopular ideas are so intimidated by the climate of fear that the whole nation is deprived of any potential benefit from those ideas." Without questioning either the right or the power of Congressional committees to investigate for legislative purposes, the delegates found that the investigations are not "genuine inquiry but public defamation intended to extirpate from the colleges not disloyalty but dissent."

The resolution boldly asserted the belief that the same fallacious assumption—namely, "that ideas and associations at variance with the widely accepted norm are dangerous to the security of the state"—underlies both the Smith-act prosecutions and the operations of the investigating committees. It held "with the dissenting Justices [Black and Douglas] that the Smith act is an infringement upon the First Amendment, and that the risk of stifling political democracy when the law was upheld is far greater than the risk of its subversion by free political dissent." It concluded with a vigorous defense of those who refuse to cooperate with the investigating committees.

• Not satisfied with passing resolutions, the delegates planned a program of action for protecting academic freedom. It was agreed that "an effective fight for academic freedom must rely upon (1) education of the people to the issues; (2) exchange of information between presently isolated groups; and (3) a program of cooperation and coordination among all groups waging all the fights." The American student, it was felt, can play an important part in the fight to preserve political democracy through action within the university community, within the community of universities, and within the nation as a whole.

Specific recommendations for action were too numerous to be reported here. A Continuations Committee was appointed to organize a larger conference which should set up a national Student Academic Freedom Committee. Derek Staats of Northwestern and Peter H. Greene of the University of Chicago were elected co-chairmen of the Continuations Committee. Gwen Struik, of the University of Chicago, daughter of Dirk J. Struik, suspended M. I. T. professor, was elected secretary. This committee was charged with responsibility for publishing a newsletter on the state of academic freedom.

KENT A. SMITHEMAN

[*Formerly an instructor in chemistry at Iowa State, Mr. Smitheman is now living in New Jersey.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Celebrations Deferred

This year's celebration of Independence Day in New Delhi and Karachi—August 15 in New Delhi, August 14 in Karachi—failed to coincide, as many had hoped, with news of the settlement of outstanding differences between the two countries, including the Kashmir issue. In Karachi the mood was far from joyous, and a reception to have been held in New York by the Pakistani delegate to the U. N., Ahmed S. Bokari, was canceled because of "the latest developments and happenings in India-occupied Kashmir and as a mark of sympathy with the people of Kashmir." New Delhi was more inclined to celebrate, but there, too, the tension was apparent. An article by R. V. Thakur in this issue (page 149) explains why an early settlement of all pending differences was hoped for as late as June and early July and suggests the nature of the pressures that have precipitated the new crisis. The source of these pressures was also indicated in a dispatch from New Delhi in the New York *Times* of August 12 quoting Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, who heads the new regime in Kashmir, as saying that "too many" diplomats had been visiting Srinagar lately and dinning into the ears of Sheik Abdullah the advantages of joining Pakistan or, if unsuccessful, urging him to ask for independence. Now that Mohammed Ali, the Pakistan Prime Minister, has left for New Delhi, where he will confer with Nehru "as long as necessary," the projected settlement may still be effected.

Midsummer Madness

The Administration's approach to the who, where, and when of the political conference on Far Eastern problems agreed upon under the Korean armistice is a piece of midsummer madness. To insist that only nations which participated in the fighting should be selected as U. N. representatives is to torpedo the theory that the United Nations as such acted to prevent aggression in Korea. A faction cannot speak for the whole; the sixteen active participants in the war are not the United Nations. Moreover to insist that the conference be set up as a meeting of two opposing "sides," "across the table," instead of arranging a round-table discussion to hammer out a settlement, is to invite trouble.

But beyond all this there is the refusal to invite India. Is it our policy to push the Indians into an "anti-American" position? What could be more offensive than the implication that India is not acceptable to us because, among other reasons, Syngman Rhee might be offended? It is almost as though we wanted to punish India for having played a key role in bringing about the armistice.

What role, one wonders, did Admiral Radford, who became chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on August 15, play in formulating our strange approach to the problem of organizing the conference—an approach that, by all accounts, took the British and our other friends completely by surprise? When coupled with our announced intention to walk out with President Rhee at the end of ninety days if we are not satisfied with progress, our approach seems calculated to isolate this country. Instead of undercutting the U. N. we should be redoubling our efforts to strengthen it. For therein lies our only hope of avoiding the isolation that Mr. Dulles seems so anxious to achieve. Let us hope that our U. N. friends will get us off the hook by asserting, as Barbara Castle suggests elsewhere in this issue (p. 143), "the authority of the United Nations against those who would 'go it alone' in an ideological war."

Everybody's Grandfather, Nobody's Fool

Although the tipsters had forecast a Liberal victory in the Canadian general election, few people had expected it would be by so wide a margin. A loss of only 10 seats leaves the Liberals with a majority of 77 over all other parties combined in a House of Commons totaling 265. This is an astonishing feat for a party that has been in office for nearly twenty years and a personal tribute to the seventy-one-year-old Louis St. Laurent who, entering politics late in life, succeeded to the Liberal leadership and office of Prime Minister on the death of MacKenzie King.

Mr. St. Laurent, who has been described as "looking like everybody's grandfather and nobody's fool," conducted a vigorous campaign and proved himself a prodigious vote-getter. Yet in the last analysis the strength of the Liberals must be considered in part a measure of the weakness of their opponents.

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The Russians Want Jam

THE second section of Malenkov's speech to the Supreme Soviet, which included his claim that Russia had the H-bomb, has for that reason attracted more attention than the first. Yet the earlier part of the Soviet Premier's address, which was devoted to internal affairs and treated Russia's economic shortcomings with unusual frankness, is in fact the more significant.

Malenkov's review of the international scene was rhetorical, generalized, and unoriginal. While perhaps less belligerent than some Soviet utterances of the past, it reiterated the standardized Communist charges against Western "imperialism" and the equally standardized protestations of Russia's devotion to peace. Once again, too, we were told at length about the might and unity of the Eastern bloc and its ability to repel and punish an aggressor. It was in the course of this passage that Malenkov released his tidbit about the H-bomb.

It may be that in enlarging on the theme of Russia's military strength Malenkov was barking up the wrong tree. Actually there is no tendency here or in other Western countries to minimize the Soviet military potential; if anything, some of our experts may be inclined to exaggerate it. What has been attracting Western attention is evidence that a heavy economic and political price has been paid for this strength. In some measure, the first half of Malenkov's speech reinforced this evidence.

While giving new and impressive statistics about the advance of Russia's economy in certain areas, the Soviet Premier also indicated that a serious lack of balance had developed—a fact Western economists had long suspected. Rebuking "right-wing capitulators . . . who demanded the transfer of funds from heavy to light industry," he simultaneously admitted that the tremendous build-up of the capital-goods industries had unduly restricted the output of consumer goods. It was now "urgent," he added, to raise sharply the population's supply of foodstuffs and manufactured articles and also to improve their quality and distribute them more efficiently.

Malenkov made some astringent remarks on mistakes and failures in the sphere of agriculture that appear to foreshadow drastic changes in policy. He criticized the system of evaluating farm production on the basis of "apparent yield" instead of on tonnages actually harvested and safely stored. He stressed the lag in stock breeding and in the production of potatoes and vegetables, implying that it had been a mistake to give the peasant less incentive to grow food than to grow industrial crops like cotton. He denounced as "incorrect" methods that had been used to discourage collective farmers from working their private auxiliary homesteads.

By way of remedying some of these defects, delivery—

but not retail—prices of many farm products are to be increased, and both monetary taxes and obligatory deliveries of produce from private farms are to be reduced. Supplies of consumer goods for both town and country are to be enlarged by diverting to their manufacture some part of the productive apparatus now used in making yet more machines to make machines—and weapons. Is a program of this kind, we wonder, compatible with the tremendous investment required for making a stock of H-bombs? Just one phase of that process, the construction of a tritium (triple hydrogen) plant on the Savannah River, is costing this country one and one-half billion dollars.

We wonder also whether the Soviet government in thus proposing a modest improvement in living standards is seeking to forestall in Russia such eruptions as have lately been manifest in several satellite countries—eruptions provoked in part by an overemphasis on capital formation. All news of these manifestations and of the concessions with which they have been met can hardly have been suppressed inside Russia. Is it possible that the Russian workers and peasants have begun to ask in unmistakable accents for "jam today"? If that is so, one can understand why the Soviet government, whether or not it has abandoned long-term ambitions of expansion, is now anxious to relax international tensions and, apparently, prepared to make at least some compromises to achieve that end.

Third Force in the U. N.

BY BARBARA CASTLE

London

IT IS important that we should learn the right lessons from the tragedy of the Korean war. To recognize the fact—as I agree we should—that the United Nations failed to unify Korea by force is not to condemn collective security but to deplore that we failed to make security collective. The original purpose in Korea, before General MacArthur ran away with it, was to prove that aggression does not pay; it was a valid purpose and would be valid again today. The trouble was that the United Nations failed to take control of its own war, so that the simple original purpose was lost in American anti-Communist strategy. We must certainly learn from our mistakes, but to suggest that any attempt to make the United Nations work must mean more and bigger wars is not hindsight but myopia.

The United Nations is our one hope of preventing the capitalist and Communist power blocs from getting at each other's throats in a holy war. The Charter always recognized that there could be no hope of peace unless the big powers agreed to live and let live. It expressly forbids interference in the internal affairs of a member; it is ideologically neutral. Of course, in the stress of the cold war, each side has tried to use the U. N. for its own purposes; and admittedly there is the danger that those elements in the U. N. which fear and oppose social change will try to get all civil wars and social revolutionary wars denounced as "aggression." They will try, but in my view they will be less likely to succeed than if the United Nations did not exist. It would be quite wrong to imagine—as I discovered when I attended the General Assembly in 1949 and 1950 as a British delegate—that all member states are lined up on one side or the other in the cold war.

There is a healthy inclination on the part of the "have-not" nations to call "a plague on both your houses" to the quarreling giants. In fact, the U. N. is the only place where a Third Force actually operates, as the part played by the Arab-Asian group at crucial moments in the Korean war showed. With the United Nations establishing the objective facts in any crisis and providing a forum where both sides can be heard, there is no excuse for the peoples of the democracies to be stampeded into war on the say-so of their government. Nor, incidentally, can any country be stampeded into war by the United Nations, which is an organization of sovereign states. "Collective security," therefore, is merely a call to action; it can never be a command. No member state is likely to obey the call unless it is satisfied that the case is proved. "Collective security" in such circumstances becomes the counting of voices as to whether an act of aggression has been committed by one nation or another; and surely it is better to get a world opinion on such a matter than leave it to be decided by interested parties like the nations belonging to NATO.

India, for example, voted in the Security Council in June, 1950, for the resolutions denouncing the aggression of North Korea and calling for collective action; it would certainly take a very different line if an attempt were made to denounce Ho Chi-minh as an aggressor. In my view India was right: if the United Nations had not acted in 1950 to defend the Korean frontier it had itself created and recognized, its authority would have evaporated, and there would today be no international authority to which we could turn to guarantee the neutrality of a reunified Korea.

Now that the Korean armistice restoring the status quo has been successfully achieved, in the face of all attempts to extend the war, we should claim this as a victory for collective security and so strengthen the hands of those who, at the current General Assembly, will be working to assert the authority of the United Nations against those who would "go it alone" in an ideological war.

BARBARA CASTLE has been a member of Parliament (Labor) for Blackburn East since 1950.

DULLES IN ASIA

After Containment, What? . . *by Mark Gayn*

IT MAY well be that the current session of the United Nations will best be remembered not for what it achieves but for having come at a hinge in time, between the discarded yesterday and the perplexing tomorrow. For this year has seen new men and forces take over power in both the Soviet Union and the United States, and the U. N. session presents the first major forum at which their policies and fears, their hesitations and long-range plans, can be voiced, and matched against each other.

By the time the brief session is done, we should have a better understanding of the promise of the new era. Will the Soviet Union pursue its policy of conciliation, pledged in Red Square oratory on a mournful day in March, or will it speak with the harsher tones of Malenkov's statement in early August? Will our allies in Asia and Europe, freed by the Korean truce from the compulsion to follow our lead, turn to "neutralism"? Finally, will the United States show the contours of its new, bold, and coherent foreign policy that is to take the place of the policy of "containment"?

It is the end of containment that makes this season especially portentous for Americans. For, the Democrats to the contrary, the policy of Truman, Acheson, and Kennan is dead. And, contrary to the Republican spellbinders, it has died, not because "the rascals have been turned out," but because containment has outlived its historical validity.

Containment was rooted in the geopolitics of 1945, when it was still feasible to throw a fence around the Soviet Union and its satellites in Europe. The Communist triumph in China late in 1949, however, made the Red world too big to be fenced around. The real meaning of the Korean war lay in demonstrating the prohibitive cost of keeping the Communists in their corral when they tried to break out. Since Moscow could duplicate the Korean adventure in a dozen places, from Germany to Indo-China, the concept of containment had to be abandoned. It was simply a historical coincidence that General Eisenhower had come to power at this juncture. Had Adlai Stevenson won, he too would have had to grope for a new policy.

But if Mao Tse-tung's victory began the disintegration of the former American policy, Stalin's death completed it. For containment was predicated on our possession of strong Western allies, dedicated to our political strategy. Stalin's demise and the emergence of new leaders and policies in Moscow have shaken the purpose of our Western allies and their willingness to support the elaborate and costly machinery of military containment.

"Neutralism," only a year ago regarded as a leftist fad, has now become a potent—and highly respectable—force in European politics. One need only read the British *Hansard* to discover that the new political mood has affected both the Tory and the Socialist. The Europeans are profoundly disturbed by the direction in which the policy of containment has been taking them. They have never been certain that Russia—let alone Russia *and China*—could be contained, except at the risk of Europe's destruction. And left or right, they have now happily embraced the vague hope that Stalin's heirs are in such acute straits themselves that they *must* seek the paths of peace and commerce.

The end of containment has had another important corollary which has escaped general notice. We are leaving Korea *physically*. Our troops may remain there for a long, long time, and even after they depart, there will still be an American military mission. But, I think, it is plain that we shall fight no more battles on Korean soil, and that this decision must have been made many months ago.

When the Communists burst out of their containment in 1950, President Truman faced a terrible dilemma. If he did not intervene, the world might have been treated to a series of Communist military adventures. Commendably, Truman chose intervention. By 1953, however, Korea had become a quagmire. It is not only that the inconclusive struggle was straining tempers in the United States, but also that it invited military disaster. The bulk of the United States forces had become committed in an area where they were being bled and where, conceivably, they could be trapped and destroyed.

IT IS A tribute to Syngman Rhee's acumen that he perceived early the nature of the new American decision. This is the real explanation of all his maneuvers and stratagems of the past two or three months. Fearful of being left alone, he had undertaken to involve the United States in new commitments. The newly concluded mutual-defense pact may seem to indicate that he had succeeded. But a careful reading of the document will show that no commitments had been made to him. Each brave promise is carefully handcuffed, and Washington obviously retains a free hand.

What the pact does do is serve a warning on Moscow and Peking that the United States would regard a new incursion into South Korea as a major challenge, the response to which might not be confined to this devastated peninsula. There are, however, flaws in this position that will not escape the Communist planners. By any yardstick, a sound American policy for Asia must depend on the good-will and support of the two most powerful non-Communist Asian nations, Japan and India. The fact is, however, that India refuses to be drawn into Dullesian patterns, while

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Japan is increasingly asserting its political independence.

For three years Japan's true and tragic dilemma has been obscured by the Korean war. But now that the American bounty, in the form of military orders, is beginning to shrink, Japan has to do some very realistic thinking on its position in the new Pacific. Would it be willing to remain an American outpost, stuck out perilously in the Pacific no man's land? Can its economy support the growing population unless new markets and new and cheaper sources of raw materials are found? My Japanese friends write me that "neutralism" is sweeping the land, and many political and intellectual leaders begin to visualize Japan as the "third force" in Asia. The Yoshida government is not unresponsive to these moods. Its refusal to meet Washington's appeals for a speedy rearmament has been pointed. Even more so has been the Diet's resolution, passed immediately after the Korean truce and demanding renewed trade with Red China.

What can the Republicans offer Japan to offset these tremendous fears, yearnings, and pressures? Mr. Dulles has returned to Japan some of its less important islands. He has presumably pledged continued economic aid, and help in rebuilding the Japanese army. But such remedies can cure nothing. The United States can neither keep the Japanese economy solvent indefinitely nor shoulder the Japanese defense budget for years to come. Sooner or later the bars will have to be let down, and Japan will have to be allowed to establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with its powerful Red neighbors. Can anyone assume that once such contacts are established, Japan will remain a pliant and obedient instrument of American policy?

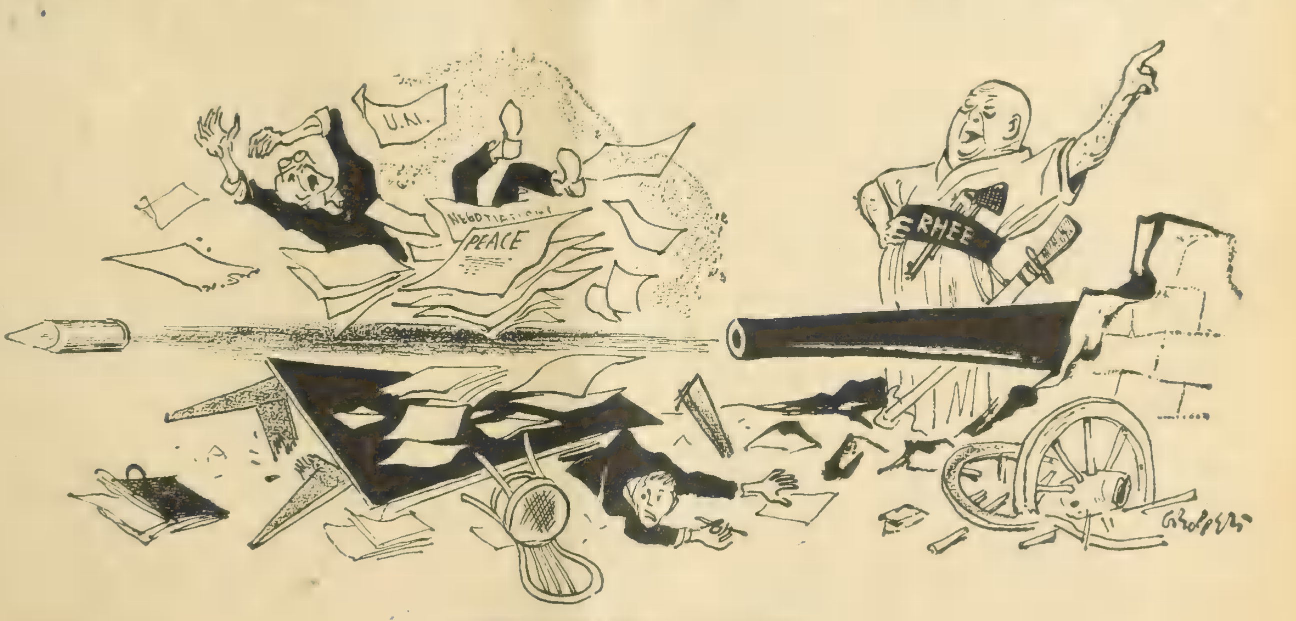
IT SHOULD be assumed that Mr. Dulles has all along been seeking alternatives to the policy of containment. Some of these alternatives, such as his concept of "liberation," have had to be abandoned early, partly because of the outcry from our Western allies. Some other alternatives obviously could never be considered because of the fear of one wing of Mr. Dulles's own fellow-Republicans. Nor, in fact, is there any sign that a coherent, long-range program has already been defined.

Yet, if not the clear pattern, then the thinking behind the new blueprint does emerge, here, at the Assembly session, in Mr. Eisenhower's chat with the governors in Seattle, in Mr. Dulles's statements in Seoul. If these are the true signposts, they seem to indicate that our new foreign policy will be a variant of containment, with some very significant changes. For one, the Republicans—very properly, in view of the Communist victory in China—put a much heavier emphasis on Asia than the Democrats have in recent years. For another, the new policy advances our frontier from the chain of islands in the western Pacific to the continent of Asia itself. Just as the Rhee-Dulles treaty earmarks South Korea for our permanent zone of concern and influence, so does President Eisenhower's speech in Seattle put us in Indo-China. Finally, the former concept of employing American troops abroad to back up our foreign policy is largely discarded. The Republican big stick will be admonitory rather than physical. In effect, the United States will now serve notice on Moscow and Peking that any effort to breach the fence separating the two rival worlds, whether in Iran, Germany, or Indo-China, would lead to total war. "We shall not scatter our troops around the globe," Washington seems to be saying. "We shall have no more Koreas. But if you try to expand anywhere in the world, you'll do so at the peril of a global conflict." Even, apparently, if we have to go it alone.

What the Communist reaction to such a policy might be is not easy to foretell. In fact, the guiding factor in such a reaction must be the acuteness of the crisis in the Soviet Union. Thus far, Moscow has supplied two hints of its attitude. One was the vague prediction in *Krasnaya Zvezda,* the Red Army mouthpiece, that peace could be achieved anywhere, including Indo-China. The other was Malenkov's curiously timed declaration that the United States had no monopoly on the hydrogen bomb.

It is even more difficult to gauge China's reaction to such a policy. In my interviews with Mao Tse-tung few things impressed me as much as his recital of what the United States could *try* to do to Red China, and with what success.

"Suppose you drop 10,000 A-bombs on 10,000 villages! This is a peasant



WHO'S CALLING THE SHOTS?

country, and we'd survive it. Suppose you send a million troops here. The Japanese have tried it, and they failed. What can you do that they haven't tried?"

But a policy of "refreshing toughness," to borrow Speaker Joseph Martin's words, has features even more troublesome than its possible failure to impress Peking and Moscow. A policy of "or else" must remain a bluff unless we are physically able to back it up. I strongly doubt that we are. What is worse, such a policy may strain the bonds with our allies to the near-breaking point. Can Washington be certain that a reunited Germany would join us in any retaliatory war on the Soviet Union? Is there any indication that Japan is ready to wage war on China or Russia? And can anyone in Washington misread the London *Times* rebuke to the Tory government, which had joined us and fourteen other nations in a warning to China: "Never announce a threatening policy unless you are ready in the last resort to carry it out."

In the Pacific as in the West, our allies are restive. They yearn for a relaxation of tensions, and they see the Korean truce not as a signal for a tougher policy but as one for large-scale commerce with the Red world. Thus far many factors, including political affinity and our allies' dependence on our economic largess, have kept us on a common course. But once Germany or Japan succumbs to the lure of Communist trade, will the rest of the anti-Communist front hold out? And if it does not, what would this do to a policy of "refreshing toughness"?

IF A foreign policy can have an emotional focus, the focus of Mr. Dulles's policy is the recognition of Red China. This is the point where passion replaces reason, where the politicians deal with symbols and fetishes, and where the pressures are felt most acutely.

Seventeen of the sixty members of the United Nations have recognized the government in Peking. A few of them have been guided by political kinship; some others have merely acknowledged, through recognition, the emergence of a vital power with which one would have to deal, like it or not; and still more have recognized China in the hope of a booming trade. Up to now such hopes have not been realized. The U. N. embargo has kept the commerce down, and, in any case, China does not have enough exportable goods to pay for what it would wish to buy. Yet the enormous market, and the hope, remain. And with them remain the pressures for recognition and untrammeled trade—pressures so great that the United States might well find itself either isolated from its allies or compelled to give ground.

The foes of our own recognition of Peking—or of Red China's admission to the United Nations—have far better arguments than most liberals would concede. Red China in the Security Council would double Russia's political weight. Admission to the U. N. would also enhance immensely Peking's influence in what is really a vacuum of power in non-Communist Asia. The fate of Formosa would create serious problems, for no American government today could regard with equanimity the surrender of the island to a hostile nation. And, just as a matter of practical politics, even a President as popular as Eisenhower would have to think twice before withdrawing recognition from Chiang Kai-shek, who has long been the darling of the right wing of the Republican Party.

Yet it remains an absurdity to bar the effective government of the most populous country in the world from the community of nations, and let instead the seat be held by a regime that is slowly withering of decay and old age. Nor is there much political sense in denying ourselves a meeting ground with one of our two great and deadly rivals. Have we lost or benefited by our recognition of the Soviet Union, and by the opportunity to keep a large staff of observers in Moscow? Have we lost by Russia's presence in the United Nations? And would we have suffered the débâcle on the Yalu in the winter of 1950 had we—like India—been represented in Peking by a cool-headed and competent ambassador?

It is argued that we, as a moral nation, should not indicate our approval of Red China by recognizing it. But obviously this deep sense of morality did not prevent us from recognizing Russia, or Czechoslovakia, or Hungary, nor did it lead us to withdraw recognition from Perón, Franco, or even Hitler. One is reminded of the Tory who rose in Parliament the other day to exclaim: "We recognized China as we recognized Mount Everest or a wet day in the middle of the summer. We recognized it because it was there."

Our continued support of Chiang Kai-shek, of course, is not accidental. As shown by our mutual-defense pact with South Korea, the new policy obviously presupposes reliance on a host of local regimes along the Red periphery. More than ever, we are seemingly to become the true and bound allies of Syngman Rhee, of Bao Dai, of Chiang Kai-shek, and the sundry Arab leaders. In virtually every instance the new policy would enable these men and regimes to play us against our own fear of communism. Can we be sure that Rhee, with all the guile and fanaticism that are his earmarks, would not seek to involve us in new bloody incidents in Korea? And if he does try, do we discard him or do we renew the hostilities? Would the new policy identify communism with anti-Western nationalism in Southeast Asia, and what would be our reaction to its successes? And if Mossadegh tearfully beds himself with Tudeh, would we regard this as proof of Soviet aggrandizement, and threaten retaliation?

WHAT ARE the goals of our foreign policy? Half seriously, a London *Times* correspondent reports that the Republicans are in search of a policy "that will satisfy both Congress and the Western allies, fulfil American pledges to President Rhee, safeguard Japan, [and] secure Southeast Asia for the free world"—and this by peaceful means. There is a great deal of truth in this, but not enough.

The two great problems before the United States—and the capitalist system—are the spread of world communism and the threat of depression. We alone cannot halt Communist expansion, and therefore we must have allies, in Asia as in Europe. But we cannot retain these allies unless we either finance them—as we did under the Marshall Plan—or allow them to trade wherever they can, which means, above all, the Red world. As for the depression, now timed by our economic pundits for 1954, it can be averted only by continued defense expenditures and heavy investments abroad. Under the Republicans the defense budget remains largely untouched. As for the investments, the new policy would seem to offer American capital even less security than did the much-maligned policy of Mr. Acheson. It is unlikely that a policy of "or else" would lure the investor into the uncertain climate of India, or Japan, or Indo-China, or even Pakistan, which we are now beginning to befriend.

No one outside Washington can even pretend to know all the answers. But it does seem that, in molding his new policy, Mr. Dulles has been ignoring one of the most portentous developments of the post-war era. There can no longer be any doubt that the Soviet Union and the entire Red world are passing through an immense crisis. Moscow has by now given more than adequate evidence of its eagerness to relieve world tensions. Korea, where the Communists reversed their position to bring about the truce, is an item in this evidence.

An intransigent American policy that denies us the opportunity to sit down with both Russia and China and probe the scope of the global concessions they might want to make to reduce tensions can only hurt us. It is more than likely that in the process of give-and-take we might find Moscow and Peking ready to sacrifice the Communist regimes in East Germany and Indo-China, as Stalin once sacrificed the Communist rebels in Greece. But, as George Kennan observes, this can be achieved best across a conference table, with no ultimatums. The policy of "or else" can only stiffen the diehard spirits in Moscow and Peking.

Admittedly, any agreement with the Red world is likely to be impermanent. I do not believe in the blissful and indefinite "coexistence" of two hostile systems. I might also note that Stalin himself usually modified his promises of coexistence with the meaningful words, "for a long time." An agreement to end the cold war also may have the disadvantage of giving the Communists in Russia and China the desperately needed time to cope with the difficulties produced by the rigidities of Stalinism.

But as against this, time is our ally as well. There are many symptoms of a dangerous sickness within the Red world. The future of the Sino-Soviet relations is not wholly certain. And a Communist pledge to still the spirit of revolt and conspiracy in the more turbulent segments of the non-Communist world might prove a better incentive to American investments than an uncertain stability based on our threats. A time of peace is also a time when our best allies, Japan and Germany, France and England, can regain economic health through world-wide trade.

There are many at the U. N. session here—many of them among our staunchest friends—who yearn for the end of tension, for a chance to trade, for old-fashioned "normalcy." They are frightened by the lack of suppleness in our policy, by the extremist pressures under which our policy is being shaped, by our vagueness, and by our inexpertness in the use of diplomatic tools. Many of them, in the months to come, will defy our wishes and our pressures, perhaps at the cost of popularity here. They will do so not in enmity for us, but because to survive they must live in peace with the Communist giants, and trade with them. Can we heed the voices of our allies? Or will we continue with the evolution of a foreign policy that promises little more than a dangerous stalemate—a policy intricate and brittle, based more on the threat of retaliation than on the willing support of non-Communist millions from India to the Ruhr, and, by its very nature, temporary and unlikely to achieve the ends we say we desire.

McCARTHY IN TEXAS

Fishing for Goldfish . . *by Paul Daggett*

Dallas

SENATOR JOE McCARTHY has been doing some fishing for goldfish in Texas but so far seems to have caught only a few minnows. While it has been rumored that he was able to tap conservative and reactionary Texas oil men for big money, the facts which have come to light indicate that his take, from the Texas oil man's political-financial point of view, has been chicken feed.

Clint Murchison, the fabulous Dallas oil and corporation promoter, frankly told a New York *Post* correspondent that McCarthy had asked him for a producing oil well. But he didn't get it. So far, Murchison hasn't done any more for McCarthy then he would do for any political friend. He has contributed about $25,000 to causes McCarthy was sponsoring, such as the defeat of Senator Millard Tydings in Maryland.

H. R. Cullen, the Houston multimillionaire, sent McCarthy $5,000 for his campaign last year. This was merely one of the largest of a score of contributions he made to Republican and conservative Democratic candidates; he gave the same amount to the campaign of Senator Price Daniel (D., Tex.). (Cullen's interest in Liberty Network was discussed in an article by Paul Husserl, Texas Oil on Troubled Air Waves, in *The Nation* of November 3, 1951.)

H. L. Hunt, reputed to be the richest man in Texas with a fortune of $600,000,000, has put a nation-wide television program on the air through his "nonprofit, educational corporation" Facts Forum. McCarthy appeared on the first program, debating with Senator Warren Magnuson. The Facts Forum broadcasts are carried on 115 radio stations and more than 30 television stations. Listed on the letterhead as councilors of the organization are General Robert E.

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it must seek a modus vivendi with India even if it must renounce its claim to more of Kashmir. Another is that Pakistan realizes the impossibility of getting by military means more than it already has; it is said that the United States cannot and will not help Pakistan to change the status quo. Some believe that United States policy with regard to Kashmir has changed, and that this change, about which little has been written, has a lot to do with the U. N.'s apparent disengagement from the Kashmir question. In Srinagar it is said that the United States' present policy is the crucial new element in the Kashmir problem.

AZAD KASHMIR
KASHMIR
CEASE FIRE LINE
SRINAGAR
VALE OF KASHMIR
JAMMU
JAMMU
LADAKH

According to this view, Washington, which in the beginning had toyed with the idea of bringing this strategic area in northwestern India under its control via Pakistan, is now of the opinion that India should not be antagonized for the sake of a policy which in any case has proved abortive, that the Kashmir problem should not be allowed to exacerbate Indian-Pakistan relations any further—the quarrel already renders both countries incapable of playing the role the United States would like to see them play in the cold war—and that the United States' strategic needs in this area, if any, are not likely to be jeopardized by a neutralized India, since the potential sites for air bases are all in Azad Kashmir, which is held by Pakistan. Srinagar seethed with rumors, which I could not substantiate, that active preparations were going on for the construction of air bases in Gilgit.

A variant of this theory is that the State Department, wishing to have a foothold in Kashmir, is encouraging the "nationalists" in Srinagar who would give up Jammu and Ladakh and keep only the Vale—the incomparable Vale of Kashmir—as the homeland of an independent Kashmiri nation. Such a development would have the added advantage of changing the Karachi-New Delhi conflict into a New Delhi-Srinagar conflict, that is, into a domestic quarrel that might well serve as a damper on Nehru's "third area" aspirations but not weaken the anti-Communist–non-Communist front. The Srinagar visit of Adlai Stevenson and that of Mr. Dulles which soon followed are linked with this line. *Blitz,* the popular though somewhat sensational left-wing weekly, recently ran a headline: "Kashmir to Be Cut into Three Portions: Head for Pak, Feet for India, Belly for America," with a subhead which acquires significance from recent happenings: "Abdullah Leadership Divided on Independent-Valley Issue." It is generally thought that Washington wants India and Pakistan to make up their quarrel over Kashmir and not involve the U. N., the United States, or Britain any further in it.

KASHMIR'S future relations with India are in themselves a thorny issue as a result of the peculiar circumstances attending the union of the countries. When the British left India in August, 1947, they arranged for the territories ruled by the native princes to opt for India or for Pakistan or to become independent. Most of the princes chose to join one or the other of the new nation's—independence having ceased to be practical politics. Hari Singh, the Maharajah of Kashmir, hesitated, although as a Hindu ruler of a Moslem state he had every reason to opt for India. The explanation was that he feared Pakistan no more than the Congress Party and Nehru, to whom he had once refused entry to Kashmir when Nehru wanted to lend a hand to Sheik Abdullah's anti-Maharajah movement. Hari Singh finally chose India in order to get aid against the Pakistan-supported tribal raids. The price he paid was to allow Sheik Abdullah and his colleagues to come to the top. Incidentally, the abolition of hereditary rule by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, even before it has finished drafting a constitution, strikingly underscores the Maharajah's dilemma.

After the accession the dominant party in Kashmir, the so-called National Conference, laid increasing emphasis on the limited area of power that had been surrendered. The phrase "residual sovereignty" came to be used more and more, and it was suggested that except in three fields—defense, external relations, and communications—Kashmir was still a sovereign state. With New Delhi's consent, such attributes of a sovereign state as a national flag and an elected head of state were acquired. A movement led by a section of the Hindu minority in Jammu, encouraged by right-wing Hindu communalist parties supported in part by expropriated Hindu landlords, demanded Kashmir's full integration in India. At the same time the notion of "residual sovereignty" began to stimulate talk in Srinagar about Kashmir's right to self-determination.

INDIA has always insisted that it is willing to let the Kashmiri exercise the right of self-determination, but in the context of India's domestic politics the proposal seems to many Indians highly dangerous. To them Kashmir's accession to India is constitutional and final, like that of other princely states. The crisis became acute when in a number of sensational speeches Sheik Abdullah denounced those persons in India who "feel that we Kashmiris are dependent and eager for India's money or trade or armed forces." "We want to maintain friendly relations with India," he declared, "on the basis of mutual understanding. Threats and taunts that we are wholly dependent on India will not bring us closer." He emphasized that integration with India was only in respect of communication, defense, and external relations, and that in all other matters Kashmir was "completely autonomous." National Conference spokesmen seemed to be stating two propositions: that Kashmir was an autonomous republic within the Indian union, and that it might completely sever its constitutional relations with India. Such statements created much embarrassment for Nehru, and he openly disavowed Abdullah.

Against this background negotiations went on between New Delhi and Srinagar through the summer of 1952, and finally an agreement was reached which reaffirmed in principle Kashmir's integration with India. But the continued agitation by Hindu elements in Kashmir and India raised doubts about the worth of the agreement. Nehru is believed to have gone to Srinagar in May to tell Sheik Abdullah to make up his mind, and the fact that he left in smiles indicated that he had achieved a satisfactory accord.

THE POSITION of the two sides can be briefly summarized as follows: Indians have a feeling that all this talk about residual sovereignty and self-determination forecasts Kashmir's eventual secession or perhaps even its integration with Pakistan. Sheik Abdullah and his friends undoubtedly fear that Moslem Kashmir might some day be swamped by a Hindu government of India that replaced Nehru's government. In Srinagar I heard it argued that provisions in the Indian constitution barring expropriation without compensation could nullify Kashmir's agrarian legislation abolishing landlordism. And I was told by a minister that full application of the Indian constitution would mean a retrograde step for "New Kashmir," since untouchability in India had been abolished only for the state, while the Kashmiri constitution would make social discrimination a penal offense. However, the real reason behind the talk of residual sovereignty and the endeavor to keep some way open for cutting Kashmir's ties with India is lack of confidence in the permanence of India's secularism. After Nehru there may be the deluge.

Sheik Abdullah's strength lies first in his having been the head of a progressive government—even though its popularity had worn off a bit—and second in Kashmir's international position. Kashmir's future status—as part of India, as part of Pakistan, or as an independent country—is a vital matter to the world's two great power blocs.

THE WETBACKS

McCarran's Immigrants . . *by Gladwin Hill*

Los Angeles

IN THE time it takes you—or Senator McCarran—to read this report, the United States immigration laws will be violated more than twenty times. But no hue and cry will be raised about it—even by Senator McCarran. Illegal entries into the United States over our 1,600-mile southwestern border from Brownsville, Texas, to San Diego, California, are currently proceeding at the rate of two or more a minute, day and night, seven days a week, but they are tacitly if not actively encouraged by Senator McCarran and many of his colleagues.

While Congress has been debating the advisability of admitting 240,000 European immigrants, an equal number of aliens has been pouring into the United States every ninety days through the southwest gateway, without benefit of any legal sanction. The traffic has increased more than a hundred-fold in a decade and is still rising. Some 618,000 of these illegal entrants were arrested last year. Some 480,000 were arrested in the first half of this year. For every one caught, immigration officers concede, one or more probably get through.

While straining at the gnat of European D. P.'s, Congress swallows this camel under the influence of a persistent myth which runs as follows: These Mexican border-jumpers—called "wetbacks" because many come in by swimming or wading the Rio Grande—are needed in the Southwest owing to the chronic shortage of farm labor. They are not like other immigrants since they go back to Mexico at the end of the season. The wages they take back ameliorate depressed conditions in Mexico—a sort of unofficial foreign-aid plan. Therefore the traffic is not only harmless but beneficial to all concerned.

Senator McCarran, of all people, has been foremost among a number of members of Congress who have explicitly subscribed to this argument. Yet every point of it is wholly or partly false. In the first place, an undue proportion of these "Mexicans" are not Mexicans at all. Exact figures are not available, but immigration officials declare that one rivulet making up the influx is formed of passportless Europeans, often of shady backgrounds. Secondly, thousands of the real Mexicans are not looking for seasonal farm work but simply want to get into the United States to stay. From the border they filter all through the country, converging by preference on the big cities, where employment is more lucrative. They are regularly rounded up by the hundreds in Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Many, however, find a refuge in Spanish-speaking colonies of American citizens. Once they marry a United States citizen, whether or not they have a previous spouse in Mexico, their deportation becomes difficult under a "hardship" clause in the law.

The assumption that these immigrants are harmless is subject to major reserva-

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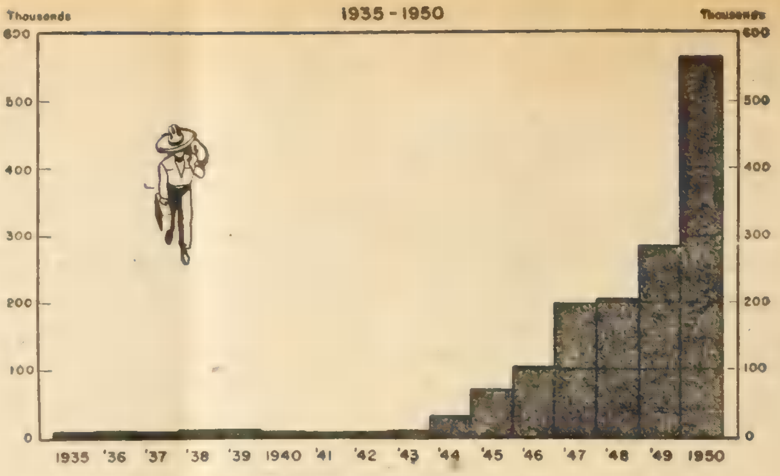
GLADWIN HILL, Los Angeles correspondent of the New York Times, *has given special attention to the wetback story.*

tions. As a group they assay an inordinately high rate of such ailments as venereal disease and tuberculosis. In consequence, their presence is deplored by health officials all the way from Imperial County, California, to Michigan. The argument that Southwestern agriculture needs the wetbacks is completely specious. An inquiry conducted in 1950 by a Presidential Commission on Migratory Labor found that any dearth of farm labor in the region was probably attributable to the fact that the farm operators had never offered wages comparable to those in other work or even in farm work in other parts of the country. Moreover, the federal government has gone to great and controversial lengths to offset a labor shortage through the legalized importation of seasonal Mexican labor under contract.

THE FACT remains that a considerable segment of Southwestern agriculture—notably the farmers of the lower Rio Grande valley, where it is authoritatively estimated that as many as 100,000 wetbacks have been working at one time—agitates unceasingly for maintenance of this labor supply. Through a covey of Texas Congressmen who form the nucleus of an influence bloc in Washington, these farmers have repeatedly advocated "a simple crossing-card system" for Mexican labor, that is, unrestricted circulation back and forth across the border. Intermittently they shed crocodile tears—most recently in paid advertisements in Washington newspapers—at the alleged harsh treatment accorded captured wetbacks by the immigration service. Standard treatment for wetbacks, since they are far too numerous to prosecute as illegal aliens, is to transport them, at the United States taxpayers' expense, back to the Mexican border. Charges of harshness have been contradicted by responsible Mexican sources.

The reason the farmers want the wetbacks is that as fugitives from justice they have to work for whatever they can get—usually for less than 50 cents an hour. The going rate at times has been as low as 15 cents an hour, and some farmers have found it practical, when wages are due, just to turn their workers in to the immigration service for deportation. Immigration officers have stopped this by requiring wage settlements before they take the men away.



The Wetback Invasion
Deportations and Voluntary Departures

Whether the Mexicans net enough to keep them coming back or whether the traffic is sustained by new innocents hopeful of getting a better break is conjectural. There is no evidence that the traffic has helped the Mexican people appreciably. It has been repeatedly condemned by the Mexican government.

Aside from the fact that it is a monstrous example of publicly countenanced law-breaking, the traffic inflicts incalculable economic and social damage on the United States. Wherever they go, wetbacks depress standards of wages and working conditions. In the border states they take both farm and urban jobs away from citizens by the thousand. In some border communities labor leaders hold them responsible for the fact that even such normally strongly unionized trades as building, truck-driving, and food service remain unorganized. Wetback competition has forced many Southwestern families, particularly in Texas, to pull up stakes and join the stream of migrant farm workers who have to keep on the move most of the year to eke out a living.

In the opinion of reputable sociologists, the wetback situation has severely retarded the assimilation into first-class citizenship of the several hundred thousand Spanish-speaking residents of the Southwest, who often find themselves lumped with the invaders as "Mexicans." Concentrations of wetbacks aggravate the housing problem and increase illegitimacy. Countless Mexican women whose specialty is not farm work have been picked up in saloons in California's Imperial Valley.

What is the solution? The immigration service has fewer than 1,000 men to patrol the 1,600-mile border. Even if it had 10,000, it could not set up an impenetrable barrier in that desert region. The penalty for illegal entry—now imprisonment for up to two years—could not conceivably be increased to the point where it would be an effective deterrent. Even the death penalty, common in the early days when the border patrol used to shoot at wetbacks, did not stem the tide.

THE OBVIOUS answer is to eliminate the incentive to border-jumping—employment. Although hiring a wetback is tantamount to harboring a fugitive from justice, the present law imposes no penalty for doing it. The Presidential Commission on Migratory Labor recommended in 1951 that the practice be subject to injunctions and restraining orders, that employers be punished by imprisonment and fines and barred from obtaining legal Mexican contract labor, and that their produce be barred from interstate commerce. But all efforts to strengthen the law along these lines have been successfully opposed by members of Congress who indorse the wetback myth.

There is at last before Congress a proposal to carry out the first of the commission's recommendations on farm labor—the establishment of a permanent federal inter-agency committee to coordinate measures dealing with migrant problems. Pending such legislation, wetbacks will in all probability continue to make a mockery of the immigration laws and pour across the border in ever-increasing numbers.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

France on Strike

Paris

READERS of *The Nation* will recall that on returning to Europe this spring I wrote that France was entering on a period of social disorder (The French Workers Wake Up, *The Nation,* May 16). The signs of mounting unrest were unmistakable, but it was then generally believed that no serious demonstrations would occur until fall. Already, however, in the first half of August, we have witnessed the most extensive strikes since 1936. First the postal, telegraph, and telephone workers walked out, followed twenty-four hours later by the civil servants and public-utilities employees. Only the failure to spread the strike to private industry prevents it from being called a general strike. While there has been no violence, the strikes, as Kingsley Martin points out in *The New Statesman and Nation,* "have that amorphous, comprehensive, and unpredictable appearance that has so often foreshadowed a coming revolution." At this writing, some of the momentum seems to have been lost but there is no doubt that the workers of France, with these strikes, have gone into battle.

In judging the purpose and strength of this widespread movement of protest, Americans should remember that the strikes were not ordered by the Communists. It was not the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) which acted first but the exclusively Socialist Force Ouvrière, whose seventy-seven-year-old head, Léon Jouhaux, is one of the most experienced and responsible labor leaders in France.

In Italy, too, the strikes which have spread through five northern and central provinces were in part responsible for the failure of Attilio Piccioni to form a Cabinet; these strikes were called by the non-Communist Union of Italian Workers. The Socialists took the initiative; the Communists followed. In Italy as in France men whose opposition to communism is well known are directing labor's current war on rightist governments.

The political motivations are clear. In France the strikes represent a protest against the special powers which the parliament, despite the warning of the Socialists, finally granted to the Laniel ministry. In Italy the workers have served notice that they will not permit another rightist government to disregard the wishes of millions of Italians as expressed in the last elections. To the Italian workers, the invitation to Piccioni to form a Cabinet was viewed simply as a political maneuver for setting up a De Gasperi regime without De Gasperi.

Of course the political reasons for these strikes were reinforced by economic ones. The French workers fear that the new special powers will enable a government controlled by big business to make them pay for the economies it wishes to introduce in order to balance the budget, save the franc, and fulfil its obligations to NATO.

IN SPITE of the efforts of successive French governments, prices have risen steadily while wages have remained almost stationary. If even American tourists find Paris so expensive this summer that they stay only a day or two instead of several weeks, as they did in other years, and hurry on to Spain, Austria, and Holland, it is not surprising that French workingmen are at the end of their tether. Even conservative newspapers in Great Britain and the United States have pointed out that the new consumer levies—hidden, indirect taxes—account for 70 cents of every French tax dollar. Not only have these levies priced certain French goods out of the world market, but almost the only Frenchmen paying both direct and indirect taxes are the wage-earners who make up 75 per cent of the 3,800,000 who pay any income taxes at all. Workers have to pay because their salaries are reported weekly to the finance ministry. But for farmers, business, and professional men, the rule seems to be "cash on the barrelhead and no entries in the books."

This time it cannot be said that the trouble has been instigated by Moscow, though Moscow will try to reap the advantage. Many people have clung to the belief that if the government would only crack down on the Communists it could solve the country's difficulties. But now it must be equally severe with the Socialists. And not only with the Socialists. In every one of the recent strikes the Catholic workers have marched out with their fellow workers. Communists, Socialists, and Catholics have joined together. The issue is so clear in the French strikes that the most conservative papers—the *Wall Street Journal* is a case in point—concede that they cannot be labeled "Communist-inspired" and, what is more important, acknowledge that no amount of additional foreign-aid would in itself offset the effects of a ruinous fiscal policy which finds subsidies to private interest groups, including exporters, alcohol distillers, etc., swelling to $928 millions annually or 9 per cent of the nation's budget.

Where, then, can a French government find working-class support for a policy of carrying out its obligations to NATO and of continuing the war in Indo-China? Since the Korean truce has been signed, the Indo-Chinese war seems more senseless than ever, and the effort to build up a military force beyond the capacities of the country has become intolerable. And to Indo-China must be added the flare-up in Morocco. The problem of Europe is, indeed, more complex than Secretary Dulles thinks.

At this writing there has been no break in the strikes; no additional unions have gone out, but no progress pointing toward an early settlement has been noted. But even if the walk-outs are settled, their causes will remain and these causes cannot be dealt with by emergency decrees which impose ever greater burdens on the French workers.

BOOKS

Puritans into Merchants

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE. By Perry Miller. Harvard University Press. $6.50.

By Kenneth B. Murdock

PERRY MILLER'S "The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century," published in 1939, promptly established itself as a landmark in American historical scholarship. "A topical analysis of various leading ideas in colonial New England," it is the best study ever written of "the architecture of the intellect brought to America by the founders of New England," a masterly exegesis and interpretation of the Puritan intellectual system, English and American. Mr. Miller called it the first volume of "a projected series upon the intellectual history of New England." "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province" is the second of the series and a worthy successor to the first. It reveals once more the author's erudition and his shrewd insight into what lies beneath the surface in hundreds of Puritan books, and its theme gives its author a chance for some lively and dramatic writing for which there was less place in the earlier work. That was primarily expository; this is essentially a narrative of how the Puritan scheme of thought, which once seemed all-sufficient, was changed and at last virtually destroyed by the American experience of the colonists from the 1640's to 1730. It is both a sequel and a supplement to the 1939 volume, and it is good news that the latter is to be reprinted next year.

At the beginning Mr. Miller points out that the first Puritans in the Bay Colony never anticipated "that children conceived and educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut would become preoccupied, not with universal Christendom, but with provincial merchandise." But many of them did. The story of how and why "a middle-class, empirical, enterprising society could emerge out of an aristocratic, teleological order" and how the Jeremiad was used as the best literary weapon against innovation is the central thread of the book. The defenders of the old order fought hard and showed, as did their adversaries, a rare talent for "difficult acrobatics" in thought and argument, but nothing the most ingenious of them could write did much to arrest the inevitable change—first the "Declension" from the old faith, then "Confusion," the "Splintering of Society," and the "Socialization of Piety" in "a parched land crying for deliverance from the hold of ideas that had served their purpose and died." By 1730, on the eve of Jonathan Edwards's "God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, by the Greatness of Man's Dependence upon Him," the old theological and philosophic structure which once had seemed proof against all storms was pretty well smashed. Its materials, warped and hacked out of shape, waited a new builder who could make use of them to construct an intellectual and moral system suited to the new needs and aspirations of Massachusetts.

IT IS A fascinating tale. As Mr. Miller tells it, it involves the most exciting episodes of a century of Massachusetts history. The debates about the Half-Way Covenant, the witchcraft madness, disputes about currency and inoculation—all these are adroitly related to the upsetting of the old New England way. There are good pages on the uneasy efforts of some colonial leaders to appear loyal subjects of Great Britain while they tried to defend a traditional intolerance which defied English authority. There is also a penetrating discussion of how new scientific attitudes affected New England thinking. Mr. Miller admits that the scene may seem "merely provincial" and the events "so small as to be trivial." But this is so only if one looks at the trees and not the wood. Both the colonial setting and the happenings, large and small, which make the story are concrete manifestations of a quest of major significance, an intellectual pilgrimage in search of a set of fundamental principles with which an important American community could develop intelligently and insure its material and spiritual prosperity.

Mr. Miller's recognition of the fact that much that he describes may seem, from a narrow point of view, "trivial" may account for his occasional indulgence in what seem to be exaggerations and a few passages in which he seems to strive unduly for stylistic effect. It is surely going too far to say that "the one literary type which the first native-born Americans [he means, of course, New Englanders] inevitably developed, into which they poured their energy and passion, was the fast-day sermon," characteristically a Jeremiad. Surely passion and energy sometimes went into other literary molds, and it is most unlikely that the Jeremiads were in the middle decades of the seventeenth century "virtually the only works for which there was a domestic sale." Boston printers produced between 1639 and 1660 or 1670 a good deal else as worthy to be called literary as the Jeremiads, and unless the publishers were more unwary than most, there must have been some domestic sale. To describe the utterances of the defenders of the charter in the 1680's as "shrieks" or Cotton Mather as "shrieking" when he let fly a bit of rhetoric no more inflamed than most of what was then conventionally used in theological debate, to say that Randolph was "nauseated" by what he found in New England, or to suggest that Cotton Mather may be "the most nauseous human being" of the period, is to use language more violent than the occasion seems to warrant and savors of an indulgence in "expressions . . . too warm or harsh," such as those Edward Wigglesworth apologized for in his own writing more than two centuries ago. Benjamin Colman was an interesting man and an important one in Mr. Miller's narrative, but to call one of his books "a fine, a truly magnificent, piece of writing" is too extravagant praise for a work which, for all its nobility of sentiment and grace of style, seems to most readers hardly a specimen of "magnificence."

KENNETH B. MURDOCK, professor of English at Harvard, is the author of "Literature and Theology in Colonial New England" and other books.

Such lapses as these, if lapses they are, are the defects of Mr. Miller's virtues. His zealous interest in his subject and his profound realization of its significance may lead him to a few exaggerations and stylistic excesses; for the most part they lead to clear and lively writing. He concentrates so intensely on the main line of his study that he sometimes seems to forget that he should not say "America" or "Americans" when he means merely New England and its denizens, or "people" or "the mass of the people" unless he makes it clear whether the phrases include simply the colonial laymen who still took notes on sermons or also those who remained indifferent in the meeting-house, or even those ("people" after all) who behaved badly on Boston Common and in dock-side taverns. His subject is the "New England" mind, but we hear little or nothing of Rhode Island, Maine, or New Hampshire. Perhaps they are left out because, as Mr. Miller warns us, "mind" means for him in these pages "what was done and said publicly." Most of the most important saying and doing went on in Boston, or was clearly audible or visible from there.

THE BOOK deals with events rather than men, but there are some brilliant character portraits—that of John Wise, for example, and the sketch of Solomon Stoddard, which brings him to life as a major force in the action. With the Mathers, Increase and Cotton, whose words echo on almost every page, the author's touch is less sure and we feel that he has not made up his mind firmly enough to enable us to make up ours. Dr. Douglass, too, the Mathers' chief opponent in the inoculation controversy, is a hard nut to crack. It helps little to be told that he gloated when inoculation was forbidden, although he knew it was a successful medical measure, but in another connection showed "his rugged Scots honesty."

No reader interested in human behavior, thought, or the vicissitudes of history will find this book dull, unless he shuts his eyes to what the author calls the "representative" quality of the tale, its value as a "case-history of the accommodation to the American landscape of an imported and highly articulated system of ideas," an accommodation involving at every turn the deeds and emotions of men and women no better and no worse than we ourselves. Mr. Miller goes farther and claims that the narrative "amounts to a working model for American history." Perhaps, but if this statement is meant to be as sweeping as it sounds, we need proof. It is devoutly to be hoped that Mr. Miller will give it to us in one or, better still, two more volumes carrying the record of the New England mind through the time of Edwards and into the days of the Transcendentalists. No one else has such proved fitness for the task.

New Books in Brief

Missionaries' Return

FIVE STARS OVER CHINA. By Mary Austin Endicott. Published by the author and distributed by Far Eastern Newsletter, Toronto. $2.

For the Western world and especially for the English-speaking countries there is an extremely important difference between the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Communist Revolution, a difference illustrated by this book. There were no large-scale missionary movements to convert the old Russia from Greek Orthodox Christianity to Roman Catholicism or Protestantism; but in the case of China thousands of returned missionaries are playing an important part in shaping public opinion in their home countries because they can say, "I know. I lived there for years. I know the people. I know the language."

A great majority of these returned missionaries are bitterly hostile to the Chinese Communists; many are also critical of the government and the social order overthrown by the Communists; some are ardent supporters of Chiang Kai-shek; and a small minority accept the new rulers and believe that what they have done and plan to do is good.

Mrs. Endicott and her husband belong to this minority. Mrs. Endicott was a missionary in China for twenty-two years. Her husband was born there, of missionary parents. He worked as an adviser to Chiang Kai-shek in 1939-40 and became disillusioned with the top leadership of the Kuomintang; "he found their talk of democracy was a façade to hide their greed and colossal corruption." In 1946 he resigned as a missionary of the United Church of Canada. He has since become an important figure in the Peace Congress movement which supports Soviet peace campaigns. This book records a visit to China by Mr. and Mrs. Endicott in 1952.

Every reader has to form his own estimate of the relative hard-headedness or soft-headedness of the author of a book warmly sympathetic to a revolutionary regime that has attained power as the outcome of violent civil war. It is obvious that Mr. and Mrs. Endicott were looking for constructive achievements and not for atrocities. Granted this, the most important material in the book is that based on meetings with old Chinese friends—Christians, teachers, business men, former officials under Chiang Kai-shek—whom they found working enthusiastically for the new government. Such material obviously does not prove that the Communists have been guilty of no atrocities or excesses; but it is of value in showing that the new government does have the uncoerced support of many of those whom foreigners resident in China used to consider the most able, modern, and public-spirited Chinese.

Letters to Gertrude Stein

THE FLOWERS OF FRIENDSHIP. Letters Written to Gertrude Stein. Edited by Donald Gallup. Knopf. $5.

Because Miss Stein called her autobiography the life of somebody else, there is something appropriate in the obliquity which determines that this volume of letters should be composed exclusively of those *to* not *from* her. According to the editor, she seems to have kept almost every letter she ever received, including the semi-literate notes from her Paris concierge which are now reposing with the rest at Yale. Here are five hundred or more missives ranging in time from 1895 to 1946 and written by a bewildering number of individuals, nearly all more or less notable in letters or the arts. Some, like those from Hemingway about the magazine *Transatlantic* or from Carl Van Vechten about the success of "Four

Saints," supply footnotes to literary history. An amazing number are from personages to whom she had sent copies of her books, and an amazing number of these are of the I-am-anxious-to-read-it-as-soon-as-I-find-time sort usually so distressing to authors. A passage in a letter from John Dewey should be useful as a model for those who receive presentation copies of puzzling works: "I don't pretend to appreciate what you are doing, but I am much interested—as well as perplexed. . . . I have too much respect for the possibilities of aesthetic development to reject just because I don't grasp." This is more polite than that other famous formula: "I have received your book and shall lose no time in reading it."

Mural Expressionist

MAN OF FIRE: J. C. OROZCO. AN INTERPRETATIVE MEMOIR. By MacKinley Helm. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.

The subtitle of this book accurately describes its character. Although it is the first full-dress review of Orozco's career published since his death in 1949, it is in no sense a definitive monograph. The tone is journalistic; often it is chatty like a travel book. Sentimentality mars its value as a personal memoir. While there is every reason to applaud Helm's championship of Orozco as against Rivera, his claim of greatness for the maestro he so reveres is more protested than critically substantiated. In part the difficulty is intrinsic to Orozco himself: a dominance of idea over form, which Orozco resolved too rarely on occasions like the early frescoes at the National Preparatory School, Mexico City (1926), and the grandiose murals over the staircase of the Government Palace at Guadalajara (1936-39).

FIVE STARS OVER CHINA

by MARY AUSTIN ENDICOTT

An eye-witness story of the changing way of life in present-day China. A warm, personal account by a woman who lived in China for 22 years.

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Helm vacillates between the primacy of art over life and of life over art, though with Orozco he prefers the latter. Certain it is that Orozco was in trouble when he had no clear-cut social message to convey, as for example in the mammoth National Allegory for the open-air theater of the National Normal School, Mexico City (1947-48), and the early murals for the New School for Social Research, New York (1930), which were, as Helm shows, disastrously influenced by the then prevailing fad for the theories of dynamic symmetry. On the whole, Orozco properly emerges from this text as a major expressionist who carried expressionism to the mural scale. His art is the very antithesis of Poussin's classic measure. As Helm amply indicates, El Greco was his spiritual progenitor. Orozco possessed, however, the intellectual foundations of neither of these great masters. As a result his art was terribly uneven in quality and subject to damaging influence from alien quarters.

Father of Naturalism

EMILE ZOLA. By F. W. J. Hemmings. Oxford. $6.

We have become so accustomed to associating Emile Zola with the Dreyfus case and *J'Accuse* that it is good to have him again in perspective as the author of "Les Rougon-Macquart" and the undisputed father of "naturalism." Professor Hemmings asks us to see Zola, in our time, as a singularly relevant figure because he was "the first writer to show a society in which the aggregate was greater than the separate unit." And, adds Hemmings, Zola was the "prophet of a new age of mass psychology, mass analysis, mass education, and mass entertainment, an age in which the part is never greater than the whole."

His admirable study, unpretentiously documented with much new material, amply bears out this view. There was already a suggestion of a need for a reevaluation in last year's pithy introduction to Zola by Angus Wilson. Hemmings, writing a larger study, is able to give us the step-by-step growth of Zola's many-volumed masterpiece and to show us the evolution of the historian of materialistic man from his early aesthetic beginnings to his espousal of "natural laws" of determinism, the pseudo-Darwinianism of his epoch, and the therapeutics of Claude Bernard.

With Zola the novel said farewell, so to speak, to its Julien Sorels and Eugène de Rastignacs and discovered the anti-hero, who was to become Dreiser's Clyde Griffiths or Faulkner's Joe Christmas. Much that we still are discussing in our fiction today stems from Zola. It is for this reason that Hemmings rightly suggests that the "age that Zola wrote of is, without the least doubt, our own age."

Moralityand Realpolitik

IDEALS AND SELF-INTEREST IN AMERICA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. By Robert E. Osgood. University of Chicago. $6.50.

In discussions of foreign affairs the old and often sterile debate between "isolationists" and "internationalists" is giving way to a more fruitful disputation between the apostles of "national interest" and the defenders of the "legalistic-moralistic abstractions" which George F. Kennan regards as the bane of American diplomacy. Young and talented Robert Osgood, formerly of Harvard and now of Hans J. Morgenthau's Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, has here made a notable contribution to the clarification of the issue. His method is to review in some detail the interrelationships between the two themes of his title in the formulation of policy in the "first crusade" (the Spanish-American War), the "second crusade" (World War I), and the "war for survival" (World War II).

This is a rich, suggestive, and well-documented work. The author's final warning deserves wide attention: "If the American people become so transfixed by their fears of communism that they forget what they are for in their obsession with what they are against; if the only standard of national conduct they demand of their leaders is that every national act manifest a moral judgment against communism, regardless of the consequences; . . . then they will, in large measure, abdicate control of their own affairs. . . . Superficial ideological consistency is a formula for disaster."

Osgood's conclusion is that America must learn to serve its moral purposes in the long run and to be "realistic" in the short run. Few will quarrel with the synthesis. But Kennan's formula is perhaps more useful: policy must serve interests and should never be directed toward the vindication or imposition of ethical values on others, since this is conducive to holy wars which can never be won—as Lawrence Dennis cogently argues in his weekly letter, *The Appeal to Reason*. Yet ethics should serve as a restraint on action dictated by interest. Machiavelli concurs.

Big-City Low Life

THE CITY OF ANGER. By William Manchester. Ballantine Books. $3, cloth; 50 cents, paper.

Mr. Manchester, an excellent reporter and the biographer of H. L. Mencken, knows his material in this story of organized vice and crime in a typical American city. As fiction the social panorama is more convincing than are the individual characters, and the scenes of high society are rather stereotyped. But the novel is still in the tradition of Ira Wolfert's "Tucker's People." It does an excellent job in describing the lower depths of life in a big city and the real sources of social and economic corruption. Mr. Manchester has political insight and obvious courage.

Parable of Two Brothers

THE MOUNTAIN. By Henri Troyat. Translated by Constantine Fitz Gibbon. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

This novella with its symbolic struggle of pure and primitive man against guile, on the one hand, and the brute force of nature, on the other, is reminiscent of many things, most of them Biblical. The writing, though suited to the theme, is in nowise inspiring or lofty; yet it does not diminish, by clumsiness, the impact of this essentially simple parable of two brothers who search for—and find—their separate grails on a mountain.

Isaiah, the good brother, is a shepherd about fifty years old who had been a skilled guide until a fall had somewhat diminished his judgment. Marcellin, the Cain of the tale, is some twenty years younger, in fact was brought into the world by Isaiah, who attended their mother as midwife. The one, accepting his fate and clinging to instinctual goodness, worships the other as the dull often worship their leader. But when a plane crashes on the glacier far above their hamlet and Marcellin persuades Isaiah to guide him to the spot to rifle the pockets of the dead, something, some veil which has obscured his vision, is drawn aside in the good brother's mind and he repudiates Marcellin in the very act of pillage.

The climb up to the crash spot is remarkably communicated, the only really distinguished passage in the brief tale. And the twist of fate whereby the brothers come on one lone survivor, an exotic and fragile Hindu woman, brings the story to fitting climax and close.

HEDGEROW THEATER

I HAVE just spent the better part of a week with the Hedgerow Theater Players in Moylan-Rose Valley near Philadelphia. Only an interested few in this country have ever heard of Hedgerow, though its fame has spread to Europe. Bernard Shaw gave it an accolade fifteen years ago. "It is in repertory theaters such as Hedgerow in the United States and Malvern in England," said the master, "that the whole thing is kept alive."

Do not confuse the Moylan enterprise with one of those ephemeral companies that help people to endure the midsummer boredom of seashore or mountain resorts. Hedgerow is a true, all-the-year-round, repertory theater, the longest-lived one in America. The Hedgerow Players keep in constant rehearsal a collection of fine American and foreign dramas which they put on in rotation. They never strive for a long run or a smash hit. Each July they hold an annual Shaw Festival, which is the crowning point of their year's hard work.

Of the four Festival plays I saw three —"Too True to Be Good," "Heartbreak House," and "Man and Superman." "Too True" is an infrequently given play that always makes the textbook critics foam at the mouth. You know their hoary anti-Shavian jibes: "The play has no plot, no subject, no theme; the action is illogical and fantastic; the hotel maid has more lovers than the Kinsey Report allows: Colonel Tallboys behaves as stupidly as a greenhorn private while Private Meek behaves as cleverly as Colonel Lawrence of Arabia; and the beautiful heroine, having stolen her own pearl necklace, sells it to support a gigolo with whom she never even goes to bed. Now I ask you, can a play be a play with such wild incongruities?" I fear the criticism is only too true. It is too true to be good, for Shaw is a transcendent genius who can break all the rules triumphantly.

At Hedgerow the proof of the pudding was in the playing. Jane Lekberg, as the poor little rich girl who has been killing herself leading a life of intoxicating pleasure, entranced us by threatening to murder anyone who should stop her from turning to creative work. Grant Code as Colonel Tallboys showed us, as never before, how War Office regulations turn a man into a soldier by suppressing the man. Ralph Roseman was the ideal ex-soldier turned burglar who would rather be a preacher than a rascal.

"HEARTBREAK HOUSE" is a dramatic tone poem, like Richard Strauss's "Also Sprach Zarathustra," with key sentences instead of key themes, and with thoughts too deep for words loading its high-spirited, paradoxical dialogue. The Hedgerow production came nearer to this musical mood than any London or New York performance I have seen. The responsible director was David Metcalf, who has had a notable success as John Tanner and Don Juan in "Man and Superman."

The play pictures the moral bankruptcy of the cultured upper classes in any country you please. The denizens of Heartbreak House play with culture as their Horseback Hall kinsmen play with horses (in America with golf clubs). Both sets make their respective games more piquant and exciting by hitching them to a romantic preoccupation with sex. The Heartbreak amorists, or cultured talkers, are greater failures than the Horseback numbskulls, or generals and politicians, because the numbskulls do not comprehend the realities of life or government, whereas the Heartbreak time-killers, versed in philosophy, art, and science, know what is wrong with the ship of state but are too sunk in fastidious hedonism to help the captain keep the ship off the rocks.

It is a Hedgerow maxim that the whole performance must be greater than the sum of its performing parts. The company lives up to it. In addition, every single performer threw new light on the part he played. I regret that space does not permit me to be more specific.

THE MAGNIFICENT performance of "Man and Superman," including the entire scene in hell, lasted from 7:30 till after midnight. For both actors and spectators the five solid hours of bombardment by Shaw's comedic brilliance represented a triumph of art over human nature. Audrey Wood's interpretation of Ann Whitefield was highly original. By making her Ann truly Shavian, she also made her much more sympathetic than any of her forerunners have done. When Ann was first played by Lillah McCarthy, the fury of the world of women knew no bounds. All they saw in Ann was the woman who got her man by fair means or foul; no lie, trick, scheme, or ruse was too base if it baited the trap. Miss Wood's originality lay in remembering the Life Force grip. As we know, when Tanner capitulates to Ann, he pleads that he is in the grip of the Life Force. Well, is not Ann, the relentless pursuer, in the same grip? Playing the part as a woman possessed, a woman whom the Life Force drives into getting the best possible father for her child, Miss Wood was able to put over Ann's treasons, stratagems, and spoils without sacrificing her virgin loveliness.

A word about Jasper Deeter, the father of the Hedgerow enterprise. Mr. Deeter left the Provincetown Players thirty years ago to found a genuine repertory theater at Moylan. He is one of those energetic pioneering spirits whose passionate sincerity attracts ardent supporters. Eva LeGallienne and Ann Harding were among the first aspiring players to dedicate themselves to the Hedgerow repertory venture. Deeter's dream has developed into the present community of actors and actresses who live, work, and play together as members of one family. Acting is only the first of their occupations. In their spare time they build, paint, make the beds, wash the dishes, and cook their own food. The chief advantage of this communal professional living is that every member of the group can learn all he can grasp of acting, speaking, casting, directing, lighting, costume-making—everything comprised in the one word, theater. In reviewing the Shaw plays—a very small part of the whole repertory, remember—I have tried to convey a faint idea of the high theatrical workmanship resulting from Hedgerow activity. Hedgerow is a native institution that Americans will yet boast of.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ANOTHER record of Elizabethan keyboard music, all played on the harpsichord (EMS 236), offers another "In Nomine" by Bull, which is not as impressive as the one on London LL-712; but a Pavana by Bull is a superb piece, as are a Farnaby "setting" of another Pavana by Robert Johnson and a Fantasia by Morley; and the other pieces are pleasant. The performances are outstandingly good—Charles Koenig being one of the players whose phrasing creates the cohesive tensions that give music continuous life in performance. The recorded sound is excellent but too loud.

Bach's Cantata No. 146 "Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal" (Bach Guild 525) begins with an overture which is the opening movement of his great Concerto in D minor, with its solo part played this time on the organ, and continues with its wonderful slow movement on which is superimposed a beautiful choral part. These, and the concluding chorale, I find moving; the portions for the vocal soloists I do not. The performance in which Prohaska conducts the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Viennese chorus and soloists is good.

The opening chorus of Bach's St. Matthew Passion, the Chorale Fantasia on "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross" at the end of Part 1, and the concluding chorus, together with a number of the chorales, are performed by the chorus and orchestra of the Danish State Radio under Wöldike (Haydn Society 2070). The contrapuntal texture is clear, but the sopranos sound a little shrill at times (which may be the fault of the phonograph I use in the country). My ear can detect no realization of the figured bass, and no accompanying of the chorales by woodwinds and strings, as my Eulenburg score directs.

The pieces by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704) on another Haydn Society record (2065) that "constitute a perfect reflection of the magnificence of Versailles, with allusions to the grandeur of Louis XIV himself"—the Te Deum, Marche de triomphe, and Air de trompette—I don't care for. But the quieter Troisième Leçon de tenèbres du vendredy saint and Oculi Omnium in Te Sperant are quite lovely. The trumpets get to be ear-piercing; but otherwise the performances by members of the Pasdeloup Orchestra and other French musicians under Louis-Martini are good.

Haydn's Missa Brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo, previously issued by Lyrichord, is now issued by the Haydn Society (2064), performed this time by the Copenhagen Boys' and Men's Choir and a boy soprano, Kurt Frederiksen, with the Chamber Orchestra of the Palace Chapel under Wöldike. It is an engaging small-scale work, with very moving slow passages in the part of the Credo dealing with the Crucifixion; and the performance is excellent. On the reverse side are six fine songs by Haydn for mixed voices, sung well by the

Chamber Choir of the Danish State Radio.

Two of Delius's loveliest pieces, "The Walk to the Paradise Garden" and "Brigg Fair," are played beautifully by the London Symphony under Anthony Collins. On the same record (London LL-758) are the excessively repetitious "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring" and "A Song of Summer," which I don't care for.

A READER advises against the Garrard manual assembly, having found that "the metal plate on which the motor and arm are mounted transmits vibration to the arm and produces very disturbing motor rumble; and the arm itself, which is different from and inferior to the arm on the Garrard automatic changer, tracks badly." He thinks one can do better by taking the trouble to buy a good separate motor and arm and mount them on a base; and suggests, again on the basis of experience, the General Industries DR, a good 4-pole 2-speed (78 and 33) motor, and a Clarkstan arm, mounted on a heavy plywood base, at a total cost of about $37. "If the motor is mounted with washers between the metal and the wood at the points where the motor is screwed down, the motor rumble will be negligible."

And I forgot to mention that the Sun Radio catalogue contains an offer to provide free of charge the interconnecting cables and plugs (with plugs and sockets color-coded to prevent error in connections) for any group of components bought by mail. Presumably this is a service which all such supply houses are now willing to perform.

What Halsey Stevens writes about Bartok himself, in "The Life and Music of Bela Bartok" (Oxford, $7.50), is very moving; and those who are interested in his music (I am interested but continue to find it inaccessible to my mind) will profit by Stevens's exhaustive analysis of it.

CORRECTION: We regret that an error occurred in S. Lane Faison's art column in the issue of August 1. The sentence beginning "Among these is one of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals" should have read, "One of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals is included. . . ."
—EDITORS THE NATION.

Letters

Disappointed Reader

Dear Sirs: I was deeply impressed by *The Nation's* publication on June 6, 1953, of Norman Redlich's and Laurent B. Frantz's excellent piece Does Silence Mean Guilt? I am all the more shocked by Bruce Catton's article, Bishop Oxnam, Witness for Decency, in your issue of August 1, 1953.

The invaluable service of Does Silence Mean Guilt? was to explain why in practically every case a witness before Congressional committees today has no choice but to invoke the Fifth Amendment if he wants to avoid going to jail either for contempt of Congress or for "perjury" based on the testimony of the government's professional witnesses, or if he refuses to become an informer against people with whom for whatever innocent reasons in the past he may have been associated. Thousands of reprints of this article have been circulated out here and have I am sure won many new friends for *The Nation.*

Now Bruce Catton tries to make a hero out of a man who turns out to be anything but that. For clearing his own name Bishop Oxnam let himself be induced to discuss two of his fellow-ministers with the committee in such a way as to confirm its allegations regarding these men's "subversive" attitudes. One of them, Dr. Harry F. Ward, is a venerable figure in Methodism; the other, the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, as deeply religious a person as I ever want to meet, was until recently executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, an organization long harassed by the witch-hunters for its forthright adherence to the social gospel of Jesus.

Bruce Catton does not even mention the fact that Bishop Oxnam discussed the opinions of these two clergymen with the committee on the basis of derogatory testimony by witnesses of the committee. He does not mention the fact that Reverend McMichael, on the basis of Oxnam's remarks, was subpoenaed to come to Washington, where, faced by the threat of the bishops of his church that they would not support him if he stood on the Fifth Amendment, he tried to prove the lies of his professional accusers. His chances are slim indeed, as Redlich and Frantz have pointed out previously. If he should become the first minister to go to jail in the present inquisition, he can thank the man whom Bruce Catton calls a "witness for decency."

If ever a man had the golden opportunity, backed as he is by all of America's Protestants, to live up to the prophetic tradition of his religion and to put the modern inquisitors in their place, Bishop Oxnam had that opportunity. He threw it away and as I. F. Stone so aptly put it in his *Weekly Letter* of August 1, 1953, "gave the witch hunt open sesame to the pulpit."

For Bruce Catton thus to have distorted Oxnam's sorry performance is bad enough. For *The Nation* to have given this distortion full publicity is to me and, I am sure, to many faithful readers, a real disappointment.

Los Angeles MARTIN HALL

Senator Morse on Bargains

Dear Sirs: In the August 8, 1953, issue of *The Nation* you discussed my decision to vote with the Republicans on the issue of organizing the Senate. You said in part: "The fact that reactionary influences so largely overlap the line which in theory is supposed to set Democrats sharply apart from Republicans is what makes Senator Morse's personal problem every American liberal's dilemma. But we trust that Morse drove a sharp bargain with the Republican leadership. . . ."

In reply to your editorial, I wish to make clear that I did not make a bargain, sharp or otherwise, with the Republican leadership. I never make a bargain with anyone or with any group in respect to my vote in the Senate of the United States. There is only one principle I follow in voting, and that is to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the merits of issues in accordance with the facts as I see them. I have never traded my vote or committed my vote to anyone—and I never shall. In fact, one of my severest criticisms of the Senate is that there are entirely too many men in it who are willing to drive sharp bargains in connection with their voting in the Senate, and thereby they cease to be free men in the Senate. It is just as wrong for a liberal to drive a sharp bargain in connection with his voting and thereby become guilty of placing his vote on the political auction block as it is for "party first" politicians to vote in

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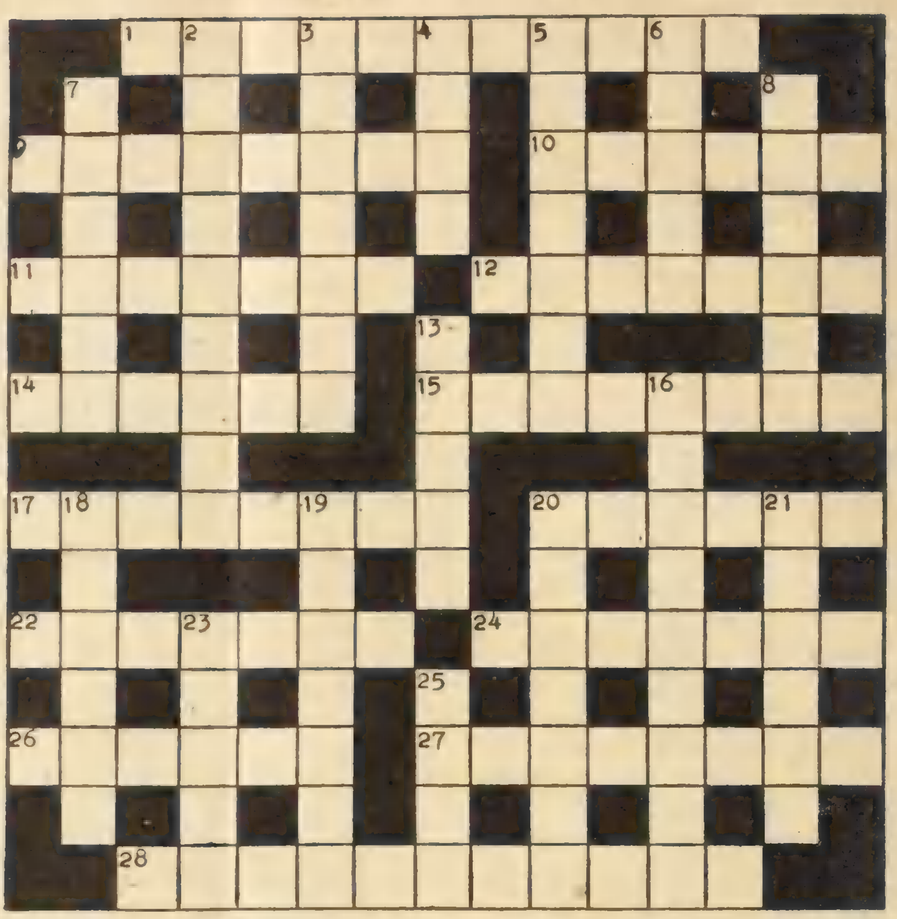
Crossword Puzzle No. 529

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Charges spell no part of this! (11)
9 This gives a fish vessel a heavy wind. (4, 4)
10 There's no rest for them—being over the head of 9! (6)
11 A distortion, but not a lie, as an oblique way to secure things. (7)
12 Duck in back? Its association with 14 is pretty much that of riff-raff. (3–4)
14 Does it show the price of old clothes? (3–3)
15 It's crazy to go around as the thing one expects on the editorial page. (8)
17, 4 down, and 20 across. Implying the way of Caesar is universal. (3, 5, 4, 2, 4)
20 See 17.
22 Polish equipment that took the shock? (7)
24 Not many words like 26 fall in this classification, when it comes to genuine dislike. (7)
26 Like olives, for example? (6)
27 Is the backward white-collar class, as well as part of the non-backward. (8)
28 Peculiar curse that is taken away and changed at twilight. (11)

DOWN

2 Things on a mountain that might increase the sound. (9)
3 Got up in a way, like a pigeon? (7)
4 See 17 across.
5 Rush to a game, perhaps. (7)
6 Sometimes held up and down. (5)
7 An animal comes up to the old man in the building. (6)
8 Three horses abreast, what they pull, or the whole works! (6)
13 Entertain Erato, for example? (5)
16 A chairman who gets upset about nothing still responds to blows. (9)
18 One who praises a comedian? (6)
19 A crafty manner? (7)
20 A tune no body could compose. (7)
21 Time of distress for 19? (3, 3)
23 With a big enough bag, one joins the ranks of 25. (5)
25 See 23 down. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 528

ACROSS:—1 INSTALLMENT PLAN; 9 DRESSED; 10 CARRY ON; 11 ASKING; 12 BANISTER; 14 TREPHINING; 15 PELF; 17 RAPT; 19 CANNONADES; 22 IRRIGATE; 23 NERVII; 25 ORISONS; 26 INSULIN; 27 YOU NEVER CAN TELL.

DOWN:—1 INDIAN TERRITORY; 2 SPECKLE; 3 ABSINTHE; 4 LADY; 5 ENCHAINING; 6 TORRID; 7 LAYETTE; 8 NONPROFESSIONAL; 13 IN BAD TASTE; 16 IN PERSON; 18 PURLIEU; 20 DIVULGE; 21 IGNORE; 24 DISC.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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accordance with party dictates or at the behest of reactionary economic forces who frequently control them.

My decision to vote with the Republicans on Senate organizational matters was a decision of conscience. I think it would be politically immoral of me to take advantage of a change in the ratio of Republicans to Democrats in the Senate when the change was caused by an act of God—or by any other emergency.

Until the voters of the country in the 1954 election have a chance to review what I consider to be the very serious mistake they made in 1952 when they voted the Eisenhower Administration into power, I consider it my ethical obligation to vote with the Republicans on the procedural issue of organizing the Senate. You may be sure that when it comes to many specific legislative proposals I will not be found voting with the Republicans, because on the record they have made thus far in the Eisenhower Administration it is reasonable to assume that they will continue to vote against the public interest.

Washington WAYNE MORSE

Explanation Wanted

Dear Sirs: It appears that while Senator McCarthy clamors for book burning if books contain what he labels "dangerous thoughts," Senator Monroney merely suggests that such books be "quietly removed" from libraries. The two gentlemen may not be alike in manners, but I fail to see much difference in principle. On the question of freedom of literature they evidently both are against it, but Senator Monroney tips off McCarthy to use unsensational methods of suppressing books. Why Mr. Milburn [in *The Nation* of August 8] supposes that Monroney deserves encomiums for this sort of championship of liberty utterly escapes me, but perhaps the puzzle is elementary to our sociological sleuths in these macabre times.

New York DANIEL D. MOLONY

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Dear Sirs: Through the university research facilities in cooperation with the National Historical Publications Commission we are endeavoring to compile and publish the papers of Henry Clay. Letters both to and by Clay, other material of which Clay was the author, and particularly significant items about him will be included. My address is University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Lexington, Ky. JAMES F. HOPKINS

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U. N. CRISIS: SHAPE OF A TABLE—MARK GAYN

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Behind the French Strikes

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Indonesia: 8th Anniversary *Herbert Feith*

The Knave of Clubs *Frederick L. Schuman*
Reviewing Papen's Memoirs and Hitler's Talk

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Around the U.S.A.

Neat Trick on Northwest Labor

Everett, Wash.

IN A curious decision handed down late in May the National Labor Relations Board opened a wide avenue of tax relief and union-busting to the Pacific Northwest's woodworking industry. The board virtually put its stamp of approval on the practice of reorganizing mills—plywood plants, so far—as pseudo-cooperatives. With workers turned into shareholders, the companies benefit from a revised tax structure and have in some instances been able to kill or severely cripple established labor organizations.

In a precedent-setting case the N. L. R. B. has ruled that an "independent" union of worker-shareholders in Everett, Washington, may compete with the A. F. of L. Lumber and Sawmill Workers for designation as the employees' bargaining agency. Since most workers drop their A. F. of L. affiliation when they become small capitalists, the outcome of the vote seems a foregone conclusion.

In the meantime hundreds of members of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers have found themselves squeezed out of their jobs, with little possibility of regaining them. The impending election will probably shut the gates for good. Former employees will then have plenty of time to consider the complexities of the maneuver.

The N. L. R. B. decision is an important one in the Northwest, for the region's cooperative and semi-cooperative plywood companies already produce more than 15 per cent of the total United States output. Private corporations, faced with another possible market slump, may now decide to relieve themselves of certain vexing burdens by following Everett's lead. One of these burdens is the excess-profits tax, which has been continued by the Republicans for at least the rest of this year. Just as private corporations avoid part of their penalty by paying high salaries to management, "cooperatives" sometimes pay fancy wages in lieu of fancy dividends—and avoid all excess-profits taxation. Federal income-tax provisions and broad emergency wage regulations have been the only limits. Incidentally, one of the techniques sometimes used to cheat all concerned in the transfer of plywood plants to cooperative status is to draw up intricate tie-in contracts for supplying peeler logs—often in exchange for added capital investment—to certain dovetailed sales agencies.

■ Another of the industry's problems is "labor trouble." This is how the Everett plant handled it. Two years ago Local 2781 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union had an uneasy contract with the Robinson Plywood and Timber Company, which employed 700 hands in its obsolescent water-front mill. Suddenly union officers found they were dealing with new faces and a new name—the Everett Plywood and Door Company. There had been a sale, it was said.

Almost immediately pickets were at the gates. A vicious legal battle was begun in court and the N. L. R. B.'s offices. The company testified that a cooperative had been organized with 524 shares of stock at $3,500 each and that some shareholders had been guaranteed jobs. The union maintained that 350 of its members had been shoved aside to make room for the share-owners, and that its contract with the Robinson interests had been illegally abrogated. The "sale," it charged, was not a sale at all.

Picketing continued, and bitterness mounted in the old mill city. About 150 of the local's members were now "owners," and nearly all of them ignored the picket line. Finally the union's Northwest Council decided in a Portland convention that here was a good test case and voted to support the Everett strike. It was the first move of organized labor against the area's cooperatives; here the issue would be decided, once and for all. The Northwest Council also went on record as formally opposed to other types of cooperatives. "Stock-selling schemes," it called them, or "fronts" to allow private companies to escape union contracts.

• In fairness to a sizable bloc of the industry it must be stated that several of the larger plants are genuine cooperatives—owned entirely by the workers. The threat to labor peace and justice is that a greater number are masquerading. The present position of the N. L. R. B.—that even when the majority of the employees (most of them recently hired) own shares, their new "union" is entitled to be the sole bargaining agent—has breath-taking implications. Already there are enough cooperatives and phony co-ops in existence to make it probably that a market decline would precipitate widespread "voluntary" wage-cutting. Thus put in an unfavorable competitive position, the private companies would be under pressure to attack the L. S. W. U. wage structure, tediously built over the years. And the same pattern of attack might easily jump to other sections of the lumber industry—and, conceivably, to other industries in other parts of the United States.

The Lumber and Sawmill Workers can perhaps be forgiven for feeling themselves victims of a neat trick.

JAMES HAMILTON, JR.

[*James Hamilton, Jr., is a free-lance writer.*]

Another *Nation* Best-Seller

See Back Cover

Volume 177, Number 9
New York, Saturday, August 29, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

No Time Limit on Peace

The non-Communist nations selected as participants in the Korean conference, if they are to enter that conference with honesty of purpose, must do so prepared not only for prolonged negotiating but also for the possibility that they will have to choose between indefinite stalemate and renewal of the fighting. They must not only refuse to set a time limit to the negotiations or, above all, to the armistice; they must make it clear that whatever the American reading of the sixteen-nation declaration, it cannot bind them to renew the war on the basis of any unilateral action by Syngman Rhee or—in the case of a Communist breach of the truce—to push the war beyond the Yalu. And they should do this in the clear recognition that peaceful unification is the proper aim of the United Nations, that unification by non-peaceful means, even if it could be achieved, would be impermanent and valueless, and that a prolonged armistice even without a settlement is infinitely more desirable than resumption of the war.

Bypassing U. N. K. R. A.?

If the economic and social reconstruction of Korea were to be made a first order of business at the conference it might facilitate eventual agreement on larger issues. This country has now promised two hundred million dollars as a first instalment for the reconstruction of South Korea, while the Soviet Union has pledged one thousand million rubles for reconstruction in the North. If both funds were to be pooled, along with any supplemental appropriations, under the administration of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, the reconstruction of Korea might become a first step toward its ultimate unification. But according to Syngman Rhee, who is becoming a more or less official spokesman for American policy, the funds which we have promised will be administered not by U. N. K. R. A. but by the tripartite Combined Economic Board, which includes an American (Admiral Hanlon) representing the U. N. command, the South Korean Minister of Finance, and a representative of U. N. K. R. A. It is hard to believe that it is our policy to let Rhee carry out the reconstruction program since U. N. K. R. A. was set up at our insistence, seconded by the Australians, for the precise purpose of undertaking the task of post-war reconstruction. But it may well be that part of the price which Mr. Dulles had to pay for Rhee's acquiescence in a truce was the juicy privilege of acting, so to speak, as prime contractor for Korean reconstruction.

Morocco: A Costly Coup

Taking advantage of the domestic crisis in France, French colonials in Morocco have forced the removal of the Sultan, but the price may be higher than they think. In pursuit of their favorite tactic of playing off the reactionary Berber chieftains and their rural following against the Sultan and the urban Arabs who constitute the main strength of the Istiqlal, the French have produced a Frankenstein monster in the ancient Pasha of Marrakesh, who from this distance conveys the impression of being another Syngman Rhee destined to cause the French no end of trouble. The manner of the Sultan's removal—carried off in the high-handed style of late-nineteenth-century imperialism at its worst—has offended world opinion and placed the French on the defensive. The Arab-Asian nations promptly raised the issue at the United Nations and may yet force a hearing despite the insistence of the French that Morocco is a purely domestic problem and their threat to walk out of any U. N. debate on the subject. But Morocco is not a colony; it is a protectorate, and the French will have a hard time to sustain their position. In the long run France cannot hope to stem the tide of nationalism in Morocco by appealing to the Berber tribesmen to police the Arabs of the cities. In forcing the removal of the Sultan the French colonials have further weakened their position.

Wheat Growers Referendum

By voting for acreage and marketing allotments, the wheat farmers have assured themselves government support at 90 per cent of parity for another year and saved the Administration from the probable embarrassment of a drastic fall in wheat prices before the mid-term elections. But the vote does nothing to solve the problem of the wheat surplus: at best it postpones it; at worst it aggravates it.

On July 1 the estimated supply of wheat for 1953-54

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was 1,717,000,000 bushels, 48 per cent above "normal" and a record figure. Since the law calls for restriction of acreage when the supply in sight exceeds 20 per cent of "normal," Secretary of Agriculture Benson was forced to order the wheat growers' referendum, although he has not disguised his opposition to crop controls. Rather than see support prices drop to 50 per cent of parity—the alternative—the growers backed acreage allotments by far more than the required two-thirds' majority.

The cutback will not be excessively severe—from 78,000,000 to 62,000,000 acres—thanks to Congressional action in July amending a law which would have set the total at 55,000,000 acres. Nor, given average weather conditions, will there be anything like a commensurate fall in output. Farmers, naturally, will cut back on their marginal land and in many cases will intensify cultivation of the rest. They will have every inducement to do so, since as long as they keep within their allotted acres they will be free to market every bushel they grow. Thus the carry-over next July 1 may be little if any smaller than this year's, particularly as large surpluses in all other major producing countries point to a further shrinkage of exports. In that case a much more drastic cut in acreage for the 1955 harvest will be necessary unless Congress plucks up courage to order flexible price supports.

Indonesia: Back Door to Southeast Asia

The *Economist* reminds us that Indonesia, which has been out of the news lately, may yet "come back into the headlines for the wrong reasons." For the first time since the transfer of power by the Dutch the government contains no Moslem representatives from the powerful Masjumi Party. Tension between Communist and Moslem groups has been spreading, and last week Vice-President Hatta called for a united Islamic front against "irreligious ideologies" at a mass-meeting of fifteen thousand Moslems in Jakarta. Indonesia is the vital back door to Southeast Asia. What happens there is certain to have a profound effect in that vast region of which Indonesia is the biggest state. Current developments there lend special importance to Herbert Feith's article on page 170 of this issue.

Chivvying the Consumer

The volume of outstanding consumer instalment indebtedness in this country has reached an all-time high; and on top of this business is pushing a campaign to persuade our population to "live one-third better." How much of the pyramiding costs of this spic-and-span merchandising age should the consumer be lured into carrying as his personal risk? Is the proper way to discover what the consumer can afford to lure and chivvy him until he breaks? A minor counter-note of sanity comes from Britain. The Ministry of Health, in charge of the socialized health service, is undertaking a comparison of the cost of some 4,000 branded proprietary drugs with the cost of comparable unbranded "national formulary" compounds. While emphasizing the complexity of the problem, the London *Economist* comments that "any sign that a Conservative government may be willing to use the weapon of publicity to break down the barriers of consumer ignorance—which litter the whole field of retail trade, especially in price-maintained goods—is to be welcomed."

The Cold War in the Courts

Justices Denman, Orr, and Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals have again demonstrated their remarkable immunity to the cold-war hysteria. On the ground that the appeal failed to raise substantial questions of law, Judge John Wiig, who succeeded Judge Delbert Metzger in Hawaii, recently denied bail to the seven defendants in the Smith-act prosecution there and ordered them to start serving the heavy jail sentences he had previously imposed. The three appellate judges found that the appeal raised "very substantial questions of law" and were not impressed by the "cold-war" arguments advanced by the government to sustain Judge Wiig's ruling. During the argument the special assistant assigned by the Attorney General to the case started to read a passage from a book by the late Joseph Stalin, only to be cut short by Justice Healy's comment: "Every informed person has read that book." "But of course," interposed Justice Denman, "it is dangerous to do it. You might be called before a Congressional committee." Although Judge Metzger no longer presides in Honolulu, the three Ninth Circuit judges apparently share his old-fashioned notion that the political arguments of the cold-war are out of place in a court of justice.

Round One for Labor

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

AFTER sixteen days of paralysis the transport, postal, gas, and electricity services are gradually returning to normal as a result of the agreements reached last Friday between the non-Communist unions and the government. But as this is written, the extension of the strike to private enterprises continues. And even after the last worker returns to his job, the impact of what has happened will remain far-reaching and profound. It is too early to calculate the material consequences, but the political and psychological ones can already be listed.

The first politically important fact is the manifestation of the strength of the unions. *Le pouvoir syndical* has affirmed itself in the face of legislative impotence as revealed in the recent prolonged Cabinet crisis and an executive power which has just demonstrated the limitations of any policy of toughness. The strikers simply ignored Laniel's threats.

To understand what has happened, it is necessary to look back. Pinay and his successors were accustomed to deal with financial problems as if the workers would always be ready to acquiesce in low wages and exclusion from the direction of public affairs. The right watched without regret as not only the Communists but also the Socialists left the government. Once both parties were unrepresented in the ministry it was thought that it would be easy to ignore the workers and their demands. There is only one explanation for such lack of foresight: the professional politicians must have assumed that the Socialists and Communists would never again unite but would continue to fight each other to the advantage of reaction.

Refuting these rigid assumptions, the three major federations stayed together for a fortnight in a way that would have been unthinkable a year or even a month ago [see Stuart Schram's article on page 164]. Unlike the situation in the United States, each major party here must listen to its unions in order to maintain its position. Thus the Socialist Party, which at its recent congress in Asnières proved cold to the idea of unity with the Communists, nevertheless supported the Socialist Force Ouvrière's unity with the Communist C. G. T. Indeed, one of the most significant developments during the strike was the firmness with which it was upheld, without restriction, by the Socialist Party's executive committee. Interesting too was the reaction of the Catholic Party, the M. R. P., represented in the Laniel government not only by Bidault but also by its chairman. Despite Laniel's insistence that he would not negotiate with the unions until work had been resumed, the M. R. P. initiated the indirect talks between the unions and the government which were partly responsible for last Friday's agreements. The fact is that the M. R. P. politicians could no longer ignore the stiffening attitude of the Catholic unions (C. F. T. C.) which give them their votes.

Thus the issue is no longer a union issue; it has shifted to the political arena. The very fact that center deputies joined the Socialists and Communists in demanding—and winning—a meeting of the National Assembly constitutes a significant labor victory. Laniel had abundant reasons for trying to avoid such a session. He fears that to the social agitation against him will now be added parliamentary agitation. The classic right blames him for not having shown the same energy against the strikers as Clemenceau did in 1919—but Clemenceau could use the army to break the strike, a feat impossible today. The left, on the other hand, is in a stronger position than it was a few weeks ago, when it very nearly succeeded in making Mendès-France premier. And not only the strikes are involved. Deputies who for a long time have been warning of the dangers of France's Moroccan policy will now have something to say. The Moroccan problem is not easy of solution, but the one mistake which should never have been made has already been committed—the removal of the Sultan. Just as the strikes may be settled, so France may also gain a respite in Morocco, but neither problem can be solved by mere postponement.

Will Laniel succeed in saving his ministry? If he is forced to call for elections, the left will have to commit almost inconceivable errors not to be able to capitalize on the present failures of the right. In France as in Italy, those who think that all a government needs is the blessings of Washington must now reckon with the possibility of leftist or popular-front regimes.

What has happened here in the last few weeks will affect not only domestic but foreign policy. It is from the human material that went into the strikes that the European armies of the Atlantic coalition must be forged. Without the cooperation of the workers it would be difficult to carry out the national mobilization that a third world war would require. It is no wonder therefore that dispassionate observers consider the strike the most sensational development in France since the Liberation.

BEHIND THE FRENCH STRIKES

Rank-and-File Unity . . *by Stuart R. Schram*

[*This article should be read in conjunction with J. Alvarez del Vayo's editorial above, in which* The Nation's *foreign editor analyzes the strikes on the basis of later developments.*]

St. Etienne, France

THE representative of the Communist C. G. T. paused a moment before leaving the room. "I have to step out for a few minutes on urgent business," he explained, "but go right on with your discussions. Anything my comrades of the Socialist and the Catholic unions say goes for me too." To those familiar with the atmosphere of the French labor movement, this remark will drive home what is surely the most significant aspect of the present large-scale offensive of French workers to win better living conditions.

Ever since the split in the General Confederation of Labor in 1949 and the formation of the Socialist Force Ouvrière, the two groups have denounced each other daily; the mildest epithets used were "Stalinist terrorists" and "traitors to the working class." No doubt this war between rival defenders of labor's interests was made more or less inevitable by national tensions and differences of principle. The fact remains that it rendered effective action impossible, so that the condition of the French worker is today worse than it was in 1938. Until a few months ago there seemed no possible remedy to this situation. The obvious practical solution—limited cooperation in order to obtain stated economic objectives—was regarded as completely "unrealistic" because of political differences.

Undoubtedly both sides had valid reasons for being wary of joint action. The non-Communists, and especially the Socialists, could well ask themselves whether they would be able to compete with the Communists in a dynamic situation, in view of the Communist superiority in numbers and discipline. It is significant that the Catholics of the C. F. T. C. have repeatedly shown themselves less reluctant than the Socialists to collaborate with the C. G. T. This is obviously because their doctrinal and sociological roots in the church give them a certain assurance that they will be able to maintain their distinctive personality, whereas the Socialists, who still owe at least verbal allegiance to Marxism, are forced to compete with the Communists on the same secular plane.

The worries of the Communists are of another order. Numerically by far the strongest of the three principal federations, they have no fear of being outmaneuvered in the course of a strike. As a frankly revolutionary party, however, their interest is rather to perpetuate an explosive social situation than to cooperate in patching up a capitalism which they consider moribund.

What has caused these groups to close ranks at least temporarily? There is little doubt that the basic reason is the extreme lassitude and disgust which have overtaken the whole of the French working class. For the past five years the situation has been continually deteriorating. The numerous strikes undertaken in the hope of checking the decline of the standard of living have nearly all ended in defeat because one or the other federation left its union on the job. In consequence the individual worker has lost confidence in the ability of his union to defend his interests, and the membership of all three groups has dropped alarmingly since 1947.

Unquestionably Communist and non-Communist unions alike have arrived at the conclusion that the discouragement of the workers and their consequent passivity might well give the right courage and opportunity to undertake all manner of unpleasant adventures. In short, they have grasped the fact that before decid-

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STUART R. SCHRAM is an American who has spent the last several years in Europe, part of the time on a Cutting Fellowship from Columbia University.

ing who is to lead the French working class in the future, it is necessary to insure that it has a future. And for this the essential requirement is some form of concrete action that will restore hope and confidence.

TWO EVENTS in the international field have made unity easier. The first was the election of a Republican Administration in the United States which Europeans believe is increasingly disposed toward a policy of "rollback." The second is the Soviet peace offensive, which has made a profound impression in Europe. It is no accident that the municipal elections of April, 1953, just after the inauguration of this new Soviet policy, saw the Socialists for the first time since 1947 accepting on a large scale Communist proposals for cooperation. Though agreements were reached in only a minority of towns and villages they were sufficiently numerous to constitute an undeniable straw in the wind.

This grass-roots movement soon made itself felt on the parliamentary level. When the political history of these postwar years is finally written, the candidacy of Pierre Mendès-France for the post of Premier during the last ministerial crisis will undoubtedly be put down as a turning point in the evolution of France if not of Western Europe. Its importance lay above all in showing that there was an alternative to the *immobilisme* which had prevailed in France since 1947, an alternative that might prove acceptable to the whole of the left. A highly competent economist with a clearly defined program of *dirigisme* and austerity, and a known partisan of negotiation in Indo-China, Mendès-France succeeded in obtaining 306 votes, only 7 less than an absolute majority, without the support of the Communists, who control a block of approximately 100 seats.

The full significance of this vote can only be appreciated in the light of an exchange of commentaries between Socialists and Communists. The Socialists, who for the first time in two years abandoned their attitude of opposition to vote for Mendès-France, reproached the Communists with lack of good faith in posing as the defenders of the workers when they refused this concrete chance for progress. On the following day a surprising editorial in *l'Humanité* maintained that the Communists were always ready to cooperate with other parties in order to deal with the most urgent issues. The most urgent issue at the moment, the writer asserted, was the war in Indo-China. And he concluded that if Mendès-France had not watered down his demands on this question to woo the Gaullists, the Communist deputies would have voted for him. Whether or not one takes these declarations at face value, they represent an interesting expression of the more supple tactics adopted by the Communist parties of Western Europe in recent months.

There is no doubt that the seemingly empty ritual of a vote on investing a Premier, a vote that did not succeed, served to crystallize popular sentiment, especially in the unions. Without this precedent, the workers' discontent with their economic conditions might well have produced an explosion of some sort, but it would hardly have been so well organized or inspired with the same confidence. Breaking out in the post office at Bordeaux, the strike rapidly engulfed the postal system, and from there spread first to other public services and then to a variety of private enterprises. Its immediate cause was the decree-laws recently issued by the Laniel government in accordance with an authorization received from the Assembly before it recessed for the summer holidays. It is a fact that these decrees require certain civil servants and railway employees to work from two to five years longer in order to be eligible for full pension, and that they reduce job security in certain cases. But present disadvantage was probably less important as a motive than anxiety about what the Laniel government, unquestionably the farthest right since the Liberation, would do next. Of course, at the root there remains the fact that the starting salary of a postal employee is 18,000 francs a month, 2,000 less than the legal "vital minimum," which is scarcely enough to buy food.

I TURN BACK now to my meeting with the strike committee of Post Office employees for the Department of the Loire, at which the Communist delegate made the remark I quoted at the beginning of this article. The interview took place at the C. G. T. labor exchange in St. Etienne, a fairly important mining community southwest of Lyon. Three members of the twelve-man strike committee, one from each of the confederations, were taking their turn at strike headquarters. All three appeared to be between thirty and forty; all were notably intelligent and well-informed.

The most striking impression left by the conversation of these men was of their unity of purpose and reciprocal confidence. It was natural that the representative of the C. G. T., which has been campaigning incessantly for "unity of action," should show the greatest enthusiasm on this point, but everything he said was greeted with unhesitating approval by the others. "For six years," he said, "our action has been paralyzed by internal quarrels. Now, in the course of this struggle, we have found a unity such as has not existed for forty years. Our task is to maintain that unity. Every day for nine days our committee has met to prepare a communiqué. At the beginning it was often difficult to agree on the wording, for we had lost the habit of working together; but every day it has become easier."

Not less interesting than this sense of unity was the way unity was being maintained. Now it was the representative of the Force Ouvrière who did most of the talking, but once again there was no doubt that his position was universally accepted. The method adopted to preserve unity was, quite simply, an absolute concentration on economic issues, and more precisely on the welfare of the workers as a whole. At that time (June 14), they indicated, it was no longer a question merely of the regulations concerning Post Office employees but of the abrogation of the decree-laws and of an increase in the purchasing power of all workers. When I suggested that this implied the fall of the Laniel government they countered that such matters were "outside the province of union activity." They did not care whether the government was of the right or the left, they said, so long as it gave them satisfaction.

In France, of all countries, where the relations between the three unions and the corresponding parties are particularly close, such an assertion is obviously not to be taken seriously. I told them as much in clear-cut terms, and they smiled broadly in tacit acknowledgement that it was so. But it was impossible to get a word out of them to this effect. They did not give the impression of bowing to an order from above; it seemed on the contrary that here on the departmental level the leaders of the three unions were conscious of the exact conditions on which unity was possible, and that they were determined to pay the price.

HOW SUCCESSFUL they had been in the postal service in maintaining this unity, I had already learned to my cost. In the little mountain village where I have been passing my holidays, situated in a highly conservative region where the post office has remained open, not a single letter has arrived since the beginning of the strike ten days ago, except from the immediate vicinity. At the main post office in St. Etienne the entire building was locked and barred, except for a small room containing one telephone operator charged by the union to accept long-distance calls in case of emergency. At the other end of the same room were a hundred or so general-delivery boxes, behind which moved two individuals distributing a couple of dozen letters between them.

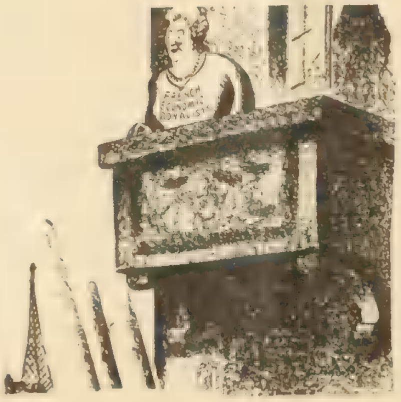
"So," I said, "the mail is arriving after all."

"Naturally," replied one of the men, pointing with considerable pride to the score or so of letters in his hand and in the boxes. "These are letters sent from Paris the tenth and eleventh."

Twenty letters in four days for a city of nearly 200,000 people! At least it might represent a beginning. "How does it happen that you two are working?" I continued. "I thought everyone was on strike." The fellow looked at me with a pitying smile. "We're the police," he replied, gesticulating with the letters in his hand.

This may well stand as a symbol of the methods of the Laniel government for dealing with the strikes—and of their effectiveness. The Premier has said that no one could have the interests of the workers more at heart than himself, and that he will be glad to do something about it provided they first stop all this nonsense and return quietly to work. In order to urge them in this direction, the government has employed the police and the army to replace the strikers. It has also requisitioned key workers and in certain instances imprisoned those who refused to report, as most of them did.

These measures do not seem to have sensibly affected the courage of the strikers. Only two of twelve senior letter carriers had been arrested in St. Etienne; the others could not be found, and I gathered that all three unions probably had a hand in hiding them. The group that gathered around our table included several men and women who had been suspended from their jobs for refusal to report and did not know whether or not they could look forward to any income in the future; but all of them were smiling as broadly as though they were on a picnic.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

THE FEAR haunting the French bourgeoisie is that these strikes, which have been likened to those of 1936, will lead to similar results. No doubt many Americans will find this outlook rather alarming. Even a mildly pinkish France would hardly aid in the realization of the European Defense Community, at least in its present form and with German participation. The members of the strike committee at St. Etienne asked me a question which I believe is meant for those moderate Americans who would like to see Europeans assured of the well-being necessary to human dignity but are genuinely fearful that without heavy concentration on defense the rest of the Continent may fall under Communist domination. In any case, I am going to pass the question on to them.

It was put by the representative of the F. O., whose sympathies for America are well known, but the representative of the Communist C. G. T. seemed not less interested in the answer. The question was this: "Do you feel that in the present circumstances American labor would be disposed to show its solidarity with us French workers?"

I replied that this would depend essentially on the ultimate political expression of the strikes; that whereas American unions would certainly not support a new Popular Front, they might perhaps support a government headed by Mendès-France. All three—Socialist, Catholic, and Communist—showed clearly by their reactions that this was what they had expected, and wanted, to hear.

Needless to say, my answer was merely a personal one. In particular, I deliberately passed over the problem of the American reaction to negotiations in Indo-China.

On America's answer will depend, not the formation of a Cabinet headed by Mendès-France or someone like him, for this now appears almost certain, but rather what comes after it. If all three federations show strong signs of favoring this solution, which implies a domestic policy more nearly like the New Deal than like the British Labor government, it does not mean that they have suddenly ceased to be partisans of socialism in one form or another. It simply means they have all concluded that before France can go anywhere, it must be lifted out of the swamp and on to firm ground. Afterward, the different unions and parties will obviously push in at least partly different directions, and they may even stop talking about unity. Already the Catholic C. F. T. C. has warned against the "irresponsibility" of "unity of action" committees.

But in the meantime the "Mendès-France experiment" will have begun. It will have put into effect severe economic controls; it will have begun to push French industry toward a long-overdue reorganization; it will be undertaking diplomatic action to end the war in Indo-China by negotiation and to reduce the scale of rearmament in Europe in order to free indispensable funds for economic development and for raising the standard of living. The question which American labor leaders—and Americans in general—must ask themselves is twofold: Is there anything in such a program that runs counter to their real interests? Would it be wise of America to use its influence to bring it to an end prematurely, without knowing what "experiment"—of the right or of the left—might take its place?

SHAPE OF A TABLE

Critical Days at U. N. . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

THIS is probably the first international conference in history to have devoted so much profound thought to an item of furniture. The item is a table, and it is a rare orator that does not refer to its shape. The United States insists on that scarce specimen, a two-sided table. The British and the French want it round. The Canadians, who have produced most of the statesmanship seen thus far at this session, say they do not care whether the table is round, square, or polygonal, provided it is suitable for a conference. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, who seems destined for trouble with the American nationalists, recommends a table "without any sides." And so involved have become the semantics of this discussion that one correspondent, in all seriousness, suggests a "round table with three sides."

The shape of the table is important. It is a guide to the political philosophy and hopes of each nation. The United States sees no hope of a satisfactory settlement at the coming political conference. It does not wish this conference to drag on for months and years, and, above all, it does not wish it to lead to a discussion of far more portentous issues than the fate of Korea. It agrees with the North Korean General Nam Il that there should be only two sides. "Let the two hostile camps meet across a table," Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., says in effect, "and let them hammer the Korean settlement out—if they can do so within ninety days."

Our Western allies find this notion alarming. They see the Korean talks as the first step toward an easing of world, or at least Asian, tensions. They think that an agreement with the Communists is not impossible, and they at least want to make a good try at it. They also feel that the question of China's position cannot be put off much longer.

MARK GAYN, author of four books on the Far East, is covering the current U. N. Assembly for The Nation.

In his first major statement of the British position, Selwyn Lloyd underlined Europe's uneasiness: "We do not wish the conference as a kind of political Panmunjom. . . . Whatever may be said about the shape of the table, in fact this will be a conference in the true sense of the word—a peace conference at which many voices will be heard." Like most of the Europeans, the British have no fear of talks that might last more than ninety days; they do not see the Communists as a defeated side, to which ultimatums can usefully be presented; and they are quite ready to discuss the problem of China's position in post-war Asia—once the Communists show a willingness to compromise on the question of Korea. With their mind on Indo-China the French agree with the British. Let the political conference, they say, be broad enough to deal with all the points of political soreness in Asia.

OUT OF THE difference of views on the shape of the table spring many anxieties. The current session of the General Assembly was expected to be a forum at which the new governments in Moscow and Washington would display their new policies and political philosophies. Press veterans who have covered these sessions for years do detect a new and a more conciliatory note. But if there is one, it is barely perceptible. Some of the vitriol is gone, but the positions remain unyielding. Mr. Lodge clearly reflects Washington's continued belief that no agreement with Moscow is likely. And Mr. Vishinsky, in turn caustic and idyllic, continues to contrast the "interventionists"—which in Russian has a much nastier connotation than in English—who "plunged Korea into war," with the Russians, who have consistently championed peace and never, no, never, have supplied any arms to North Korea, save those left behind in 1948 by the withdrawing Soviet troops.

But what worries the Western delegates here most is the shape of the new American policy. There is as much puzzlement here as fascination. The delegates buttonhole the American correspondents and wait for clues in Mr. Lodge's statements and in his stern tones. Will the United States sit tight in its bastions and ignore the views and counsels of its allies? Is it true that Washington's "don't-give-them-an-inch" stand was formulated by Secretary Dulles and Mr. Lodge on the trans-Pacific flight from Seoul? Who is making the American policy—Secretary Dulles, who has chosen this moment to go off on a vacation; Mr. Lodge, who is perhaps somewhat less than a statesman; or is it Admiral Radford, the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff? In fact, one sometimes suspects that no American quite fascinates the U. N. delegates as does this naval exponent of a "treat-them-rough" policy in Asia.

"What *is* the American foreign policy?" asks a delegate from a neutral corner in Europe. "Does it seek a perpetuation of the 'cold war,' or does it aim at some sort of world-wide settlement, beginning with Asia? Does Washington think it can talk to the Chinese or the North Koreans as if they had been beaten in combat? Will it ignore Europe's growing eagerness to work out some sort of modus vivendi with the Communists? One of our problems is that we are no longer sure what the American policy is. We have a feeling it is made haphazardly, on a day-to-day basis. This is one reason why we now hesitate to follow American leadership. We don't know where it will take us."

NOT SURPRISINGLY, perhaps the most notable feature of this session is the appearance of fissures in the Western front. The fissures are not wide, but they are there all the same, and with a beaver's persistence Vishinsky keeps searching for them and trying to broaden them. The shape of the table to be used at the political conference is not the only object of difference. There are a dozen of them, and none of them is perhaps so troublesome as the question of Syngman Rhee and his seeming capacity to influence American foreign policy.

This capacity may only be a myth, but it is widely believed here that the United States' refusal to have India at the political conference has been dictated by Rhee. The lobby word is that he warned Dulles that if India were invited to attend, South Korea would walk out. There is another report making rounds here that is probably even better substantiated. Right after the Korean truce Japan's Foreign Minister, Katsuo Okazaki, told the Diet that Japan wished to have a voice at the political conference. Later Mr. Okazaki modified this position somewhat by suggesting that Japan would be content to have its views reflected. On Mr. Dulles's return from Seoul the Japanese ambassador in Washington called at the State Department, presumably to discuss Japan's participation in the conference. A reliable source here tells me the ambassador was given to understand that Mr. Rhee was just as opposed to Japan as he was to India and that therefore no possibility existed at the moment of having Japan at the conference—in body or even in spirit. Mr. Rhee has thus been seemingly able to veto the participation in the conference of the two greatest non-Communist countries in Asia.

MOST OF THE Western delegates here look to the forthcoming political conference with disquiet. Will Rhee be able to bar any settlement unacceptable to him? Are the United Nations committed to support him in the "liberation march" he promises almost daily? Is there any physical possibility of establishing his rule over all of Korea, and is he the champion of freedom and democracy that he claims to be? One Western diplomat told me flatly he believed the presence of Rhee's army on the Yalu would provide a source of constant and dangerous international friction, for Rhee, the advocate of a "Greater Korea," would never be content to sit on the Yalu passively.

Perhaps equally dangerous is the possibility that in pressing Rhee's case the United States is slowly isolating itself from its allies. The first week of the session has witnessed an anxious effort to cover the fissures, to make concessions to the United States, to pretend that the strains are not serious. But the patches will not remove the fissures. And to some observers the real danger is still ahead, when the political conference and the coming eighth session of the Assembly will add to the stresses of the anti-Communist alliance.

But if one looks for the one dramatic issue that has made this session memorable, it will be, beyond any doubt, the American snub to India. If the support of Rhee has produced something akin to anger, this has generated puzzlement and consternation. "Why has Washington done it?" has become the favorite question in the U. N. corridors. The answers vary from the suggestion that India is too pro-Communist to be trusted at a conference table ("Let the Reds invite India!") to the intimation that the United States had gone so far in pressing the "cold war" that it would not tolerate the presence of a moderating influence at the political conference.

The Indians themselves have borne this affront with a silent dignity, and perhaps nothing at the session has symbolized this better than V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, with his dark and brooding face of a poet and thinker. It was Menon who drafted the original resolution which brought about the truce in Korea, and it is Menon's India which has undertaken the messy and ungrateful job of repatriating the balky prisoners of war. As one of the major Asiatic powers India could well demand a seat at the conference. But there is an obvious reluctance to press the issue, and apart from some discreet lobbying, the Indian delegation has made no move.

Privately, however, the Indians are known to be bitter. They feel the snub is both unexpected and undeserved. It is certain that the hurt to pride will endure, and color India's view of the United States for a long time to come. "We used to look on the United States," a prominent Indian told me, "as an anti-imperialist power. Today, along with most of Asia, we see it as a bumptious and bellicose country, convinced it can buy the friendship and allegiance of other nations. And yet, at the same time, the United States insists on a recognition of its disinterest and good intentions."

WHY IS the United States opposed to India's participation in the conference? The Indians think the answer is compounded of many things. "The United States has made heavy commitments to Rhee, who doesn't want us at the table. The Americans themselves want no war, and no peace, and certainly they don't want a voice of reasonableness at the political conference. The Americans believe that in any major war India will either be a neutral or an enemy. As a matter of fact, we do want to be neutral. We believe neither in a preventive war nor a preventive fear. Unlike the Americans, for instance, we are not afraid of communism in Indo-China; we are more afraid of the war there. What India wants is peace and stability, and what it offers at the political conference is reasonableness."

India's position may be wise or not, but to most Western diplomats here the American position on India is distinctly unwise. As I write this, India's chances of winning a seat at the conference table look slim. The West is already possessed of too many strains to add to them the stress of a drag-out fight over India's nomination. But the opposition to India will not enhance America's prestige in Asia, and the Communists can be depended on to make the most of this opportunity. Like China, India is an overwhelming geographic reality in Asia; neither can be ignored, or banished, as if it were a ghost. If there is any agreement at this discordant meeting, it is that all the decisions and moves made are short-term, unlikely to survive the season. Rhee would have to be reduced to his proper size, India and Japan recognized as major powers, and a genuine effort made to discuss and meet the problem of an Asia all but dominated by China.

STRIKE AT ARMA

Engineers' Key Role . . *by Herbert Orrell*

IN PICTURESQUE Nassau County, home of the Belmont race track and Old Guard Republicanism, a new kind of strike is taking place which could have profound implications for the American labor movement. For the first time in this country white-collar engineers—as a group traditionally anti-union and isolated from the mainstream of American labor—have pooled forces with shop workers to resist a bitter onslaught against unions by the Arma Corporation, designer and manufacturer of secret electronic equipment for the armed forces.

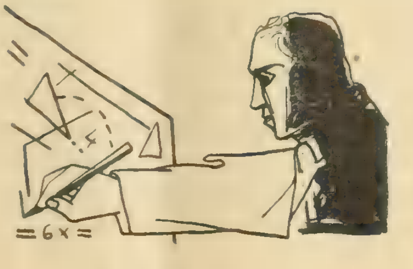
A month ago about four-thousand members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (C. I. O.) walked out of the Arma plant in protest against the corporation's disregard of seniority rights in firing 158 workers. Within seventy-two hours the Arma Engineers' Association, representing 760 engineers, scientists, and other white-collar technicians, voted almost unanimously to respect the picket lines. Not a single professional worker has since crossed the line, and the engineers' group—which has its own grievances against the company—has agreed with the I. U. E. that neither will sign a new contract with management unless the other does also.

This concerted effort is the more remarkable in that it represents a healing of old wounds. In 1951 the Arma engineers were given the choice, at an N. L. R. B. election, to join the C. I. O. or to form an independent union. They chose the latter course. That same year the engineers struck, but their picket lines were not respected by the shop workers.

The early days of the current strike were marked by violence. On the first morning of the walk-out Richard C. Smyth, a vice-president of Arma and head of the company's negotiating team, knocked down two strikers when he attempted to drive his car through the picket lines. A grand jury failed to indict him on a charge of felonious assault. During the next two days fourteen pickets were arrested by the Nassau County police—not too gently, it must be said—and charged with disorderly conduct and molesting cars trying to enter the gate. Bail was set at $500 each. On the third day of the strike another Arma executive, ignoring the lane established by the police for the entry of supervisors and other personnel permitted to pass, drove his car into a line of women pickets, injuring two policemen and two women. A grand jury also refused to indict him.

Fortunately, the company and the union have since signed an agreement which should prevent further incidents. At the request of the federal Mediation and Conciliation Service the two parties have arrived at an understanding governing the conduct of picketing and the maintenance of peaceful conditions during the strike. Its main features are that the company will not undertake any productive work and that the union will permit certain non-union personnel to enter the plant. Peace now prevails on the lines, and the battle has settled down into one of attrition.

Although not officially on strike, the engineers realize that the C. I. O.'s battle is their battle, too. Wage rates are involved, but seniority rights are the crux of the strike, and settlement, when it comes, will probably revolve about the issue of "bumping." Under bumping, a basic tenet of C. I. O. unionism, a man slated for discharge is permitted to replace a worker with less seniority provided he has the necessary skills. The justification for bumping is that a man with a lot of seniority has usually progressed through various labor grades and is therefore qualified to do the work of lesser grades. Management, however, usually maintains that bumping is disruptive and costs money. Arma wants to calculate a worker's seniority by his occupation in his department, which is tantamount to eliminating seniority.



WHILE seniority is the key issue, there are others nearly as important. Altogether they add up to a determined effort on the part of the company to break the unions or to reduce them to impotence. The C. I. O. unions and the engineers have been subjected to the same kind of treatment. Not only is plant-wide seniority to be eliminated, but the C. I. O. has been presented with demands that all employees be reclassified and that all jobs be re-rated unilaterally by the company. The engineers have been confronted by two proposals which take away merit increases and institute wage cuts. In addition the company wants the right to fire without notice and the right to limit the number of elected officials the engineers' union may have.

Efforts to settle the strike through federal mediation have been fruitless. Only perfunctory meetings have taken place since the walkout. As one union official put it, "They show up physically, which they have to do by law, but that doesn't mean they are willing to talk." In view of the company's obduracy, the engineers have filed two unfair-labor-practices charges, one accusing Arma of instituting new working conditions without bargaining and the other with a refusal to negotiate. The engineers are also attempting to get Defense Secretary Wilson to look into the matter of Arma's

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HERBERT ORRELL, an engineer and free-lance writer, contributed the article on Engineers and Unionism to The Nation *of June 21, 1952.*

charging its arbitration costs to overhead.

Smyth's harsh contract proposals are closely tied in with the company's insistence that Arma is in serious financial difficulties. The company claims to have lost $4,000,000 in 1952, although it admits it is now again in the black. Smyth's argument is that he wants to institute "certain contractual changes" which will help make a "sick company into a healthy one." But early this spring, when both the C. I. O. and the engineers pleaded with President Kenneth H. Rockey to meet with them to discuss the company's troubles, the request was ignored. When I questioned Mr. Smyth as to why the company had turned a deaf ear to the unions' suggestion, he said that he feared the true facts would not get back to the membership.

The strike is receiving financial support from both the district C. I. O. and the individual members of the newly formed Engineers and Scientists of America, a federation of some 30,000 professional workers employed in the engineering industries with which the Arma engineers are affiliated.

Arma's computers are a keystone in the navy's anti-submarine program. The company also has important atomic-energy commitments. Yet in contrast to 1951, when the engineers struck for union recognition, there has been no pressure by the armed forces to end the strike.

In the opinion of everyone familiar with the strike and the issues, the action of the Arma Corporation represents a brutal attack on union security. It becomes clearer every day that the company's master-plan has been worked out to the last detail. If the company wins, it is a safe bet that labor relations in the defense industries—and perhaps elsewhere—will take a turn for the worse. The engineers and the C. I. O. are in this battle for survival. So far morale is high.

As in most labor disputes, the strikers take it on the chin.. Even though they may belong to the credit union, they cannot now borrow from it. Under New York state laws, strikers are disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance for a period of forty-nine days.

INDONESIA

Eighth Anniversary . . *by Herbert Feith*

Caulfield, Australia

IT IS little wonder that journalists don't like Jakarta. Customs officials treat them casually, hotel keepers have no room, and *betjak* drivers fleece them. The place is hot. The oases of coolness and cocktails are few and far between. The oases are the journalist's easiest source of news. It is from the isolated, disprivileged, envied, unhappy white residents of Jakarta that he gets what the world press publishes. This fact is not unimportant in evaluating reports of Indonesia's progress since it proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945.

Not until December 27, 1949, did the country succeed in transforming its declaration into a reality. What has happened since?

Let us look first at the situation in 1950. It was a year of triumph and chaos. The fire of the successful revolution had spread rapidly from its centers in the mountains of Java and Sumatra to every part of the archipelago. It put a quick end to the Dutch-built structure of federated states. The country breathed hope and resolution, but the tasks before it were enormous. Devastated by eight years of war and saddled by the Hague agreement with an enormous national debt, Indonesia had to struggle to afford the radical changes which alone would keep its old nationalist fighters from returning to violence.

Out of this situation arose the turbulent disorders which characterized much of 1950. A number of ugly incidents occurred in Jakarta. Administration was crippled by internal conflicts and by the large-scale exodus of Dutch personnel. Pilfering and banditry were common. A series of large successful strikes increased the disinclination of foreigners to invest the urgently needed capital.

How does 1953 compare? In the field of administration not badly. Government machinery, it is true, is still, by Western standards, frightfully inefficient; the spoils system operates on many levels; there is racial discrimination and not a little corruption; large numbers of civil servants, particularly in Jakarta, lack working discipline, and those who were urged on by their revolutionary élan have frequently slackened out of disillussionment. Nevertheless, the structure is functioning. Communications are normal, economic regulations are enforced, and routine complaints are given a reasonable hearing. This is truly amazing when one remembers that only a handful of Dutch and Eurasians are left in the government service and that the pre-war Dutch policy of denying education to Indonesians was carried to such lengths that in 1940 only thirty-seven students graduated from Indonesian colleges.

Furthermore, the government is functioning very much better at lower levels than at the overburdened and politically paralyzed center. It is providing the villager with a host of welfare services, from free primary schooling (in the areas of the old Jogja Republic) to information about manure and injections for his chickens. It does not lend him as much money as he needs, but on the other hand the local officials do not dare to be as high-handed as they were in the days of the Dutch. And a peasant can now hope that his sons will be officials one day.

HERBERT FEITH, an Australian, recently served a two-year term as an official of the Indonesian government.

As to the security situation, the impression given by the world press that there is widespread sporadic violence is utterly false. Sumatra is now entirely safe, and so is the eastern half of Java; Borneo is virtually the same. The Jakarta resident is no longer bothered by curfew. His wife can walk around freely in the evening. Real trouble, however, continues to exist in parts of the western half of Java, and a shadow of it in southern Celebes. The principal disturber of the peace in these areas is the fanatically Moslem group, Darul Islam. The harm which this "state" of mountain guerrillas has done Indonesia, in loss of life, production, and morale, is tremendous, and the government's inability to crush it is one of its worst failures.

Why has it failed? Though Darul Islam was uncompromisingly anti-Dutch during the revolution and took a popular position on economic and political issues, its present strength lies in its military superiority and the fear which its cruelty inspires. Its followers are not ideologues but bandits, and it is bitterly hated by most of the villagers. But to oppose it is immeasurably more dangerous than to oppose the government, since the penalty is not imprisonment but butchery of a man's whole family. Moreover, its tactics are adapted to the rugged jungle country in which it operates, and it not only holds numerous old arms dumps but buys arms from international smugglers who land on the stretches of coast it controls.

Successive governments have tried to establish a network of army "forts" in the villages of the whole troubled area, but well-trained, disciplined soldiers are in very short supply. Another major obstacle has been the unrealistic policy of the Islamic parties, which have demanded a political as well as a military solution. Much has been achieved, but the rebels' back is not broken.

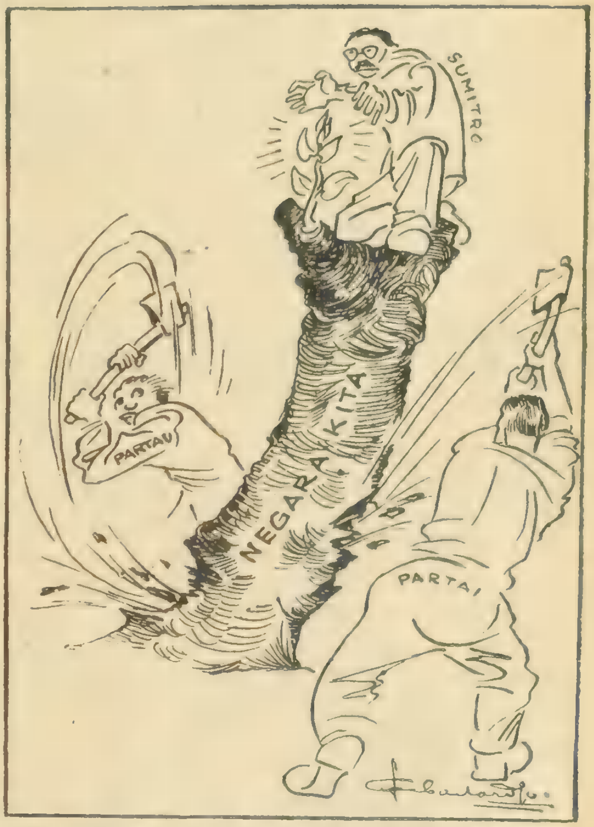
ECONOMICALLY, the country has made progress. Over-all production is now roughly at its pre-war level; rubber, oil, and tin are considerably above; sugar, tea, coffee, and quinine somewhat below. As much rice is grown as before the war, but the 15 per cent increase in population requires large and expensive rice imports. Indonesia has always suffered excessively from world-market fluctuations and was caught defenseless by the 1950-52 slump in raw-materials prices. The government was forced to impose drastic import restrictions and to cut government expenditures. As a result commodity prices have risen and some, though relatively few, development projects have been cut back.

To make Indonesia's economy less one-sidedly agricultural has been the aim of every government. Heavy industry is not the question here. What Indonesia needs is more and better-mechanized light and domestic industries which will also alleviate the large-scale concealed unemployment. Last year's import regulations have brought about considerable recovery in domestic textile production. Small mechanical units, or "centrals," placed strategically in a cottage-industry area and often using machinery provided by the United States, have helped the leather, ceramics, and batik industries. The various cooperative enterprises which Vice-President Hatta has helped to develop have also increased production.

The chief requirements for greater industrialization as for the equally necessary mechanization of agriculture and other economic projects are capital and trained personnel. The foreign assistance allotted to Indonesia, including a $100,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan, has been tiny compared with what other Asian countries have received. In consequence public works and plans for the very necessary transfer of population from Java to more sparsely inhabited islands have been curtailed. More serious, perhaps, is the fact that private business is not investing, partly out of fear of strikes and banditry but much more because of the unpredictability of party politics.

The prospect for building up a supply of trained personnel is brighter. Every government agency has its training institutions. Every firm, foreign as well as native, must train Indonesians in management and technical skills. Hundreds if not thousands of students and government officials have gone abroad to study. There are two or three times as many technical and vocational schools as there were before the war. The number of university students is more than twenty-five times as large. The same passionate desire to learn, and the same rapid if sometimes shoddy development of institutions to meet it is seen in the field of primary education. Teachers are overworked and often inadequately trained, but a basis is being laid for the modernization that Indonesia needs and wants.

ALL DEVELOPMENTS since independence have been held up by the bottleneck of politics. There are dozens of political parties—nineteen are represented in the temporary and only partly elected parliament—and each is divided into factions. They can be grouped as Islamic, Nationalist, Socialist, and Communist, but within these groups and especially within the first two are deep personal and political antagonisms and so a thousand different possibilities of alliance on vari-



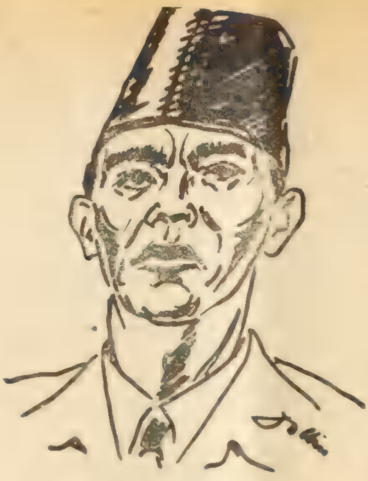
Must the State Fall in the Interest of the Parties?

(The cartoon above appeared in a Jakarta students' monthly at a time when party rivalries threatened the position of Finance Minister Sumitro of the Wilopo government in Indonesia.)

ous issues. This situation partially explains why none of the post-1949 Cabinets except the first—the non-party Cabinet of Vice-President Hatta—has been able to govern firmly.

Of the five Cabinets since independence three have had as their core an alliance of the Masjumi, the leading Moslem party, with the P. N. I., biggest of the nationalist parties. In Natsir's Cabinet the Masjumi were the only big party; the present Cabinet of Ali Sastroanidjojo, former ambassador in Washington, has the P. N. I. at its center. But the Masjumi and P. N. I. ministers in these Cabinets have represented only one wing of their party and had to battle constantly to get support for government policies. Again and again government action has been made impossible by parliamentary opposition and by inter-party and intra-party struggles. The Wilopo government, could do little more than arrange compromises between the contending parties.

Internal quarrels have been intensified by relations with Holland, which have never really improved. Anti-Dutch feeling has been kept alive by the Irian (West New Guinea) issue, the attempted assassination of the Indonesian military attaché at The Hague, the abortive coup of the Dutch adventurer, Westerling, in West Java and Indonesian demands for his extradition, and a series of unhappy incidents for which both sides are to blame.



President Soekarno

In the last eighteen months or so oppositional and extreme nationalist sentiment has received strong impetus from the Indonesian Communist Party, the P. K. I. Anxious to free itself from the anti-national stigma resulting from its unsuccessful uprising in 1948, it has tried to weld various nationalist and splinter Islamic groups into a new "national front" and by this tactic has added greatly to the difficulties of the government. The P. K. I. is strong but not growing in strength, particularly not in the trade unions, and it has shown a remarkable inability to attract intellectuals. Its alliance with sundry nationalist groups, particularly the P. N. I., should perhaps be interpreted as a confession of weakness, but it was largely responsible for the fall of Wilopo in June—over an aspect of land policy in East Sumatra.

Only the long-awaited nation-wide elections can end the political deadlock. Elections will produce a crystallization of political views, and if as is generally expected they give an absolute majority to the Masjumi, the result will be a government which can govern. But a strong government is needed to defy the hidden opposition to the holding of elections and to moderate the party conflicts, religious and political, which will be aggravated as they approach. It was partly the desire for such a strong government that led the Masjumi and the Socialists in the crisis of June-July to advocate a Presidential Cabinet led by Hatta. There were certain constitutional reasons against this policy, but probably the political ones were more powerful. Some observers regard the formation of the present Cabinet as a last attempt to prevent one headed by Hatta.

The political deadlock has held up the whole machinery of government and is producing despair of democratic processes. Indonesian democracy can be maintained only if it is broken and the government proves strong enough to call and scrupulously supervise nation-wide elections.

ANOTHER G. O. P. GRAB

After Oil, the Land . . *by Richard L. Neuberger*

Portland, Ore.

WHEN the Republicans won the Presidency in 1952, their platform promised legislation to protect "the rights and privileges of grazers" by granting court review of orders of the Forest Service to cut down depredations on the public range. The platform also pledged "an opportunity for ownership by citizens" of acreage held by the national government.

The G. O. P. is now discovering that these pledges can be kept—at a price. The price is the probable loss to the Republican Party, forever, of the eleven states which stretch from the Continental Divide to the Pacific. Indignation over the bills to implement these ill-advised political promises is running through that most diversified and effective of all Western groups, the outdoor enthusiasts—a group which includes fishermen, hunters, campers, garden lovers, Scout masters, bird-watchers, and botanists. And it is flaring up in the large middle-class segments of the population on which the Republicans have always relied for much of their support.

The bills in question would allow stockmen grazing their animals on public

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RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon state senator and a well-known journalist. He writes frequently for The Nation *on the problems of the Northwest.*

meadows to sell these forage permits when they sold their ranches. In other words, land owned by the public could virtually be transferred in fee simple. The bills would prevent the Forest Service from ordering a different type of herd to be grazed on government lands and from redistributing the permits in the interest of wider access to the public range. Such permits are needed, for example, by ex-G. I.'s eager to go into ranching. But perhaps the most sinister effect of these bills would be that the vigilant ranger riding by could not look at an eroded valley and order an immediate reduction in the number of sheep or cattle. He could issue the order, but his superiors would have to defend it in court, and the litigation might drag on for years while the people's land steadily crumbled away.

NATIONAL FORESTS contain some 80,000,000 acres suitable for grazing. A generous government has leased this land to 22,000 commercial livestock operators at extremely nominal fees. The range feeds about 1,300,000 cattle and nearly 4,000,000 sheep. The prevailing charge for cattle is 67 cents a month per head and for sheep 12½ cents.

Not content with this bounty, the stockmen want to be given practically quitclaim deeds to the land. When a big Western ranch is sold, the price is always affected by the fact that contiguous acreage in the National Forests is controlled by the government rather than by the operator. The bills sponsored by Senators Butler of Nebraska and Barrett of Wyoming and Representative D'Ewart of Montana would diminish this government sovereignty over public lands. They are designed to carry out the Republican campaign promises of 1952.

What the platform writers at Chicago forgot was that other people besides stockmen have a stake in the national forests, which encompass 38 per cent of the area of the state of Idaho, 25 per cent of Oregon, and 21 per cent of California. In these green solitudes the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Y. M. C. A.'s of the West have their camps. The drinking water of such big cities as Los Angeles, Denver, and Portland comes from the watersheds they cover and protect. Urban dwellers from the whole United States visit the forests to hunt deer and elk or whip white water for trout. The Republicans emphasize the fees paid for grazing, which in Oregon and Washington last year amounted to $381,709, but the sums collected for hunting and fishing licenses totaled a whopping $4,397,771.

If the grazers cannot be restrained from stripping the hillsides bare, the watersheds will be ruined. Studies have shown that the cost of purifying water runs about $8.50 per million gallons when the source of supply is protected by trees and grass but may soar to $27 per million gallons when a watershed has been gutted. And if the equity of the stockmen becomes superior to that of the government, who will defend the presence of the Boy Scouts and naturalists, and vacationers?

That the Republicans are playing with plutonium-235 is indicated by the reaction of the press, even of newspapers which ardently supported Eisenhower for President. The Denver *Post* has charged that the bills "open the door to an unprecedented land grab by the big operator with the most money." The *Salt Lake Tribune* asserts they "would reverse the tried and true policy of administering our national forests for the greatest good of the greatest number."

Wildlife groups are holding emergency meetings. Conservationists declare that never before have the forests been in such peril. The *Oregon Grange Bulletin* has said that the new Administration may be writing Part II of the old tome, "Looters of the Public Domain." It must be remembered, too, that the nation's tidelands have just been bestowed upon three states, and that Secretary of the Interior McKay has jettisoned the government's claim to the great water-power site in the lava heart of Hell's Canyon.

IN THE FIGHT to save the national forests retired officials of the Forest Service are showing a crusading zeal. These men, some of whom served under Gifford Pinchot himself, are not fettered by political considerations. Lyle F. Watts, chief forester of the United States for ten years, has pointed out that the forests are what remain of the people's heritage from the Louisiana Purchase and the explorations of Lewis and Clark. Christopher M. Granger, a federal forester since 1907, asserts that stockmen want to take over the public meadows because the rangers charged with safeguarding them against erosion have insisted on reductions in the number of grazing animals. Granger has revealed that the feeling in "stock-raising communities is so bitter that forest rangers and their families are ostracized by neighbors."

Reports are current in the West that present officials of the Forest Service prepared a blistering report on the bills to turn over the grazing lands to the stockmen and that the report was approved by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, who has jurisdiction over the Forest Service, but held up by the White House. After all, promises that are not kept do not attract large campaign contributions.

The Republicans have been warned that they cannot offend the campers and conservationists and again carry the Western states. The risk was highlighted recently when Robert W. Sawyer, editor of the Bend, Oregon, *Bulletin*, appeared before the House Interior Committee in opposition to the stockmen's bills. Sawyer is a conservative Republican. He worked for Taft before Chicago and for Eisenhower after Chicago. He rarely sees any good in a Democrat or evil in a Republican. But in concluding his testimony before a committee dominated by Republicans, this Republican editor chose to quote a statement by Adlai E. Stevenson, which ran as follows:

> The greatest importance of the national forests is the protection of our watersheds. In many parts of the West protection of the forests and the grasslands means the difference between healthy streams and destructive loss of water; dependable water systems as against floods, silted-up irrigation systems, and dams filling with sediment. That is why we must resist efforts to take away from the public the control of our forest ranges.

BOOKS

The Knave of Clubs

MEMOIRS. By Franz. von Papen. Translated by Brian Connell. E. P. Dutton and Company. $6.50.

HITLER'S SECRET CONVERSATIONS. 1941-44. Farrar, Straus and Young $6.50.

By Frederick L. Schuman

GAETANO SALVEMINI used to be fond of recounting an argument with Wickham Steed regarding Neville Chamberlain at the time of the "peace" of Munich. Steed urged that Chamberlain was merely a fool. Salvemini, passionately anti-fascist, held him a villain. At length the Italian agreed to compromise: "Very well, Mr. Steed, if you will agree that he is a villain, I will agree that he is also a fool!"

A similar problem is posed by these new contributions to the history and folklore of German fascism. Each book offers helpful insights and exciting, albeit grim, perspectives to those who know enough about the context to evaluate them critically. Each exposes the gullible to temptations more menacing than the propaganda of communism. But it is good to have the literature of fascism constantly before us. And it is by no means desirable that it be written or edited by anti-fascists. Neither of our authors qualifies. Yet both convey a message and even a moral of urgent import. Both publishers deserve congratulations for ventures that could scarcely have been pleasant to undertake.

The puzzle has not to do with the maniacal Führer who fooled so many that no one deemed him a fool. It has to do with the aristocrat, sportsman, and General Staff officer who in 1932 was made Chancellor by Schleicher to head the "Barons' Cabinet" concocted in the *Herren Klub.* Said Schleicher of Papen in March, 1933: "He proved to be the kind of traitor beside whom Judas Iscariot is a saint." Said Hitler of Papen (p. 183 f. of our second title): "We owe him a debt of gratitude, for it was he who opened the first breach in the sacred constitution. It's obvious that one couldn't expect more from him than that." Again: "Personally, Papen was an inoffensive man—but, by a sort of fatality, he surrounded himself with people who all had something on their conscience."

BUT THESE are mere fragments of the 600 pages of incredible balderdash which formed Hitler's "table-talk" at HQ during the war years. The world found unbelievable his earlier table-talk as reported by Hermann Rauschning. The later talk, as here transcribed by Heinrich Heim, Henry Picker, *et al.* and edited by Martin Bormann, will be universally deemed quite believable. The talk is the same. But the world has learned. H. R. Trevor-Roper, in a brilliant introduction on The Mind of Adolf Hitler, seeks to bring order out of chaos. The "secret conversations" are required reading for all who would fathom the depths of Nazism. For others they add little to the turgidities of "Mein Kampf" and of Hitler's orations. The Führer's style was always the same—that of a demagogue haranguing a mob.

Here are his views—from abortion, Africa, and art to war, Wilson, and Windsor. Here are arrogance and paranoia expressing themselves in his usual hatred of Jews, contempt for Slavs, envy of Britons, and invincible ignorance of America and Russia. Here are unusually frank and repeated appeals for the abolition of Christianity.

> I'm sure Nero didn't set fire to Rome. It was the Christian-Bolsheviks. . . . Old Dodd was an imbecile. We should have got him through his daughter. . . . Christianity is an invention of sick brains. . . . Streicher is irreplaceable. . . . Thank God, I've always avoided persecuting my enemies. . . . I never read a novel. That kind of reading annoys me. . . . Tobacco is poison. . . . Every traitor must be executed. [As for conscientious objectors] I contented myself with shooting 130 of these self-styled Bible students. Others then lost their courage and changed their minds. . . . The more we see of conditions in Russia, the more thankful we must be that we struck in time. . . . Stalin must command our unconditional respect. In his own way he is a hell of a fellow.

And so on through endless dribble to the last entries:

> Jesus was most certainly not a Jew. . . . It is comforting to see how, even in these days, the fatal relationship between Communism and Christianity is daily becoming clearer to the human intelligence. [J. B. Matthews please note!]

These pages validate anew Alan Bullock's somber judgment in his biography of Hitler (1952) and Churchill's characterization of him in 1941 as a "bloodthirsty guttersnipe" and "a monster of wickedness." He was less a barbarian, as he boasted, than a degenerate, bent upon the destruction of the civilization he hated—and bred, putrescently, out of the almost fatal diseases of that civilization itself.

HOW AND WHY this hideous caricature of a man became tyrant over Germany and Europe—and might well have become master of the world—has been much written about but is still little understood. The briefest formula which fits the facts is that his mass movement was a product of the neuroses of the *Kleinbürgertum* and that his conquest of the Reich and of the Continent was facilitated by the titled and moneyed élite of a sick society who believed that the new barbarism would protect their privileges against the Red Menace. Such was the folly of the Western Munichmen. And such, earlier, was the folly of the Junkers and industrialists who destroyed the German Republic and brought Hitler to power. None among them played a more prominent and effective role in consummating this disaster than Franz von Papen. And despite his denials, nothing in his "Memoirs" changes his role.

His book, translated and in part planned by Brian Connell in collaboration with author and son, is an apologia—for Papen and for Nazism, which he continued to serve faithfully to the end,

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN is Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College and author of "The Nazi Dictatorship," "Germany Since 1918," "The Commonwealth of Man," and other books.

long after the Nazis had murdered his friends and he himself had seen his "mistakes." The final pages furnish the clue to all the rest. An appendix by James P. Warburg refutes a fantastic libel of René Sonderegger, though it does not at all prove, as Papen seeks to imply, "that on no occasion did I ever place a single penny at Hitler's disposal." Another appendix seeks, unsuccessfully, to refute Bullock's detailed account of Papen's part in bringing Hitler to power and in promoting the rape of Austria. The penultimate chapter makes much of Papen's acquittal at Nürnberg, conveniently failing to quote, or even hint at, the judgment of the Tribunal (Vol. XXII, p. 573):

> The evidence leaves no doubt that Von Papen's primary purpose as Minister to Austria was to undermine the Schuschnigg regime and strengthen the Austrian Nazis for the purpose of bringing about the Anschluss. To carry through this plan he engaged in both intrigue and bullying. But the Charter does not make criminal such offenses against political morality, however bad these may be. Under the Charter, Von Papen can be held guilty only if he was a party to the planning of aggressive war. . . . It is not established beyond a reasonable doubt that this was the purpose of his activity.

The purpose of Papen's book is to explain the purpose of all his political activity and to deny the purposes attributed to him. Did he plot sabotage in the United States in 1915? Not at all. Did he betray Brüning? Of course not. Did he seek the chancellorship which Schleicher thrust upon him? Heaven forfend. Did he plot with Schröder and Hindenburg to oust Schleicher and put Hitler in power with himself as Vice-Chancellor? All a misunderstanding, despite Schröder's testimony and Papen's admitted role of liaison between Hindenburg and Hitler. Did he serve Nazi purposes as Hitler's ambassador to Turkey? He served "peace" and his Fatherland.

ON THESE and a hundred other episodes the aging Papen has much to say, some of it clever, persuasive, and full of self-pity, some of it new. But what of the new is true, in the face of formidable evidence from other sources of its falseness, can be said only by a few experts. The saying would take a book as long as Papen's.

What we have here is a blue blood, a clubman, a Catholic, and a disciple of privilege and piety who helped powerfully to deliver much of Europe to communism under the delusion that he was saving it by delivering it to fascism. His values are clear enough. Hindenburg had "strength of character" and "modest, unassuming greatness." The Weimar constitution, in proclaiming "all power derives from the people," expresses "the false philosophy of Rousseau," which is "diametrically opposed to the teachings and traditions of the Roman Catholic church." The Junker *Landbund* becomes the "Farmers' Association." Hitler was "brought to power by the normal interplay of democratic processes"—which Papen had already suppressed. All talk of a "plot" is "fantasy." "The 'corporate state' has long been an element in Catholic social philosophy." "Even today it is impossible to say how the Reichstag fire was started." "Our principal concern was to eliminate class warfare. To achieve this we were prepared to approve the dissolution of the trade unions." "Göring and Goebbels can only be compared with the great figures of the French Revolution." *Und so weiter.*

The contemporary parallels to this type of blindness among some American country-club members are too striking to require emphasis. Papen was fully as "patriotic" and "sincere" as those business men who in the name of anti-communism praise and subsidize the Senator from Bedlam. Yet every ruling class that accepts such leadership is doomed. The best comment on Franz von Papen is Schiller's aphorism: "Against stupidity the very gods fight in vain."

The Cloisters

Fort Tryon Park—New York

Here in the Cloisters a fourth dimension evolves,
A remote time-place of monk, knight, and herald;
Here other men once made *their* peace with the world,
And that much harder peace, peace with themselves.

Today I walk alone in the silence almost heard,
The seven-century hush transported stone by stone
To this alien ground. I listen here alone,
The little fountain trills the clear song of a bird.

Though much here is "restored," much remains the same:
Carved angel, beast, placid and tormented soul
Gaze down from corbel, lintel, capital
Upon the same fevered flesh in frantic search of balm.

The cloister flowers, blue, gold, purple, pink, and white,
Are those once stained in glass, woven in tapestries—
Jonquils, hyacinths, daisies, violets, fleurs-de-lys,
The colors somewhat slack in this less brilliant light.

Through the western arches, as in painted fantasy,
Beyond the broad Hudson's rippling sheens and shades
Rise the riven rusts of sculptured Palisades,
And there for perspective against the sky a gull soars free.

Oh, I, I am a cheerless captive the cloister stones embrace.
I touch one stone decayed, not by time nor rain,
But by ingesting sorrow, passion, guilt, and pain,
A stone worn soft and gentle as a human face.

The sour corrupting acids are sucked up from my breast.
Who gives me this stone gives me a healing herb
With infinite capacity to draw out and absorb:
A smile denotes the cheerless captive become the cheerful guest.

SAMUEL YELLEN

The Van Gogh Story

THE LIFE AND WORK OF VAN GOGH. By Carl Nordenfalk. Translated by Lawrence Wolfe. Philosophical Library. $6.

"I NOTICE," wrote Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Theo, "that what I learned in Paris is disappearing, and that I am returning to the ideas that came to me in the country before I made the acquaintance of the Impressionists."

Written from Arles, this statement aptly unifies the vicissitudes of Van Gogh's career. It might have served as headpiece for Carl Nordenfalk's superb synthesis of his life and work. The original edition of this book, published ten years ago, is now brought up to date and made available to English readers in Lawrence Wolfe's excellent translation. In a 200-page concentrate of his long and devoted study, the director of the National Gallery of Stockholm is more readable and far more engrossing than certain novelized accounts of the artist's life. It is a commentary on our time, quite in relation to Van Gogh's difficulties with his own world, that a brilliant and accurate study like this one will probably attract fewer readers than "Lust for Life." One can hope, however, that the current groundswell of public interest in Van Gogh's work, sparked by the magnificent exhibition held in New York and Chicago three years ago, will turn to profit the discrimination of Nordenfalk's publishers. For in its own way his book is as enthralling as the experience of the artist's work.

Nordenfalk has adopted the sensible procedure of letting his subject tell his own story through selections from his incomparable letters. These, with the author's interpolated commentary, cover Van Gogh's entire career, as do the seventy-two illustrations of the paintings and drawings, well reproduced and chosen for quality as well as unfamiliarity. A proper proportion of the illustrations, somewhat over a third, is devoted to Van Gogh's work in Holland before his arrival in Paris. Nordenfalk makes a serious attempt to arrange the bewildering variety of the Paris period (March, 1886 to February, 1888) into meaningful sequence. These were crucial years even though at Arles, and afterward at Saint-Rémy and at Auvers, Van Gogh transcended what they taught him, reverting to the true Northerner he was. (In America we too often think of him as a French painter, a mistake the French do not perpetuate.) A symbol of his cultural "return" is the Bridge at Arles: of a type unusual in Provence, it is strongly reminiscent of the canal bridges of Holland. Nordenfalk includes among the illustrations an interpretation of one of these which Van Gogh made at Drenthe in 1883.

FEW ADVERSE comments on this book are in order, and most of them concern the format rather than the contents. The reproductions are unfortunately grouped in batches that do not come at their proper place in the text, with the result that the reader must constantly leaf through pages to follow the argument. Frequently reference to the illustrations is omitted. The discussion of individual works is often so penetrating that one could wish for textual references on the plates themselves, particularly as some interesting comments occur parenthetically in other chapters. Of two known versions of an important painting called Daubigny's Garden at Auvers, one of which is probably a forgery, Nordenfalk includes the version in the National Gallery of Berlin rather than the one in a private collection in Basel, despite Ueberwasser's very convincing argument that it is not genuine. While this reviewer hesitates to cross swords with so keen a student of Van Gogh as Nordenfalk, he regrets the omission of any indication of the basis of this choice. Ueberwasser's opinion, it should be added, has been opposed by other authorities.

This book is a rich interpretation of a major and complex subject. Its masterful interweaving of biography and criticism should stand as a model for future monographs on artists. Nordenfalk's two-page summary of the many psychiatric analyses of Van Gogh contains perhaps more wisdom than all these accounts taken together. They are listed topically with the best writings about the artist's work, reminiscences of his life, standard biographies, articles, exhibition catalogues, and discussion of the problem of forgeries, in an excellent critical bibliography.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

New Books in Brief

Something for Voltaire

DEAD MAN IN THE SILVER MARKET. By Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. $3.

Half Irish, half Hindu, and educated in a good Public School, Mr. Menen is obviously the man to contemplate the English—and everybody else—with detachment, or worse. Who else would be so likely to be vividly aware that all nations and all races naturally tend—in Shaw's phrase—"to think the customs of their little island the laws of the universe"?

It is not, to be sure, a new subject, but the vivacity, the wit, and the good humor of this paragon of cosmopolitanism make it as fresh as a May morning. Whether he is describing how the Empire became, somewhat hurriedly, the Commonwealth, though not "until the English had no wealth to share"; or whether he is reporting his conversation with Fakirs in India, he is always hilarious; as when, for example, a holy man who has held his arm in the air until it withered pours scorn on the unambitious who merely sit on nails: "You cannot get salvation—because you happen to have a leathery backside. They haven't got grace, they've got callouses." Voltaire would have delighted in the style as well as the point of view, though he might have found Mr. Menen a bit deficient in genuine malice. Significantly Mr. Menen concludes, as Bertrand Russell and many others seem recently to be doing, that the one indispensable thing we lack for our own salvation is love. The argument seems to be reaching full circle. A generation ago we were all for knowledge, science, and detachment in the management of human affairs. Now we are back to charity again. In any event this is the wittiest book one reviewer has come across in a long, long time.

Reflections of a Historian

THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT. By Marc Bloch. Knopf. $3.

This book represents the French mind at its best, and it has been superbly translated by Peter Putnam. Combining precision of thought with clarity of style, it is inspired by a warm humanity. Marc Bloch, though best known for his profound studies of feudalism, was in fact the antithesis of the dry-as-dust antiquarian. The task of the historian, he believed, was to make clear, by linking the past to the present, "the solidarity of the ages." Hence he must never lose sight of the contemporary scene and must seek to understand the living as well as the dead.

Bloch was a professor at the Sorbonne when he rejoined the army in 1939. After the débâcle of 1940 he sought refuge in the south of France and there, cut off from his library, began to set down his reflections on the nature and uses of history, on the techniques of research, on historical criticism, and on historical analysis—a chapter that includes a fascinating section on semantic problems. Despite the circumstances under which they were written, there is no hint in these pages of despair or bitterness. As Professor Joseph R. Strayer says in his introduction, "Bloch kept his serenity, his faith in France, and his belief in the value of history."

Unhappily Bloch did not live to complete his work. When southern France was overrun, he joined the Resistance and in 1944 was caught by the Nazis, tortured, and executed. This book, fragmentary as it is, a broken shaft, is his monument, and a noble one.

Correspondent's Boyhood

THIS WAS MY WORLD. By Robert St. John. Doubleday. $3.95.

Robert St. John, author, lecturer, foreign correspondent, and radio commentator, writes of the days before he was any of these in this unpretentious and good-humored account of his boyhood and early manhood. He was born in Chicago, his father a chemist who knew well enough how to mix oil and water but not, apparently, God and Mammon. So the family remained poor, and Robert began to work as soon as he went to school. His jobs were legion; at one time, he writes, he held eleven jobs simultaneously. For a while he seemed destined for the Episcopal clergy, but at some imperceptible moment his stars got crossed and he turned out to be a newspaperman. At an age when most young men are hardly beyond the cub stage in the profession St. John could boast of being an ex-publisher, having been vanquished—under dramatic circumstances—as co-owner and editor of a weekly in Cicero, Illinois, by the machinations of one Al Capone.

There followed for St. John two unlikely interludes in Vermont. During the first he was editor of the Rutland *News,* where—as he joyfully notes—one of his pleasanter tasks was to edit the copy of a rural correspondent named Rosie Bottom, and during the second a farmer. The book ends with St. John's departure from New York on the first of the many swings through Europe which eventually established his reputation as a first-rate foreign correspondent.

Lost Persons in Love

THE NARROWS. By Ann Petry. Houghton Mifflin. $3.95.

This is a long, sprawling, eclectic, and melodramatic novel primarily about a violent and passionate love affair between a young intellectual Negro, who is lost, and the white heiress of a munitions fortune, who is even more lost. The setting is in a typical Connecticut river town, with touches of New York and Harlem. Mrs. Petry adds innumerable minor stories and characters to the whole panorama of both Negro and white society. She means well; she tries hard. But one gets the impression of a hodge-podge of styles, structures, ideas. Through attempting to view her literary figures from every point of view, she never quite succeeds in seeing them at all. Her theme is bold, her purpose is serious, but her technique (horrid word) is faulty.

Upper-Class Life

THE CANDLE'S GLORY. By Sylvia Thompson. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $3.50.

A rather slight novel in the style, more or less popularized, of Virginia Woolf or Elizabeth Bowen. It is a story of English and French upper-class life, opening in the early 1900's and continuing through the Second World War. The heroine gets married and divorced, has a child, falls in love with a French count and a rather dubious English mystic. The whole is for August reading.

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Films

Manny Farber

"FROM HERE TO ETERNITY" must have seemed like a chore to its director, Fred Zinnemann. He is inspired by experimental films in which the actors are new to movies and the story has an amateurish ring, while this picture is based on a best-selling novel and carries a load of famous "name" players and a budget, $3,000,000, that has to make the final product look slick. It held my interest until the final reel, when the bombing of Pearl Harbor suddenly turned up, but I don't think its success is due either to Zinnemann, who sentimentalized a lot of James Jones's story, or to Taradash, whose adaptation moves too quickly through the various love affairs, feuds, drinking bouts.

The laurel wreaths should be handed out to an actor who isn't even in the picture, Marlon Brando, and to an unknown person who first decided to use Frank Sinatra and Donna Reed in the unsweetened roles of Maggio, a tough little Italian American soldier, and Lorene, a prostitute at the "New Congress" who dreams of returning to respectability in the states. Sinatra plays the wild drunken Maggio in the manner of an energetic vaudevillian. In certain scenes—doing duty in the mess hall, reacting to some foul piano playing—he shows a marvelous capacity for phrasing plus a calm expression that is almost unique in Hollywood films. Miss Reed may mangle some lines ("you certainly are a funny one") with her attempts at a flat Midwestern accent, but she is an interesting actress whenever Cameraman Burnett Guffey uses a hard light on her somewhat bitter features. Brando must have been the inspiration for Clift's ability to make certain key lines ("I can soldier with any man," or "No more'n ordinary right cross") stick out and seem the most authentic examples of American speech to be heard in films.

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The story is supposed to give you the lowdown on the professional soldier—it is about the thirty-year men in Company G at Schofield Barracks, Honolulu. Taradash juggles a number of plot threads—a clandestine romance between a smart top sergeant and the captain's sexy wife, the brutal treatment of a new transfer who refuses to box on the company team, the feud between Maggio and a sadistic captain who operates in the "stockade"—in such a concise way that they seem to be bouncing off one another. In one crucial section a love affair on a lonely beach and another in a crowded brothel are wound together like the strands of a rope. The shift from one to the other is somewhat too abrupt, but it is a minor defect in a highly professional job of writing.

What you are supposed to get is a sour, violent, sometimes funny portrait of the character who makes soldiering his business. It was my impression that the performances were often too fancy and the camera work too arty for a convincing study of tough Americans. The "big" performance is turned in as usual by Clift, as Private Prewitt, a character who has every talent (boxing, bugling, soldiering) except an ability to conform to army pattern. He does an ingenious job of acting a plain, slow-thinking individualist, but he is often working with an actor like Lancaster who does everything with a glib, showy, Tarzanism. Then there are Deborah Kerr, a fluent actress who never lets you forget she is acting, and a number of supporting players like Ernest Borgnine, whose sadism has a Broadway glitter.

"From Here to Eternity" happens to be fourteen-carat entertaintment. The main trouble is that it is *too* entertaining for a film in which love affairs flounder, one sweet guy is beaten to death, and a man of high principles is mistaken for a saboteur and killed on a golf course. When the soldiers get drunk, the scene is treated in a funny, unbelievable way. When Clift blows his bugle, it is done with a hammy intensity that tries to mimic Louie Armstrong at his showiest. When Lancaster and Kerr are being passionate on the beach, it is done in patterned action that reeks with a phony Hollywood glamour. The result is a gripping movie that often makes you wish its director, Zinnemann, knew as much about American life as he does about the art of telling a story with a camera.

ERIC AMBLER had the almost hopeless task of adapting "The Cruel Sea," a long novel made up of clichés taken from English war movies. His solution was to drop most of the corny plots that told of various sailor lives ashore and to insert in their place a record number of camera shots of the sea and close-ups of sailors reacting to a torpedoing. The movie version of Monsarrat's 500-page book seems, curiously, hardly to move, though it is based on the history of a corvette's crew which is moving almost from the moment you see it on its first trip through U-boat-infested waters. On the other hand, neither the sea nor the turmoil of abandoning ship has ever before been rendered with such meticulous camera realism. And I doubt whether any other actor has equaled the realistic suffering, fatigue, and nervous strain of Jack Hawkins in the only role that matters to the film—a captain who molds a green crew of lawyers, reporters, bank clerks into first-class seamen.

Music

B. H. Haggin

AT THE very least public performers have the traits of personality and character of any other human beings—traits conditioned, developed, and distorted by the ordinary experiences with family, friends, enemies, teachers, employers. There is, then, that reason for their behavior to be no better than the behavior of other people; but as it happens there are additional reasons why it is often worse. Public performers are subjected to the additional distorting strains of their intensive training and their careers; and some of them begin with the unbalance that makes possible a fanatical dedication and concentration during long years of training and then during the years of artistic achievement. The result is often irrational, unreasonable, outrageous behavior—though also the capacity to continue, day after day, to endure, cope with, and survive the circumstances of their careers that would deprive a balanced, rational person of his reason.

I speak of this because of people's attitudes toward such behavior. I have heard them condemn Toscanini vehemently for his unreasonableness, his inconsistency, and above all of course his explosions of rage at rehearsals, demanding in effect that in addition to being a great musician he should be rational, patient, just, fond of children, kind to animals, and what not—which they would not demand of a businessman or an engineer. For my part, I am content to settle for the great musician; and I know that the unreasonableness and rages are not, as these people think, mere self-indulgence by a man who could be reasonable and patient if he didn't feel privileged to be unreasonable and impatient. Toscanini is, in his relation to music, a man obsessed and possessed; and such a man is not rational and reasonable—not in music nor in anything else. Many years ago that remarkable critic, W. J. Turner, wrote that as he had sat watching Toscanini he "was suddenly reminded of Berlioz's remark, 'Do you think I make music for my pleasure?' I am certain that it is not a pleasure for Toscanini to conduct, but rather that he suffers. It is because of his extreme musical sensibility and intense concentration. Here lies the essence of his superiority." Not self-indulgence, but extreme musical sensibility, intense concentration, suffering (which Toscanini has said conducting is for him)—these are the causes of the rages; and it follows that they are reasons for forgiving him, as intelligent orchestral players do. Moreover, Turner's perceptive observation teaches us something else—not merely about Toscanini but about all great artists: that we owe them gratitude not only for the experiences they give us but for what they have endured and continue to endure to make those experiences possible, and what we are unaware of as we watch or listen to them perform.

We have to learn of it from other sources; and it is from Anton Dolin's "Alicia Markova: Her Life and Art" (Hermitage, $3.95) that we learn with horror of the childhood and the first years in the Diaghilev company (she joined it at fourteen) in which her existence resembled that of the hen that nowadays is kept in a cage and allowed to do nothing but lay eggs. The damage of such an existence to the personal life of the hen we don't know; the inevitable damage to the personal life of Markova is something we do *not* learn from Dolin's book. But it is known by those in the ballet world; and Agnes de Mille, who had numerous contacts with her, revealed a little in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* last fall in which, writing that Markova had sacrificed every interest in life to the one objective of dancing better and better and better, and citing the fact that "Alicia has never married—never, as far as I know, even been engaged," she went on to say that "outraged nature must have backed up on her from time to time and taken blackmail payments . . . Whether . . . [the sacrifice] was necessary is a question she has probably asked herself . . . at lonely moments." And again in her brilliant review of the Dolin book in *The Times,* in which she spoke of its omissions: "There is no hint of the terrible melancholies [Markova] is known to sustain." De Mille ascribed the omissions to Dolin's gallantry; but I think the major reason is the one responsible for her own such omissions even in what I have quoted—the reason being that one cannot write with complete candor about the personal lives of the living.

Nor does one find in Dolin's book anything about the lessened intensity and reduced scale that began to be evident in Markova's dancing around 1946, and the omissions and substitutions and prettified faking this had come to by last fall. For this one reason is undoubtedly Dolin's gallantry—another being the way Dolin operates as a dancer himself. But what de Mille's reason was for writing last fall that "she is dancing better than ever . . . Instead of slacking off with the years she seems to be reaching greater and greater physical and emotional strengths"—I can't imagine.

Letters

Old Reader Complains

Dear Sirs: I have been reading *The Nation* since the 1930's, and while I have differed with its position on various matters I have never before felt impelled to voice my differences in writing. However, I have just about reached the saturation point with your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, in respect to his anti-objective and anti-intellectual approach to events emanating from Russia and its stooges.

Del Vayo has studiously and intentionally avoided and evaded any mention or discussion of official Russian anti-Semitism. I have been patiently awaiting some mention by him of this vital turn in Russian policy, which shocked the entire civilized world and was condemned without equivocation in *The Nation* editorial columns. To date your foreign editor has not permitted one word about Soviet anti-Semitism to appear in his column. The explanation is simple. Del Vayo's intellect is so oriented in favor of the "ideals" of the Russian Revolution that it cannot now objectively accept and evaluate new evidence which might shatter the attainment of such "ideals." He has never honestly condemned the Russians for starting the Korean conflict, only chided

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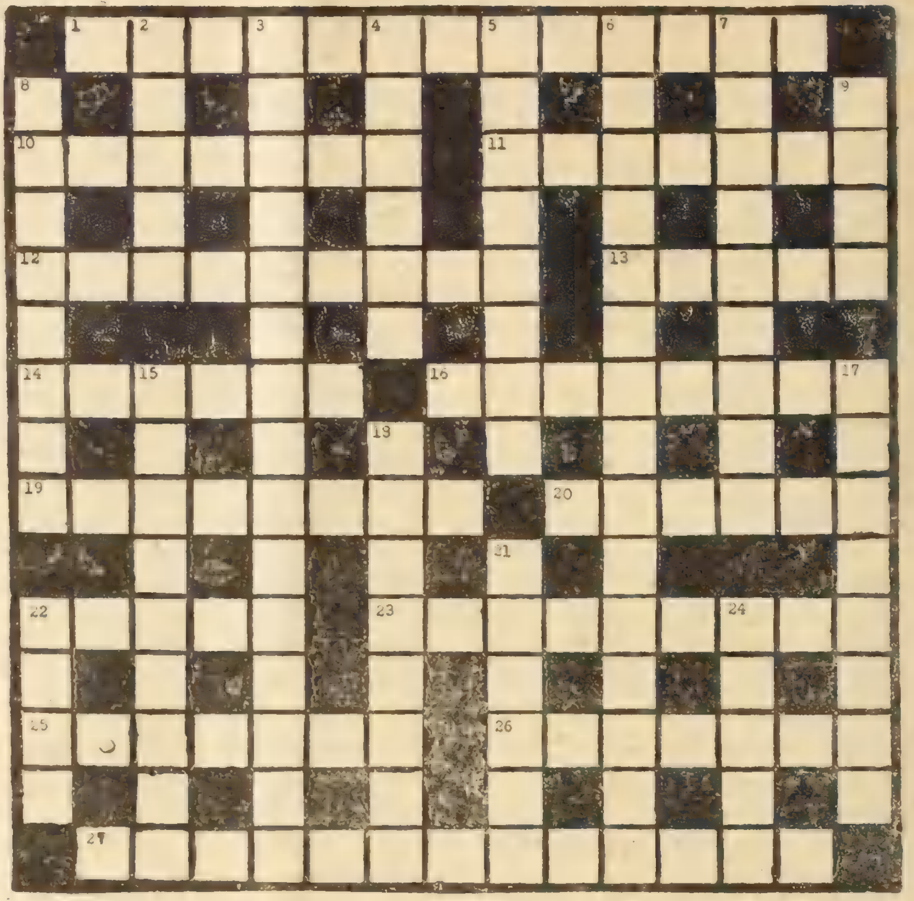
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What to expect if wood gets in the way of fire? (You might take notice here.) (8, 5)
10 Plant onions, and you'll see Sebastian's friend. (7)
11 A number of the blameless? (7)
12 She is surrounded by ill-gotten riches, and loves it! (9)
13 Bishop, for example, in part. (5)
14 See 9 down.
16 What to do when the light fails and disconcerts one? (8)
19 His 22 down is proverbial. (8)
20 Cheats the innocent? (6)
22 Rocks, perhaps, singularly still. (5)
23 ----the little ones---as a reversion to type? (9)
25 Exhausts, partially, the supply of paper dolls? (3–4)
26 Used for scouring, after dinner. (7)
27 Time for the ride to Dover? (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Remove all rail support? (5)
3 To a large extent is the soil healthy here? (4, 6, 5)
4 Memento of headless waste. (6)
5 No ink, so a different material is found. (8)
6 The seat of euphoria? (2, 3, 2, 3, 5)
7 Takes the direction of a 23. (9)
8 Keep your eye on the price—it doesn't include the carriage. (5, 3
9 and 14 across. Where one fights the lack of specific charges? (4–3–3)
15 Equipment, and nothing else, rented to a musical production. (9)
17 Set parts that sound like Martin, for example? (8)
18 Cast away a kind of plane, and sit up on the rest. (8)
21 A little more than a weapon, but not much. (6)
22 This now is a city in India. (4)
24 Gas might be associated with a disturbance of this organ. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 529

ACROSS:—1 PROPELLANTS; 9 BASS TUBA; 10 TENORS; 11 TOENAIL; 12 BOBTAIL; 14 RAG-TAG; 15 MASTHEAD; 17, 4 and 20 across ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME; 22 BUFFERS; 24 ANTONYM; 26 RELISH; 27 CLERICAL; 28 CREPUSCULAR.

DOWN:—2 RESONATOR; 3 POUTING; 5 AUTHORS; 6 TENET; 7 PAGODA; 8 TROIKA; 13 AMUSE; 16 HARMONICA; 18 LAUDER; 19 AIRSHIP; 20 TONNEAU; 21 MAY DAY; 23 FLIER; 25 ACES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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them gently for being somewhat naughty, and inevitably it is the United States which has provoked the "peace-loving" but "sensitive" Russians. Actually he is one of those double-standard intellectuals who constantly, though unrealistically, complain that the United States is betraying everything it stands for while never voicing any concern for the little guy, group, or nation whose liberty—personal, civil, political, or other—is destroyed by brutal Russian methods.

The unhappy truth is that ever since the end of World War II Russia has thrown off its prior pretensions of being the champion of "peace and democracy" and has shown itself to be a "bad actor" and also a bully.

Del Vayo reflects adversely on *The Nation's* integrity as a progressive organ of public information.

New Orleans, La. IRVING NOVICK

[The editors of *The Nation* feel that Mr. del Vayo's writings for this magazine, including his current dispatches from Europe, are the best answer to Mr. Novick's charges.]

Los Angeles Has Its Troubles

Dear Sirs: It is true that the "good people" of Los Angeles have appeared powerless before the devastating attack on UNESCO made by our now "famous" crackpots. Four of our newspapers are reactionary to an unbelievable degree, and the fifth, though liberal, is busy merely staying alive.

Yet in spite of the almost solid wall of print opposing the U. N., Southern Californians must be for it. Even the state convention of the American Legion voted down a proposal that the United States quit the U. N.—and by a substantial margin for the Legion.

One of the few sources of reasoned opinion available to us is Chet Huntley, a radio commentator who nightly battles the dragons. His broadcasts are models of intelligent and scholarly rebuttal of present-day local and national reactionary attitudes. Naturally he has been a particular target of the primitives and for some weeks has been without a sponsor.

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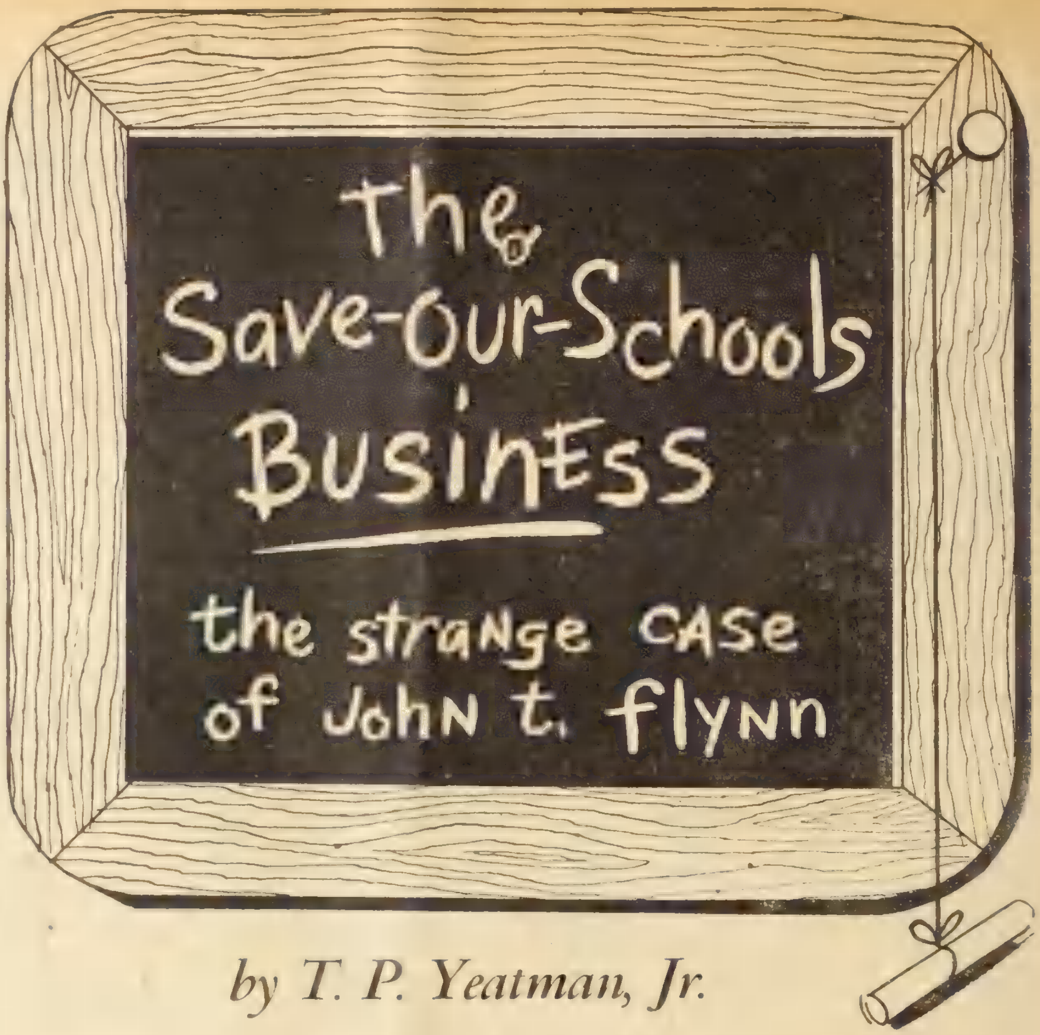
The Save-Our-Schools Business
the strange case of John T. Flynn

by T. P. Yeatman, Jr.

A leading educator writes us: "You are to be commended for your fine article on John T. Flynn. He is doing a lot of harm among unthinking and gullible people—many of whom should know better. This article does expose the 'save-our-schools' business and certainly everybody interested in the well-being of our schools should read it."

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ENTANGLING ALLIANCES—CAREY McWILLIAMS

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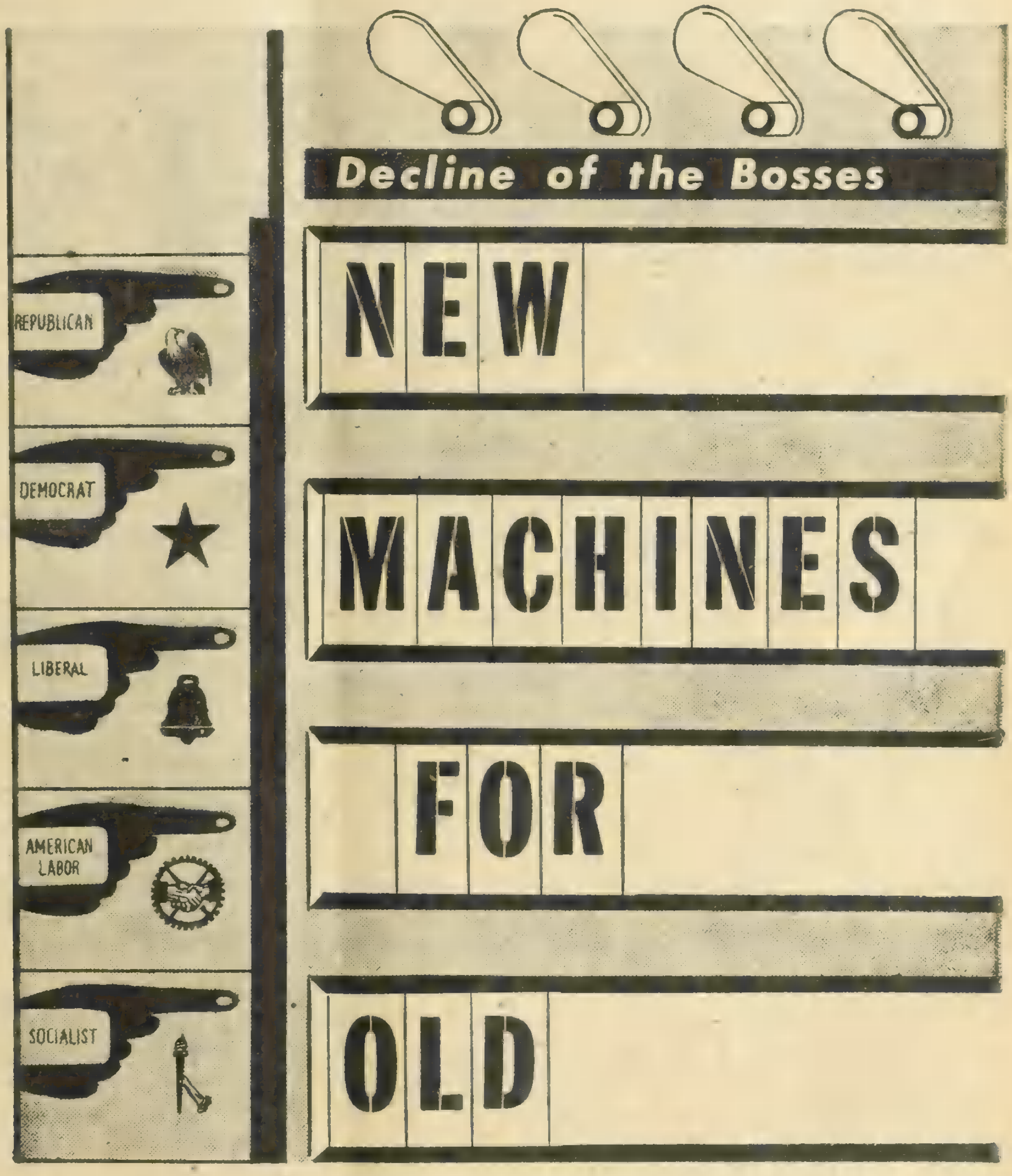
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EVERY
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1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

MET A MAN the other day who was astonished to hear *The Nation* was eighty-eight years old. "Liberal publications don't live long," he mused—we knocked wood, then brightened as he added—"but then you've really got something to offer."

Reason we started talking about the age of *The Nation* was the recent publication by the New York Public Library of a two-volume index of *Nation* contributors and articles from 1865 to 1917. "An era of brilliance in our history," says the Library about *The Nation* and adds: "The greatness of any magazine is of course in direct proportion to the eminence of its contributors. It is only when this Volume 2 (contributors) is examined that one realizes the collective brilliance in all aspects of American life . . . of those who chose to write for [*The Nation*]." The two volumes, compiled by Daniel C. Haskill, are sold for $25 by the New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street.

. . . Among the lesser effects of the recent strikes in France were the problems created for our correspondents. Del Vayo managed to get his dispatch on the strikes out via cable, which was not affected; but Alexander Werth, normally stationed in Paris, was marooned while vacationing in Provence. Stuart R. Schram was fortuitously marooned in St. Etienne, an important mining community, and even more fortuitously, was able to pass his dispatch on to a friend bound for Belgium, whence the story was forwarded to us.

. . . Does Silence Mean Guilt? the fine *Nation* article on the Fifth Amendment controversy, continues to be a best-seller in its reprint form. We're now over the 30,000 mark, and the demand is still steady. Another *Nation* pamphlet headed for best-sellerdom is "The Save-Our-Schools Business: The Strange Case of John T. Flynn." Over half our initial order of 20,000 is already gone, and we're certain the demand will continue. Prices are 10 cents a copy, $7.50 a hundred, $25 for 500, and $45 for 1,000. These rates apply to both pamphlets.

. . . A *Nation* reader passes the following along to us from Dick Friendlich's column in the San Francisco *Chronicle*: "A good-looking girl came into Robbie's on Telegraph Avenue last week laughing in a somewhat bewildered fashion. Said she'd just finished a two-hour modeling job on the U. C. campus and couldn't get paid until she signed the loyalty oath!"

. . . The recent issue of a scholarly philosophical quarterly published at the University of Buffalo contained an article by John W. Yolton of John Hopkins dealing with The Dialectic of Loyalty Tests. Yolton based his approach on Carey McWilliams's book "Witch Hunt," which, he said, "offers a sound and persuasive analysis of the forces at work which have brought about this radical change of the national character."

. . . Leland Olds made front-page headlines recently for his testimony before the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee. Olds testified at the invitation of Congressman W. Sterling Cole—who had received copies of the series which Olds did recently for *The Nation,* along with a reminder that Olds certainly should be heard on such a vital question.

M. S.

Letters

McCarthy in Texas

Dear Sirs: Your article on McCarthy's fishing activities in Texas, in *The Nation* of August 22, should have been headed McCarthy Lands Suckers. If the American public follows the Texas trend of swallowing the McCarthy bait—hook, line, and sinker—it may well be that in 1956 McCarthy will be America's first dictator. Already the Minute Women, the Bundists, the America Firsters, the American Legion commissars of loyalty and morals, and a million bigoted, uninformed minds are peddling McCarthyism with a fervor that outstrips the Spanish Inquisition.

Houstonians will be surprised that H. R. Cullen ("friends call me Roy") actually gave any money away. Thus far his name is engraved on the recipient. For example, the University of Houston has the Roy Cullen Building and the new five-million-dollar Ezekiel W. Cullen Building. The street running in front of the university has been changed from St. Bernard to Cullen Boulevard. There is also, in the downtown area, a Cullen Nurses' Home and a Cullen Children's Hospital.

Mr. Cullen's third-grade education qualifies him to say what shall be taught in the university and who shall teach it. He is a great authority on all phases of government. At the dedication of the new Ezekiel W. Cullen Building he nauseated even the conservatives by calling Dean Acheson and Harry Truman homosexuals.

The great philanthropist withdrew his money from the proposed city-county hospital because it contained plans for a diagnostic clinic that would be open to people of all income brackets. Actually the clinic would be on a basis of "pay what you can." It would have been a godsend to Houstonians, who are ridden with high-priced doctors.

Houston, Tex. BILL STALNAKER

Taft's Death

Dear Sirs: The tragedy of death is even greater when it is untimely, and that of Senator Taft makes me grieve not half so much for him as for the philosophy that contributed to his premature death. That "free enterprise" must be held inviolate even if it means consigning thousands of our citizens to an early death, I cannot subscribe to. While billions were being appropriated for death and destruction, Congress in 1948 voted down a bill to allot one hundred million dollars for cancer research. It may well be that by voting for a committee amendment which reduced Congressional appropriations for the National Cancer Institute in 1947, Senator Taft signed his own death warrant.

New York E. CAMP

The Hiss Puzzle

Dear Sirs: After reading Charles Alan Wright's review of The Strange Case of Alger Hiss in *The Nation* of July 18, I found myself thinking of the three blind men who investigated various portions of the elephant and came up with contradictory impressions. The Earl Jowitt seems as well qualified to write the last word on the relative credibility

(Continued on inside back cover)

Volume 177, Number 10
New York, Saturday, September 5, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

"Hour of Accounting"

The American Bar Association has demeaned the legal profession by the adoption, unanimously and without debate, of a resolution calling on the profession to purge its ranks of Communists. A report on which the resolution was based states that "the hour of accounting" for Communist lawyers has been too long delayed. At the same time, the A. B. A. gave expression to the gallant sentiment that special panels should be established to ensure the right of counsel to citizens holding unpopular beliefs. But only delegates to an A. B. A. convention could fail to recognize that the one action undercuts the other. For the word "Communist" has no specific connotation these days. What the A. B. A. has done is to place lawyers who will defend clients holding unpopular views at the mercy of super-patriots, crackpot "anti-subversive" organizations, and the neurotics who write poison-pen letters. Universal implementation of the resolution, moreover, would constitute a serious and dangerous limitation on the right of properly accredited lawyers to determine the character of their clientele free of outside pressure or dictation. That so many newspapers should have buried the news of this resolution and featured the condemnation of book-burning is a measure of our current capacity for self-deception.

The report on which the delegates based their action was prepared by former Senator Herbert R. O'Conor, a prominent Roman Catholic layman who served on the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. The semi-official character of the presentation was no doubt noticed by the delegates and may account for the absence of debate. One can only hope that local bar associations will refuse to be stampeded into bringing ill-considered disciplinary proceedings by this capitulatory resolution.

Mr. Brownell and His List

The A. B. A.'s action was neatly supplemented, no doubt by prearrangement, by Attorney General Brownell who announced to the delegates that he had increasingly become convinced that the National Lawyers Guild had become the "legal mouthpiece" of the Communist Party and that he had served notice on the organization to show cause why it should not be included on the list of subversive organizations. It seems hardly necessary to call attention to the impropriety of Brownell's prejudgment of the issue. Since he is already convinced that the National Lawyers Guild belongs on the "list," it seems strange that he should even bother to schedule a hearing. But one thing is clear: the constitutionality of this extraordinary listing procedure will now be given a thorough test. The guild, whose membership includes some extremely able civil-liberties experts, will undoubtedly seek in the courts the fair hearing it will not receive before the Attorney General.

Victory for the Workers?

As a few strikes continue to weigh heavily on the French economy, it seems likely that the test of strength between the unions and the government will ultimately be resolved in favor of the unions. Laniel achieved a transitory success by the decision of the steering committee of the National Assembly against labor's demand for an immediate session of parliament. But his victory was meager: the deputies' petition asking for a meeting fell only two signatures short of the 209 required by law. Within a half-hour of the announcement of the result, the Socialists and Communists began collecting signatures for a new petition, this time confident that they would win.

In the meantime the financial losses inflicted upon the already over-burdened national treasury by the strikes are becoming apparent. The railroad stoppage alone cost the government a billion francs a day. Events are pushing France rapidly towards a turning in the road.

Crux of Iran's Problem

The dramatic toppling of Premier Mossadegh gives Iran a new look but leaves that distressed and strategic land still subject to violent political and economic strains. Mossadegh fed nationalist sentiment by defying British imperialism. He could not, however, break the grip of the Anglo-American-Dutch cartel on the world market and so nationalized oil proved a non-productive asset.

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Deprived of all oil revenue while forced to make provision for the idle oil workers, Mossadegh overreached himself when he sought to surmount the resultant financial crisis by assuming dictatorial powers.

How strong the new regime, dominated by the army, will prove to be is, as yet, impossible to tell. The young Shah is well-meaning and progressive but does not appear to be a forceful personality. And while General Zahedi, the new Premier, has some reputation as a strong man, he has filled his cabinet with elderly nonentities who are likely to unite only in resisting change [see Andrew Roth's article on page 192].

The new government must speedily secure financial assistance from abroad or find its popular support melting away. No doubt Washington will be more willing to help Zahedi, who is stamping down hard on the Communists, than it was Mossadegh who flirted with them, but oil remains a stumbling block. Obviously there can be no going back on nationalization. The British admit that and might even leave the question of compensation in suspense. But they are likely to remain insistent on an agreed plan for distributing Iranian oil so that it will not be dumped on the world market.

Let's Try Cutting Prices

This is a matter of vital concern to the international oil companies since a return of the Iranian fields to production will add to the surplus of oil that is already causing them severe headaches. In 1950, the last full year of Iranian operation, world output was 10.9 million barrels: this year, with the Iranian industry at a standstill, it has attained the rate of 13.5 million. Moreover, there has been a large increase in refinery capacity in the past three years so that, except for the production of aviation gas, the huge Abadan plant is, in a sense redundant.

Of course, this surplus is relative. The petroleum industry of the world is producing more than can be sold *at current prices*: it has yet to test the possibilities of stimulating demand by cheapening the product. Indeed, in Britain and Western Europe, prices of gasoline and some grades of fuel oil were recently advanced, not in response to local conditions since these products were in ample supply, but in order to maintain a marketing structure based on United States prices.

The great international oil concerns are reluctant to change their price pattern for a number of reasons. It would mean lower profits and would put pressure on the United States internal market of a kind that would intensify the agitation of the American independents for import quotas. It would probably mean also reduced royalty receipts for Middle Eastern governments which might, in turn, lead to new threats of nationalization. But on that score cutbacks in production in an effort to hold prices are equally dangerous. Under the circumstances, it would seem that the only rational solution to the problem is to persuade Iran to join the cartel as a full partner and then attempt to broaden the market by lowering prices.

The Goose Step: 1953 Version

Fourteen American universities have refused to accept contracts tendered by the Armed Forces Institute, which offers free correspondence courses to servicemen and women, because of the inclusion in this year's contract of a clause reading: "The contractor (university) will not employ or retain for the performance of services under this contract such persons as are disapproved by the Government." Still another clause would require the universities to provide professional and personal information on all employees handling correspondence work with servicemen. Even John Francis Neylan, who led the fight to impose a loyalty oath on the faculty at the University of California, found the restriction offensive. Said Regent Neylan: "We're not surrendering to anybody the independence of the university. We will not permit anybody to dictate to us." In addition to California, the following universities rejected the contracts: Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana State, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Western Kentucky State College, and the Oregon State System of Education. Twenty-eight universities, however, did accept the contracts.

Entangling Alliances

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

POINTING up the lessons of the Korean war as a guide to American policy in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 11, Joseph E. Evans suggested that we should be "less precipitate" in reaching major policy decisions in the future, adding as a footnote: "The decision of three years ago, while taken with great seriousness, was not one the implications of which were very carefully thought out."

Far from heeding this thoughtful advice, we have promptly jumped from the frying pan into the fire. There was certainly more justification for President Truman's precipitate decision to intervene in Korea than for Mr. Dulles's decision to conclude a mutual-defense treaty with the Republic of Rhee. While the crisis which Rhee had caused may have justified the Secretary's hasty trip to Seoul, it neither justifies the terms nor warrants ratification of the agreement he brought back. For by the time Mr. Dulles and his party had arrived, the United Nations command, according to Hanson W. Baldwin, had considerably more control over the R. O. K. forces both along the truce line and behind it than it did when our loving ally Dr. Rhee released the 27,000 prisoners of war. Rhee's treachery should have warned us against further entanglement with him, but it had exactly the opposite effect. "Trying to find a peaceful way out of the Korean tangle," writes Marquis Childs, "Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is like a man walking on flypaper. He gets one foot disentangled only to find that the other is stuck fast." Currently both of his big feet are stuck hard and fast—thanks to Dr. Rhee's skilful blackmail.

The basic objection to the mutual-defense treaty is simply that there is nothing mutual about it. To Rhee it spells security; to us it spells trouble. For what he got—and the price included the promise of a billion dollars in aid—Rhee gave only a promise; and of what worth are his promises? Militarily, Rhee is a liability, not an asset. If all foreign troops were to be withdrawn, and the great powers were to remain neutral, it is unlikely that he could unite Korea by force. He probably could not even maintain internal order in his own area without American support. Nor is he the only alternative in Korea. Dr. Channing Liem of Lehigh University is not alone in suggesting that Rhee will continue to undermine the United States as long as we whisper our policy into the ears of the R. O. K. leaders instead of talking loudly to the Korean people. To date the South Koreans have heard only one version of the way of Korean salvation, and that is Dr. Rhee's.

Politically Rhee, like Chiang Kai-shek, is a has-been, a sure-loser; both are gargoyles of reaction that belong to a past modern Asians are determined to forget. To embrace them is to invite defeat. Rhee cannot unify Korea; he stands in the way of Korean unity. It is inconceivable that the Chinese, having achieved a stalemate in the war, would ever consent to a unification of Korea under Rhee. To indulge his dynastic ambitions, we would have to achieve total military victory over China and possibly over the Soviet Union as well. In the political conference Rhee will be a millstone round the necks of the American representatives. He will never consent to a free election because he knows he could never win it. Besides, the signing of the defense pact before the conference will limit our initiative there.

BUT the pact is objectionable on other grounds as well. For the first time in our history, as the New York *Times* observed in an editorial of August 10, "we have made a specific commitment to an area on the Asian mainland. The chain-of-islands thinking has been enlarged to take in a region." This commitment was made before the ink was dry on numerous military appraisals of the Korean war which echoed a common warning against any further military commitments in precisely that area. Paradoxically the Dulles policy of "disengagement" and withdrawal has actually meant further commitments.

Moreover, the decision which would force us to honor the new commitment rests rather more with Rhee than with us. For if after the political conference has been in session for ninety days, "it becomes clear to each of our governments that all attempts to achieve these objectives [the unification of Korea] have been fruitless and that the conference is being exploited by the Communist delegates mainly to infiltrate, propagandize, and otherwise embarrass the Republic of Korea," we then stand committed "to make a concurrent withdrawal from the conference," with all the consequences this may entail. The potential significance of the final clause is indicated in a New York *Times* dispatch from Seoul of August 24: "It is believed quite possible there will be shake-ups within the Korean government later on simply to justify the charge that there has been such infiltration." Already there are rumors of a pending purge in Rhee's government. Use of the trick word "each" does not minimize the danger that Rhee's interpretation of the extent to which the Republic of Korea has been infiltrated, propagandized, or otherwise embarrassed will be conclusive. Dictators like Rhee embarrass easily.

But this is only part of the price we have paid for Rhee's promise of ninety days' good behavior. Our commitment to him was doubtless one of the factors which prompted President Eisenhower to make an informal commitment to Indo-China in his Seattle speech. And Chiang Kai-shek, who for months has been angling for a Pacific "anti-Communist" pact, now wants the United States–South Korean mutual-defense pact extended to include Formosa.

Here too "disengagement" has actually meant further involvement. For it now appears that we have an agreement with Chiang under which he has promised not to unleash his toothless mercenaries against the Chinese mainland without our approval. But to acknowledge that we have him on leash is to accept responsibility for what he may do without our approval. Just as Rhee released the prisoners behind our back, so Chiang may decide to initiate some action against the mainland for the purpose of forcing our hand. Time is running out on Chiang, and a dangerous now-or-never atmosphere is building up in Tapei. "The moment of our counter-attack," he said recently, "is drawing nearer and nearer."

IN APPRAISING risks that we have incurred in thus making Chiang our agent, it should not be forgotten that he is fully conscious of the fact that his friends have come to power in Washington: Joseph W. Martin, Jr., as Speaker of the House, Senator William F. Knowland as Senate majority leader, and Admiral Arthur W. Radford as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under a reorganized set-up which gives him the power to select personnel. Nor are these the only friends that might be inclined to "overlook" some indiscretion on Chiang's part just as they overlooked Rhee's indiscretion in releasing the prisoners. "Among the United States diplomats in East Asia," writes James Reston (from Tokyo), in the New York *Times* of August 11, "there seems to be increasing support for adding Formosa to the catalogue of formal United States security pacts for the Pacific, and some of them would like to see the United States give Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek not only more weapons but more offensive weapons designed to prepare him for an invasion of the Chinese mainland." Admiral Radford not only believes that the United States can never be secure so long as the Communists retain power in China, but he has talked privately, according to Mr. Reston, "with eloquence and conviction not only about 'defending' South Korea, Formosa, Hongkong, and Indo-China but of regarding them as 'bridgeheads' against the Communists." Nor should Arthur Krock's meaningful comment in his column of July 28 be forgotten: "It is reliably reported that in an official top-level discussion of the post-armistice courses of the United States in Korea, agreement was general that the Eisenhower Administration will not allow this nation to be bound by the policies of our allies in the United Nations to anything like the degree the Truman Administration was bound . . . this reported change . . . foreshadows events of the highest potential and most grave in their implications."

THE RHEE technique is now being copied by the envious Chinese Nationalists. Just as Colonel Ben C. Limb, South Korean observer at the United Nations, speaks of the United Nations jurisdiction in Korea as "a tragic circumstance," so Mr. K. C. Wu, former governor of Formosa, speaking recently in New York, announces that a United Nations trusteeship for Formosa would be rejected "by force if necessary." And from Formosa comes word, in the dispatches of Marguerite Higgins, that Chiang will never abandon his "mission to return to the mainland" and might even "go it alone" if Red China were to be admitted to the United Nations. In their attitude toward the United Nations both Rhee and Chiang merely echo of course the attitude of such Republican leaders as Senator Knowland, who has said that "the day Communist China goes into the United Nations, the United States goes out."

What is truly disturbing about all this is the mounting evidence that American power, in the absence of a real domestic political opposition, is being irresponsibly committed and applied. Grounds of opposition are not lacking; what is needed is the courage to resist. Writing from Washington on July 31, William S. White reported in the New York *Times* that the Senate was "aghast at President Syngman Rhee's argument that the United States must reopen the war if Korean unification failed." Nevertheless, the Senate dutifully approved a $200,000,000 down payment on a billion-dollar aid program which Dr. Rhee announces will be spent, not in Japan, but in South Korea and, if his will prevails, under his supervision. "The Senate of the United States," one of its most influential members bravely assured Mr. White, "will never agree to put the foreign policy of the United States into the hands of Dr. Rhee." But the Senator, it should be noted, spoke "in private"—for fear no doubt that Big Brother Joe might be listening. Or perhaps he had read Dr. Rhee's cablegram to the Ashland (Ohio) *Times Gazette* that the Americans, as a nation, are the dupes of intriguing European governments far gone on the road to communism.

Ironically, the traditional admonition against "entangling alliances" is being recklessly disregarded today not by Democrats but by the party of tradition and conservatism. Perhaps by January the dangers of the entangling Korean alliance may become sufficiently apparent to force at least a frank debate on its merits. Is it too much to hope that Mr. Stevenson, home from his around-the-world junket, will revive the two-party system by offering an alternative to the current Dulles-Rhee-Chiang foreign policy?

SPLENDID ISOLATION

First Avenue Phenomenon . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

THE seventh session of the Assembly is bound to be remembered long—if less for its petty political deals in the lobbies and its undistinguished oratory than for having brought into sharp focus the processes of history.

It was, for instance, at this session that the United States moved yet another step away from its old policies, its old friends, and the United Nations. This isolation has had nothing to do with isolationism, for the Republicans have now become involved in fabulous "foreign entanglements" which no Democrat would have ever dared to champion. But isolation or isolationism, it has tended to rob the United States of its allies. Perhaps nothing has been as indicative of this as the vote on India, which was generally regarded as a test of American popularity and influence. It took the most intensive lobbying by the U. S. delegation to thwart India's bid for a seat at the Korea conference; even so, India received more votes on the key resolution than the U. S., though not the required two-thirds.

It was also at this session, at which Andrei Vishinsky appeared with a brand-new smile and the tones of a reproachful uncle, that the Soviet Union made its most significant gains in U. N. history. It did so partly by astute politicking; partly through the confusion caused by Moscow's pacific gestures—of which, incidentally, few were observable at the session; and above all else, by allying itself with popular causes. Who can measure, for instance, the good-will earned by Vishinsky's stand beside India? It was easy to say, as the American delegates did, that such Soviet maneuvers were both insincere and sinister. The fact was that, whatever the motive, Russia at this session commanded more than its customary support.

The session saw the strengthening of a "third force." Neutral blocs, of course, have been seen here before. One, for instance, appeared late in 1950, when the Arab-Asian bloc was formed, and some of the Western nations were frightened into the neutral corner by the antics of the American "Bomb China Now" boys. On such issues as the Italian colonies, the "third force" had, in fact, been able to impose a compromise on the Big Three. At this session the neutral bloc, reinforced by recruits from the colder areas of Europe, may have lost its battle over India. But it learned to use its muscles, and one can now expect of it a show of still greater independence at the forthcoming eighth session, when bigger issues are at stake. The emergence of the "third force" means the failure of political polarization. Instead of siding with Moscow or Washington, an increasing number of countries insisted they wanted no more of the "cold war" and its dangerous stresses.

The seventh session may, finally, be remembered for having provided a storm warning. The identity of interests that bound the United States, the British Commonwealth, and France remained substantially unchanged. But there were many signs that what was true at the seventh session might not, or would not, be true at the eighth. The issue in the past fortnight was relatively minor—simply who was to represent the United Nations at the Korean Political Conference, and in what spirit. Other questions hammered on the U. N. gates, but they were firmly barred.

THE CONSENSUS here is that they cannot be kept away much longer, for they are too big and too pressing to be ignored. Of all these issues Red China's position is the most important. But it is not the only one. The political map of the world is likely to be redrawn in the next six months or a year, and whatever happens will have an impact on the United Nations. Will Western Europe, for instance, go left or right this fall, and how will this affect NATO, the "cold war," and the American policy for Europe? What will be the effect of the new policies now being shaped in Moscow and Washington? Will Germany

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MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, covered the seventh session of the U. N. for The Nation.

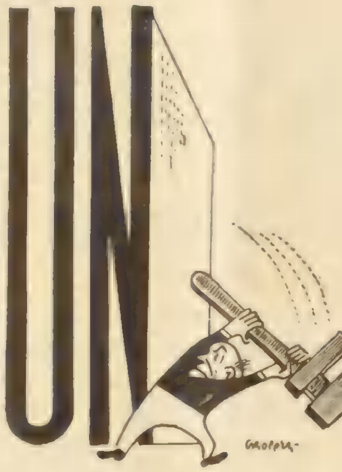
be reunited and rearmed, and what policy will it follow? Sooner or later, all these issues will come before the United Nations, as the question of Red China will. If this happens, will the United States walk out, as Senator Knowland has been urging so firmly?

Not surprisingly, nothing has impressed the reporters covering this session so strongly as the growing sense of American isolation. The process, of course, began long ago, and the United States was not solely to blame for it. For just as the Korean war first tended to unite the non-Communist world, so it served later to split it. Unhappily, the United Nations found itself enmeshed in American domestic wrangles, and the Truman-MacArthur debate, for instance, became an integral part of U. N. history. The foreign countries resented this involvement in American politics but could not possibly escape it.

But out of this involvement has come a great uneasiness. For a couple of days last week I tried to keep a list of the questions asked by members of the various delegations. As I look through them now I find reflected in them the feeling that the American course is both puzzling and unwise and that it is alienating America's best friends. With both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles away on a vacation for a part of the session, it seemed here as if Mr. Lodge was molding the American foreign policy. Was it he, then, who was to blame for its blunders, its tactlessness, its lack of elasticity? The rift among the Western Big Three seemed even worse than it really was because of the failure to advise France and Britain in advance of the course Mr. Lodge proposed to follow at the Assembly. Who was responsible for the decision to back France against Arab nationalism? And why did Robert Murphy go on a television program to expound and defend the French position at the precise moment when the Moroccan issue was being debated by the Security Council?

The remark of the London *Times* correspondent that the United States had become "a South Korean satellite" turned out to be the favorite *bon mot* on the committee floor. It is not that anyone took it seriously, but that no one could quite understand how the greatest power on earth could have allowed itself to be alienated from its friends by an aged Korean politician. Somehow, last week, Syngman Rhee had become a symbol not only of old-fashioned Oriental villainy but also of the new political orientation in the United States. And word has been circulating that, apart from India and Japan, Rhee had barred even Chiang Kai-shek from the political conference.

Out of these rumors and uncertainty sprang many troubled questions. If the United States felt bound by Rhee's wishes now, would it be bound by his actions ninety days hence? How long could America's allies tolerate such dependence on Rhee's integrity and peaceful intent? How would the United States and its allies react to Rhee's breach of the truce if—as is pretty certain—Korea is not unified under him? Does Washington feel with Rhee that armed force should be used to place all of Korea under his rule, and does it expect, for instance, Canada and Britain to send their men back into battle? And if the Political Conference fails, or if it lasts beyond Rhee's deadline of ninety days, would the American command tolerate that armed action which Rhee has been advertising before mass-meetings in Seoul?



It is no secret here that, up to this point, the Allied nations have not been advised of the American course in any of these eventualities. Is this because there is as yet no policy, or is it because Dulles and Lodge won't tell? Whatever the answer, it serves to underline the rift between the United States and its many friends.

THIS SENSE of drifting apart casts a black shadow over the magnificent skyscraper on First Avenue. For America's isolation is an ailment that can be fatal to the United Nations. There was a time, I am told, when the United Nations, if it needed a ton of steel, simply telephoned Washington. Today, under Lodge, there is an insistence on "going through channels," which means Lodge, and many suspect that his affection for the United Nations is tempered by the political climate.

With crucial sessions ahead at the United Nations, the Congress has chosen this moment to slash the appropriations for Lodge's mission. Thus, I am told, something like one employee in five on the mission has been dismissed, at a time when it needs all the help it can get. Watching the Congressional ax, U. N. officials get a feeling of chill. There are other signs of a growing American disinterest. The American contribution to the United Nations' Korean Reconstruction Agency has been cut by Congress from seventy million to fifty. At the same time, an independent American agency has been set up to spend something like a billion dollars in five years. Why was relief from war, fought in a U. N. cause, not put under U. N. administration?

In fact, the entire American position on the political conference worries many officials here. Resistance to Communist aggression was organized here in 1950 under the U. N. banner. Yet if the war was fought in the name of the U. N., peace is not being waged by the U. N. but by the combatants alone. To many here this is not an academic question; they feel it represents the crux of the new American attitude toward the United Nations.

And no recital of U. N. worries is complete without a word about the virulent campaign now being waged against it in this country. The slogan of the new, well-financed drive is "Get the U. S. A. out of the U. N., and the U. N. out of the U. S. A." Some of the U. N. officials I have talked to make no secret of their concern over this campaign, which seems to dovetail so neatly into the broader structure of American isolation. And more than one official, surveying this fabulously expensive piece of international real estate on First Avenue, is beginning to wonder whether the United Nations did not make a terrible blunder in picking this site for its permanent home. From First Avenue, Geneva looks so wonderful!

J. Alvarez del Vayo

What They Want Is Unity

Zurich

RARELY are elections awaited with so much impatience as those to be held in West Germany on September 6. The widespread anxiety about the result amply confirms the view of many commentators that Germany is the world's biggest problem. The suspense has become sharper since the Italian elections. If the invincible De Gasperi could be defeated, the adversaries of Adenauer believe they have a fighting chance.

The outcome in Italy was pondered deeply by Dr. Adenauer, and he profited from its lessons. Intensified East German propaganda for a united Germany threatened to put him in a bad spot, but he met the test brilliantly. He has apparently been able to convince people that he too wants unity above all else—though his whole political future depends on West Germany's integration into the Atlantic military system and such integration would in itself rule out reunification.

His most difficult task was to defend his foreign policy. Social Democratic attacks upon his domestic policies did not cause him much concern. Charges that the cost of living had risen 50 per cent, that the average German ate only two-thirds as much meat and fat as before the war, that ten million Germans had incomes below the subsistence level could be answered by other figures. Dr. Adenauer could show that while the cost of living had increased markedly in the rest of Europe since the start of the Korean war, in Germany it had increased only 2 per cent, and that his government had built not the million dwellings which the Socialists in 1949 had said were needed in the next four years but 1,800,000.

Of course when the voters strike a balance between accomplishments and failures, the result depends largely on their credulity and prejudices. The issue of reunification, however, cannot be juggled by the most skilful operator. The hope of seeing Germany united again is so strong in the heart of every German that the candidate who seems most likely to make this hope a reality has the best prospect of success.

Dr. Adenauer had feared that some new move on Russia's part might ruin his chances on the eve of the election. He must have been relieved, therefore, to read the Soviet note of August 16 addressed to the Western Allies. It was generally assumed in Western capitals that the note was intended to place the Chancellor in an impossible position, but its contents do not bear this out. Some parts of it, in fact, provided him with new arguments in the last phases of the campaign. He seized at once upon its dismissal of the West's demand for guaranteed free elections throughout Germany—which was a return to the position taken by Moscow in its note of March 10, 1952—as proof that the Kremlin had in no way changed its attitude toward Germany. Of course he ignored any indication that Russia was beginning to accept Molotov's wise definition of the prerequisite to an accord on Germany—that each party be willing to meet the other halfway.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS were not intimidated by Dr. Adenauer's exploitation of Soviet recalcitrance and insisted that the "war of notes" be ended and negotiations begun. They denounced the Chancellor for the contradictions of his position—for trying to assure the external security of the West German republic by attaching it to the Atlantic community and at the same time talking of reaching an agreement with Russia.

And then came Malenkov's speech at the reception in honor of the East German delegation, which put him in an even worse position. Now he had more than words to combat. The East Germans were to pay no more reparations after this year; enterprises seized by the Russians since 1945 were to be given back; occupation costs were to be reduced; all remaining prisoners of war were to be liberated; commercial agreements about deliveries of food and coal were to be signed. These were more than minor concessions; as one radio commentator put it, they were a "royal wedding present." Now the West Germans might say, "We could have all this if it were not for Adenauer. What can the West offer to Adenauer to equal Moscow's generosity to East Germany? The territories beyond the Oder-Neisse? Perhaps, but you can hardly offer something you haven't got."

Although a man with a long political past—from 1920 to 1933 he presided over the Prussian senate, where he became known as a leftist; I remember hearing his name when I was a student in Germany—Adenauer was almost totally unacquainted with the leaders, methods, and mentality of Western governments before 1949. But he quickly learned how to win the esteem of Western statesmen, especially of the Americans. He now aspires to be known as the man "who brought about a Franco-German entente," and thus to improve his standing in both Paris and Washington. But of course he must win the election first.

Not much excitement has been generated by the campaign. There has been nothing like the "poster war" in Italy, to which the best Italian artists contributed their temperament and skill.

A kind of Gallup poll taken recently indicated that the Chancellor's party would get 38 per cent of the votes and the Social Democrats 35 per cent. Polls taken in Italy, however, up to the very last moment made De Gasperi the winner, and most foreign observers concurred. Expectations that the Christian Democrats will emerge from the elections as the strongest party may well be disappointed; it is quite possible that the Social Democrats will obtain more seats in the new Parliament. But though Adenauer may find he has lost strength, he hopes to remain in power through an alliance with other rightist parties.

NEW MACHINES FOR OLD

Decline of the Bosses . . *by Roy V. Peel*

CERTAIN developments in the New York mayoralty campaign indicate that the electoral process in great cities is no longer controlled by the forces which prevailed a half-century ago. The political machine has disintegrated, and the anti-machines, or citizens' reform parties, have practically vanished. The patterns of habit and attraction which govern the emergence of leaders, the nomination and election of candidates, and the discussion of issues are undergoing fundamental change.

Political machines and bosses of the standard type, as defined by Bryce, Steffens, and Merriam, are now found in the United States only in Memphis, which is under the heel of the malodorous Crump, several New Jersey counties, and a few small cities in the South. In Wisconsin, Indiana, and Ohio a number of towns are controlled by socio-political élite groups, but the limitations on the power of these corrupt oligarchies are of a kind the old bosses would never have tolerated. Even Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles, which after longer or shorter periods of reform administration have reverted to governments of lower moral standards, are not really ruled by political machines. And in Boston, Cleveland, Denver, Kansas City, Minneapolis, New Orleans, and Philadelphia, where machine politics once held sway, good governments are now in power—stable reform administrations which appear to have great vitality.

The classic "machine" is urban. Students of politics seldom refer to corrupt and impregnable state organizations as machines. The traditional municipal machine was a party organization, dominated by one or more bosses, which controlled the entire political process by means of physical force, economic sanctions, social pressures, and political favoritism. In Northern cities the machine customarily encouraged the formal but impotent opposition of the secondary party. Frequently, when a reform wave threatened the power of the machine, the secondary machine rose to its defense. In most American cities the machine was destroyed by inhospitable economic and social conditions of which reformers could take advantage.

Mayor Impellitteri

THE FIRST THING the New York City reformers did to curtail the power of the machine was to raise the standard of public morality. Many clergymen and civic leaders of a type that seems to flourish in New York fought in the early years of this century to make men free, civic-minded, fair, honest, and diligent. Then about 1912 the reformers managed to effect structural and legal changes in the conduct of elections, the management of city affairs, and the entire judicial system which made it difficult for machines to survive. Finally, in the 1930's the depression placed on the machines burdens greater than they could bear, and under the New Deal the relief of economic distress became national and impersonal. City machines no longer held the power of life and death over their constituents.

The reform movement which has played such a prominent role in the annihilation of the machine has been activated by a rich variety of reform parties, charter parties, and citizens' unions. The local reform organization is sometimes strictly *sui generis.* Often one man, one devoted and inspired person, has slain the dragon of machine rule single handed. More commonly a group of reformers secures, usually by state legislation, the establishment of non-partisan elections. Illustrious examples of the results of such action are the administrations of Quigg Newton in Denver, Albert Cobo in Detroit, and Earl Glade in Salt Lake City. In smaller cities some kind of coalition of independents has frequently been able to instal a city manager.

When non-partisan reform government has once been established, the majority of the citizens, and the press, have usually defended it. But in New York City there has never been any organized backing for the reform mayors who were elected. With the exception of the *Herald Tribune* the newspapers were only lukewarm in their support of Fusion, that classic New York City reform institution which for half a century represented a coalition of the Republican Party, the Independent Democrats, and the democratic independents—the last, voters without any firm party affiliation.

As a movement rather than a party, Fusion spearheaded the drive to elect Strong mayor in 1894, Seth Low in 1903 and 1905, Mitchell in 1913, and LaGuardia in 1933. Since 1933 the City Fusion Party has diminished in size until today there is nothing left but a memory. Its chief defect before 1933 was that it was negative in outlook and avoided precinct or neighborhood organization as a matter of principle. None of its great mayors, not Mitchell, not even LaGuardia, were ever aware of the importance of electing an entire slate of candidates, for all the city,

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county, and borough offices, some of which are filled in years when there are no mayoralty elections.

By his highly personal technique of leadership, LaGuardia helped establish a new design of political control. Both his Tammany successors, O'Dwyer and Impellitteri, paid him the compliment of modeling their behavior on his. O'Dwyer not only joined hands with the American Labor Party in 1945, thereby becoming a sort of Fusion candidate, but clearly indicated that he was anti-organization. In the spring of 1946 he refused to attend the Victory celebration of the district clubs. He distributed patronage to county leaders, Warren Moscow asserted, not to reward but to reform them. But it became evident that he had neither the judgment nor the high sense of propriety that distinguished the Little Flower, and the voters finally turned against him. Impellitteri, denied the regular nomination in 1950, created the Experience Party—"an outfit," the *New Yorker* said," without previous existence, let alone experience."

LaGuardia's leading attribute was his terrific mobility. Arthur Guiterman, in a charming poem, had to use a long stanza just to list the daily activities of the "busy little mayor." LaGuardia established standards of administration which had a profound impact on local government everywhere. He allowed no one to dictate to him. Although the repeated alliances with the Republican Party (1929, 1933, 1937, 1941) and the parting blessing which he bestowed on Newbold Morris in 1945 seemed to indicate his conviction that the proper structure of Fusion was a coalition between independents and Republicans, this is belied by his vigorous and loyal advocacy of the philosophy of the New Deal as expressed by Roosevelt and Lehman. The bulk of his support always came from persons who voted Democratic in national and state elections.

But power is not secured merely by wielding the full authority of the mayor's office, ignoring the bosses, snubbing the legislature, and cultivating a bewildering variety of advisers and confidantes. LaGuardia's personal talents enabled him to stay in office twelve years. O'Dwyer barely squeaked through in 1949, and Impellitteri, triumphant in 1950, now faces difficulties which by common consent are due to his incapacity to provide a brand of leadership like the Little Flower's.

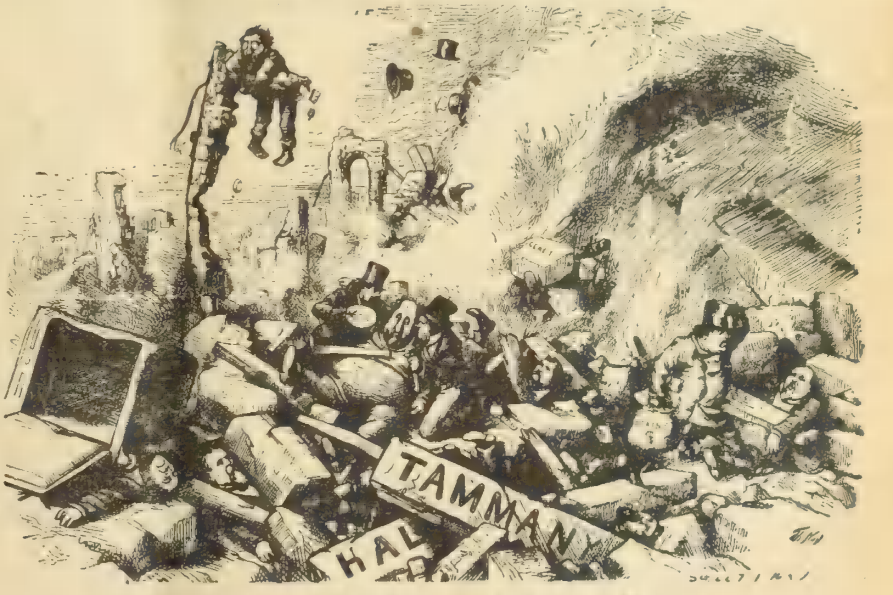
A STUDY of New York City's political experience during the past twenty years leads to these general conclusions:

First, if the mayor, the *primus candidatus*, does not wish to or cannot rely on a coalition for his support, he must create some other instrument or use one which someone else has created. LaGuardia used the A. L. P., launched in 1936 to attract independent labor votes to Roosevelt. By 1945 O'Dwyer had captured this party. After Sidney Hillman's death in 1946, the A. L. P. moved to the extreme left, and in 1948 it gave Wallace nearly half a million votes. But by 1952 it could only muster 63,136 votes for Hallinan. In the meantime it had ceased to be a factor in the Fusion movement. The role of the A. L. P. as stalwart opponent of Tammany Hall and champion of the New Deal was taken over in 1945 by the Liberal Party. It may be presumed that among those who vote the Liberal line are many workers, since labor leaders worked for its formation. The party apparently also contains a number of white-collar liberals of the type attracted by the leadership of A. A. Berle and George F. Counts. It is certainly identified with the philosophy of the Democratic Party and may be expected to serve the purpose once intrusted to the Fusion Party.

Unlike the C. F. P., however, the new Liberal Party will not be subordinated to the Republican organization. Its leading candidate in 1953 is the liberal Democrat, Rudolph Halley. The large vote obtained by Morris in 1945 and Impellitteri in 1950 through the use of *ad hoc* parties indicates that the importance of organized precinct workers in getting out the vote may have been overestimated. However, only Impellitteri has been elected mayor without such help, and he seems indisposed to repeat the experiment. Halley's nomination by the Liberal Party in 1951 and 1953 and the evident desire of all other candidates to have the backing of some political organization strongly indicate that this is the modern pattern.

The second conclusion to be drawn from New York City's experience is that the balance of power has swung away from the older ethnic and interest groups which formerly had a decisive voice in metropolitan politics. The Irish Catholics once held nearly all the elective and appointive offices in the city. The Italians won their first major office in 1933 with LaGuardia; in 1950 all the leading mayoralty candidates—Corsi, Pecora, Impellitteri—and the chairman of the A. L. P., Marcantonio, were Italian. Now with Lehman, Halley, Riegelman, and Javits the Jews are coming into their own.

Twenty years ago LaGuardia shared the vote of the young professional and business men with McKee and O'Brien;



The Collapse of New York City's Political Machine as Seen by Thomas Nast in 1871 he received most of the votes of the career women. By 1950 it was evident that the young voters of both parties and both sexes were for "Impy." Of the present contenders Halley appears to be the favorite of the young people, but not, of course, of those no-longer-young Republicans who once clustered around Dewey, Brownell, and Curran. The housewives, traditionally subservient to the interests of their social and economic class, now the mainstay of the "television party," are for Halley.

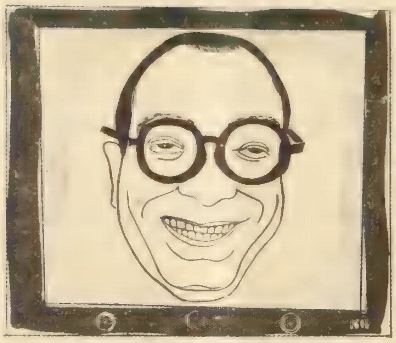
Thirdly, with the decline of the machine and the extinction of the Fusion Party, a new importance has been won by modern methods of communication. Old-time party organizations had innumerable ways of reaching the voter—party workers, police, petty functionaries, and the newspapers. When the newspapers showed signs of being uncooperative, LaGuardia turned to the radio. By 1950 television had become the most potent medium of communication.

SINCE THE weakening of the old instruments of control and the rise of television, the voters of New York City have been increasingly influenced by personal qualities and personalized techniques. Each candidate of any consequence has a well-defined personality. Rudolph Halley, who owed his election as Council president in 1951 to his renown as a crime investigator and television performer, has the qualifications which seem now to command the approval of the public. He is young; he is intelligent; he is honest; he is a Jew. He is a Democrat in national politics and an independent Liberal in local politics. He has already won a city-wide election. As president of the Council he has no administrative responsibilities; hence he has made no mistakes and no enemies. When Impellitteri said of him that "his votes were those of a man ambitious to be mayor," he was paying his colleague an unintentional compliment. Whether Halley should be able to meet expectations after he is elected mayor is another matter.

Impellitteri was elected as an independent, as a rebuke to the regular organization. A mayor who receives this kind of mandate must conduct his office according to what seem to be contradictory principles. He must appear to maintain full independence of politics and at the same time play politics for all he is worth. Only LaGuardia of all New York's mayors was able to do this; Impellitteri quite clearly has failed to duplicate his feat. Impellitteri has probably done as well as his famous predecessor in ceremony and showmanship, but he has never seemed to understand that this kind of behavior is of secondary importance.

It is interesting to note that of the leading Democratic candidates for mayor of New York not one is Irish. Wagner, the Tammany-Bronx candidate, is the mediocre son of a brilliant father to whose ideals he has tried to be loyal. Blaikie, the maverick Tammany district leader, strayed from regularity to support Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., and Impellitteri. He still likes young Roosevelt, but he is angry with the Mayor, and his candidacy is regarded as having too confused a motivation.

Of the men mentioned for the Republican nomination the best-known and the best-qualified was Robert Moses. It has been Moses's good fortune to have had continuous opportunities for public service, mostly as an appointive official. Once a candidate for governor, he has never been elected to any office, and this year he declined to run. Another good man given complimentary consideration by the Republicans was Jacob Javits, a Congressman of talent and independence. The final decision to choose Harold Riegelman was obviously based on the hope that he would be regarded as a "Fusion" Republican. His many years of service as counsel to the Citizens' Budget Commission will convince some people that the New York City Republicans esteem technical competence and non-partisanship over all else. Others will look on the acting postmaster as an advocate of the interests of the millionaire property-owners.



Rudolph Halley

The course of political development in New York does not run exactly parallel to that in other American cities, but it is not strikingly divergent. In the heyday of the political machine most of the large cities of the North—Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Chicago, Omaha—were bossed by Republicans, and the reform "party" consisted of independents and Democrats in coalition. In the few cities where the machine was Democratic, independents and Republicans formed the reform coalition. New York City was, of course, the example par excellence of this type. About twenty years ago the political loyalties of the voters in most large cities underwent a transformation. They became Democratic, and at the same time many of the state governments changed hands. The tendency was for the Republican element in Fusion, or the anti-machine organization, to decline and for a Democratic-oriented local party to replace it.

As the machine disappeared and reform movements lost vitality, the mayor's office attracted stronger personalities. Some were attacked for their policies or practices but not for being the tools of political bosses. LaGuardia, Bowron, Clark, Kennelly, Lawrence, D'Allesandro, Hynes, Newton, Holcombe, Humphrey, Wyatt, Burke, Di Salle, Green, Morrison: the list is imposing.

The form of the new good-government parties is not yet clear. Where the law permits or provides non-partisanship, the element of personal leadership is strong. Of the forty mayors in the forty largest cities, twenty-four are Democrats and only nine are Republicans; the ten largest cities have either Democratic or non-partisan mayors. Thus it is certain that the new reform parties will have a Democratic nucleus. While there is a tendency to honor men from new ethnic groups, the vast majority of all American mayors are of Anglo-Saxon stock. Next come the Irish and the Germans. Grossly underrepresented are the people of Scandinavian, Italian, Slavic, and Jewish descent. In New York the barrier against the Jews appears to be slowly breaking down, but some mysterious mathematical law operates so that gains made in one decade or in one area or for one group of offices are paid for by setbacks at other times and places.

MOROCCAN PUPPET SHOW

Strings Lead to Paris . . *by Claude Bourdet*

Paris

FOR years Morocco has been in the hands of a clique of powerful French settlers—owners of huge estates, of mines, and, recently, of industrial enterprises. These men have an extremely active "lobby," American style, in Paris. They have made and ousted high commissioners at will. Their chief instrument for the last seven years has been General Juin, now a marshal, himself born in North Africa, with all the racial prejudices and the ruthlessness of his kind. Juin was made High Commissioner in Morocco in 1947 when French politics under American influence were veering to the right. He remained there till he was transferred to NATO in 1952.

In various rightist circles Juin is looked upon as a possible "strong man" in an emergency—as De Gaulle used to be looked upon before the collapse of his party. A highly ambitious man, he considered that his one task in Morocco was to fight the Sultan, believing the Sultan the main obstacle to the French settlers' complete domination of North Africa. Possibly he also feared that the Sultan might be difficult to get around if Moroccan troops were needed for a coup d'état in France. To this end, with the help of a French capitalist press widely permeated by the colonialists' lobby, he built up the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui, a ninety-year-old brigand universally hated for his cruelty and extortions, into a kind of public figure as a "great lord of the Atlas," "a noble friend of France," and so on. He also fanned the ancient rivalry between the Sultan and the Pasha and encouraged the Pasha to attack the Sultan publicly. His efforts culminated in December, 1951, in an attempt to depose the Sultan which was only blocked by the pressure of international and French opinion on the French government.

The new High Commissioner, General Guillaume, appointed not quite a year ago, tried at first to apply a more liberal policy but quickly found himself at loggerheads with a large part of his administration, which is closely linked with the big colonials and remains in touch with its ex-boss, Juin. In December, 1952, the burly prefect of Casablanca, one of Juin's trusted agents, used a protest strike against the murder of the Tunisian labor leader, Hached, to engineer a wholesale slaughter of Moroccan workers. Guillaume's "weakness" was held responsible for the "riots."

The High Commissioner understood that he must fall in line with Juin or resign. Since then he has adopted Juin's policy in its entirety and visits Juin each time he comes to France. Last week a member of the government asked him, "Whom do you obey—the government or Marshal Juin?"

SINCE LAST January it has looked as if the settlers and Juin wanted a quick showdown with the Sultan, and were going to get it. There were many signs, in Morocco and even in France, of their growing confidence. When Juin, with the backing of certain again-powerful Vichy groups, was received into the Académie Française, an ancient and respected body of which he is as worthy to be a member as any "Colonel Blimp," he invited the Glaoui to the ceremony and reception, hailed him in his speech, and attacked bitterly his fellow-academician, the distinguished Catholic writer François Mauriac, for coming out in defense of the Moroccan people. For a time, however, French liberal and moderate conservative opinion, in conjunction with the government's fear of international complications, managed to prevent any overt move. Now, in midsummer, with French and international opinion off their guard and a reactionary government in power, the time to act had come.

Gathered around the Glaoui was a small group of two other pashas, out of twenty, and ten caids, out of a few hundred—these are provincial and tribal Moslem authorities. In addition, some three hundred puppets of little importance—local councilors nominated by the French, and the like—had been induced by bribery or threats to join the group, to make the thing look more important. This so-called "Marrakesh committee" was declared by French capitalist newspapers and by the state-controlled French news agency and radio to represent "true Moroccan opinion."

First it was allowed to "deprive" the Sultan of his religious powers—which it had about as much right to do as I, a Roman Catholic, to choose a new Pope—and to "elect" a new religious leader, Mohammed ben Arafa, a member of the Sultan's family known for his simple-mindedness and obedience to the French. Then the "Glaoui's supporters," small mercenary militias enjoying the protection of the French administration, started to march against the Sultan's capital, Rabat, while French troops, complete with tanks and armored cars, prevented any reaction of the panic-stricken population; all actual or potential leaders have been put in jail in the last months. The French forces surrounded the Sultan's palace to prevent his escape. General Guillaume consulted the Paris government—and "consulted" Juin.

The government orders seem to have been vague or, rather, ambiguous. On August 20, on account of the "pressure of the Glaoui's partisans"—pro-Glaoui warriors, only a few hundred according to the *Monde's* special correspondent, had camped with French permission around the pro-Sultan cities—and "to prevent civil war" Guillaume deported the Sultan by air to Corsica, breaking the 1912 treaty which pledges France to support and protect the Sultan. The next

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day the High Commissioner had the puppet ministers approve the new Sultan, and forced a number of religious authorities to indorse him.

Premier Laniel told an irate delegation of French Socialist deputies while the affair was under way: "I can't help it; it's another of Juin's tricks." The truth is that the North African colonials' lobby in Paris controls the votes of at least forty deputies, owners of North African businesses or obedient natives "elected" in sham elections. It can overturn any right government that does not obey its orders.

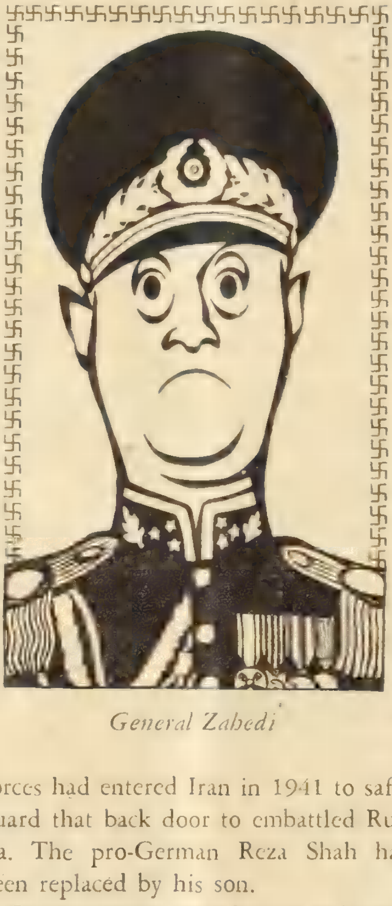
IRAN'S NEW STRONG MAN

Aura of Nazism . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

EVERYONE here was amazed that Dr. Mossadegh's tragi-comic portrayal of a nationalist with the qualities of a Gandhi and a Machiavelli had a two-year run on the Persian stage. British critics—and more recently the Americans—thought his performance horrible. But by playing to the Persian gallery, Dr. Mossadegh blocked all attempts to cut it short.

The weeping Prime Minister has now finally been replaced by a chest-thumping militarist who was watching from the right wing and awaiting the nod of the vacillating young occupant of the royal box. The hard-profiled General Zahedi will not play to the gallery and will get no applause from the left. He will seek the plaudits of the large feudal landowners, tribal chieftains, obscurantist religious leaders like Kashani, and reactionary generals like himself. He clearly models his performance on that of the military dictator who made him a general, Reza Shah, the father of the present monarch.


General Zahedi

The British public first heard about General Zahedi from Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean, now a Conservative M. P., who described his adventures in Iran in 1942 in a book called "Eastern Approaches." At that time Maclean was a heroic counter-intelligence kidnapper, and General Zahedi, then commander of the Persian forces at Isfahan, was a leading Nazi plotter. British and Russian forces had entered Iran in 1941 to safeguard that back door to embattled Russia. The pro-German Reza Shah had been replaced by his son.

German agents were known to be still active in southern Iran, and British counter-intelligence feared a rising of pro-Nazi Persian militarists like General Zahedi to coincide with a German offensive in the Soviet Caucasus and a German air-borne attack on the Allied Tenth Army. "Operation Pongo" was the British answer. A staff car flying the Union Jack drove openly up to General Zahedi's house. When the General came to the door, "he found himself," according to Maclean, "looking down the barrel of my Colt automatic." The General was smuggled out in the staff car with a gun in his ribs and flown off to Palestine.

Maclean wrote in his book: "General Zahedi, though pleasant to meet, was a really bad lot—a bitter enemy of the Allies, a man of unpleasant personal habits, and by virtue of his grain-hoarding activities a source of popular discontent and an obstacle to the efficient administration of South Persia."

AFTER THE Allies released him in 1945, General Zahedi became inspector of military forces in southern Iran, just in time to participate in the maneuver which gave the burgeoning Communist-led Tudeh Party its first setback. The Tudeh-led strike in the Abadan oil field in July, 1946, and the inclusion of three Tudeh ministers in the Qavam Cabinet in August, 1946, had frightened the British into counter-action along three lines. British troops were landed in Basra, the Iraqi port adjoining Abadan. The pro-British Iraqi government demanded the "return" of Khuzistan, the Persian province in which Abadan is located. And the tribes in southern Iran "spontaneously" threatened to revolt unless the Tudeh ministers were excluded from the Cabinet. General Zahedi, long an intimate of the tribal chieftains, acted as intermediary to persuade the very willing Qavam government to "capitulate" to this pressure.

In 1949 General Zahedi resumed the post of chief of the national police which he had held in 1931, a post rich in possibilities for furthering his ambition to become Prime Minister of an ultra-rightist government. But the more moderate and modern-minded General

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ANDREW ROTH, a contributing editor of The Nation, *has been living in London since he returned from a long stay in Tehran and other parts of the Middle East.*

Razmara also had his eye on the premiership, with the backing of the Shah and Britain, and got Zahedi replaced by his own man. The Shah then named Zahedi to the Senate.

THE GENERAL'S present starring role is the climax of two years of wily maneuvers off stage and on. When Dr. Mossadegh in May, 1951, formed the government which nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, General Zahedi participated as Minister of the Interior. At this stage Dr. Mossadegh was anxious to carry with him the Shah and his right-wing military supporters. Zahedi was dismissed from the government three months later when it was disclosed by British correspondents that he was being groomed to be Mossadegh's successor by the court and the British embassy.

Out of the government, General Zahedi became leader of the influential Retired Officers' Association, whose numbers mounted as Mossadegh purged the army of 200 right-wing senior officers considered sympathetic to the Shah and likely to be used by him to oust the Premier. When the wily Zahedi saw the Mossadegh-Kashani alliance weakening last autumn, he entered into negotiations with the Mullah. Mossadegh retaliated by announcing he had quashed a "foreign-aided plot which aimed to make General Zahedi Prime Minister." As a senator Zahedi was immune from arrest, and from the Senate floor he accused Mossadegh of political blackmail, rigging the elections, creating moral and material chaos, and deceiving the nation with hypocritical claims. Within a few days Mossadegh cut a senator's term of office from six to two years, thus ending Zahedi's immunity.

Events now suggested that an army-court coup was maturing. In mid-February the Bakhtiari tribes—the Shah's wife, Soraya, is half-Bakhtiari and half-German—started a minor revolt. At the end of February, Zahedi was arrested and accused of planning to set up a shadow Cabinet to take over from Mossadegh. Two days later many members of his Retired Officers' Association, in conjunction with Kashani's followers, led the demonstrations which persuaded the Shah to change his plans for leaving the country. Dr. Mossadegh, always fearful of an army coup in the name of the Shah, renewed his effort to eliminate the Shah as commander-in-chief.

Zahedi was barely out of prison when he was linked to the kidnapping, torture, and murder of the chief of police, Brigadier Afshartous, in April.

The Communists gave General Zahedi his chance to be Iran's "man on horseback." The Shah was becoming clearly impatient with Mossadegh's efforts to depose him, win control of the army, and set up a dictatorship. Mossadegh was losing popular support through his quarrel with Kashani and his failure to break the British blockade or halt the decline of Persian currency. The incident which convinced the Shah that he would have American and British support if he overthrew Mossadegh was the demonstration by the Tudeh Communists on July 21, the first anniversary of the death of agitators killed while protesting the July, 1952, dismissal of Mossadegh.

On August 14 the Shah signed the decree dismissing Dr. Mossadegh and appointing General Zahedi Premier. When Dr. Mossadegh did not immediately comply, the Shah fled temporarily, leaving the dirty work to General Zahedi. There was no one in Iran more suitable to undertake it.

DENT IN THE CROWN

Leftists Win in Guiana . . *by Samuel Boyea*

THE recent general election in British Guiana was a landslide for the four-year-old People's Progressive Party, which won eighteen of the twenty-four elective seats in the House of Assembly; the National Democratic Party got two and the Independents four. As established under the new constitution, which granted universal adult suffrage, the House of Assembly also includes three official members who are ministers in the Executive Council, one appointed from the State Council, and a speaker appointed by the governor, who presides.

The victory of the People's Progressive Party entitled it to ten ministerial positions, thereby creating a clear "left" majority in the policy-making Executive Council. The P. P. P. also has two seats on the nine-member State Council, the minority parties choosing one and the governor six. The governor has the "reserve" powers of the veto but is not expected to use them except in extreme cases. Since the opposition in the House consists of only three official and six elected members, the onus of acting as an opposition falls on the State Council.

The extent of the so-called "Communist" victory in British Guiana has led to the exchange of what one United States columnist called "frantic cables" between the American State Department and the British Foreign Office over the "surge of communism in the Caribbean—just across from the Panama Canal." While the election results may not represent a surge, it must be admitted that never before has a country this side of the Iron Curtain, and an "English-speaking" one at that, handed power in such definite terms to a political party labeled Communist. Before going into the reasons, let us see how "Commu-

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SAMUEL BOYEA, a free-lance writer, was formerly a newspaperman in British Guiana.

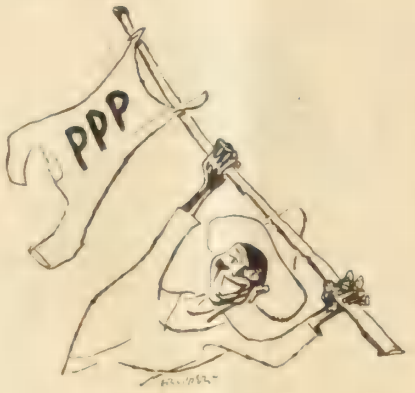
nist" the People's Progressive Party really is.

It is led by the shrewd, suave Hindu dentist Dr. Cheddi Jagan, who worked his way through Howard and Northwestern universities in the late thirties by selling ice-cream on summer nights on Harlem's Lenox Avenue and tailoring by day. Now thirty-seven, Dr. Jagan is one of the two avowed pro-Communists in the party; his wife Janet, a likable and brilliant American woman, is the other. The secretary and a co-founder of the P. P. P., Janet appears to be the brains behind the charming Cheddi. The party's official organ, *Thunder*, has unfailingly disputed any local aspersions on the "political freedoms" in the Soviet Union and has often equated the struggle of the Guiana "sugarcake" workers with Russia's efforts to establish "peace, progress, and prosperity."

Behind the Jagans and *Thunder* one finds a devoted and active group—the "fellow-travelers" so peculiar to West Indian politics who can at once serve "God, Marx, and the British Empire." The top man among these is the thirty-three-year-old highly successful Negro barrister Linden Forbes S. Burnham, now Minister of Education. After managing the P. P. P. election campaign Burnham was acclaimed as the architect of the party's new vote-getting approach, which can be summed up as: "What is a little Marxism between friends fighting for a common end?"

Others in the group are a Negro school teacher who wept at the "progress" he saw behind the Iron Curtain while visiting there with Dr. Jagan, a couple of wealthy East Indian landed proprietors, an Indian and a Negro sugar-estate hand, a Negro woman minister who wants to serve the Lord by serving the political needs of the people, a Negro scholar trained at government expense at Ruskin College, Oxford, and a Confucian Chinese justice of the peace.

HOW DID IT HAPPEN that this first general election under adult suffrage revolved around the Communist issue in a country that has never had a Communist Party and until recently was held under tight Crown-colony rule? How did the leftists win so convincingly in Guiana when in wild-eyed, loud-talking, Bustamente-bewitched Jamaica the People's Progressive Party "got religion" and purged its own Marxist members? The explanation lies partly in the fanatical fight of the press and the police to "crush the Communists" at the risk of violating the people's fundamental right to choose their own representatives. Arrayed against two of the shrewdest leftists in the Caribbean area, the press and police found themselves striking out against every measure beneficial to the people, simply because the so-called Communists advocated it. Police behavior also literally made martyrs of the Jagans. The Jagans themselves did not mind, for when they were forbidden to "trespass" on sugar estates, with their brittle backbone of discontented labor, the mere fact that Janet Jagan, white and alien, wanted to go there threw the country into an uproar. As one estate owner said, "white women in the tropics do not behave in this unseemly manner." The East Indian and Negro masses loved her for it and welcomed her to their homes.



When the press succeeded in provoking immigration legislation prohibiting certain types of visitors, the P. P. P. became the symbol of the torn shirt of the masses hoisted on a sturdy sugar cane. Shrewd Janet divided the opposition when she told the people "it is particularly obnoxious to have a law of this sort at a time when we're plugging for federation." West Indian federation was opposed by the press and incumbent legislature on the ground that it subverted British Guiana's manifest destiny, but it is of vital necessity to the economy of the area. The major problem in the area as a whole has always been overpopulation—too little land, too many people; British Guiana, as the only underpopulated region, could provide a solution.

The religious issue also backfired in the Jaganites' favor. Although the wise old Anglican Archbishop of the West Indies frankly told the people to vote for men and issues and forget party labels, the Jagans and the P. P. P. were attacked by sections of the church as "our godless enemies." The press chimed in that they were non-Christians. Since so many of the natives are Hindus, Moslems, and African "shakers" who hardly ever think of themselves as Christians, this call to the faith did not have much effect.

BUT THE DECISIVE factor in the P. P. P.'s victory was probably the Subversive Literature Control bill. Long deprived of adequate schooling, the people of British Guiana have a passionate regard for the printed word. A man amounts to something when he can read and write. So when a bill was introduced to keep out all literature inimical to the interests of Her Majesty and her subjects in British Guiana, the people rallied around the P. P. P., against which it was aimed. Passage of the bill was followed by the seizure of 6,000 pieces of Soviet literature and a few motion pictures of life behind the Iron Curtain owned by the Jagans.

But the Jagans grew in stature, and their opponents knew it. Some became lethargic; others waved the smear-brush desperately, claiming discovery of a family relationship between Janet Jagan (born Rosenberg) and Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, then under sentence of death for espionage.

Yet it must not be assumed that the People's Progressive Party owed its victory to the stupidity of its opponents. The P. P. P. had a positive program, the first item of which was land reform, a vital need in a monocultural society where sugar is king. Domestic wages and control of the foreign market through federation also got a good play. So did appointments of native sons to policy-making positions, pension rights, and social security.

The lesson to be learned from it all is that when well-intentioned patriots, even in an English-speaking country, make the mistake of labeling age-old freedoms as Communist issues and let so-called "Communist-led" groups advocate, propagate, and defend them, the voting goes against the patriots.

BOOKS

Economics Without Yawns

THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS. By Robert L. Heilbroner. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

MOST of the many attempts to popularize the dismal science of economics have proved dismal failures. Some of their authors have been poor economists, some of them poor writers, some of them both. Frequently they have been men with an ax to grind. Their primary purpose has not been to interest and instruct the reader in economics as a field of thought but to sell him a doctrinal bill of goods, to persuade him of the unique rightness of capitalism or communism, of the urgent need for some new monetary system, or, perhaps, of the necessity of abolishing money altogether.

Even "popular" treatises not so hampered by faults of style or matter have seldom proved best-sellers, for this is a subject which the average citizen is apt to regard as an unfathomable mystery. What writer on economics has not frequently been told: "Oh, no! I never read your articles. I couldn't possibly understand them. Economics is just Greek to me"—a confession, incidently, that may easily be accompanied by dogmatic judgments on economic questions.

Yet as Mr. Heilbroner says in his introduction, "a man who thinks that economics is only a matter for the professors forgets that this is the science that has sent men to the barricades. A man who has looked into an economics textbook and concluded that economics is boring is like a man who has read a primer on logistics and decided that the study of warfare must be dull."

Appalled by such attitudes, Mr. Heilbroner has bravely attempted to make this caviar among the intellectual disciplines a general dish. Quite possibly he will succeed, as he certainly deserves to. For although he occasionally falls into one of the traps that beset the path of the popularizer and talks down to his audience, for the most part he manages to combine instruction and entertainment without being flip. He has, moreover, thoroughly digested his material; he writes with clarity and wit and has a real gift for translating the technical language of the economists into plain English. Above all, he has no ax to grind. Readers will find here a fair discussion of the principal economic systems but no propaganda for any of them. A few factual errors call for correction: coal has never been mined in Cornwall; Henry Villard was the promoter of the Northern Pacific, not the Union Pacific.

MR. HEILBRONER'S approach to his subject is biographical and historical. He provides brief sketches of the great economists, whom he calls "the worldly philosophers" because "they sought to embrace in a scheme of philosophy the most worldly of all man's activities—his drive for wealth." Skilfully woven into the stories of their lives is an account of their ideas that stresses the contemporary context. Thus we see Adam Smith, absent-minded but acutely observant prophet of the free market, constructing a rationale for the competitive capitalism that in his day was just beginning its triumphant development. We see Parson Malthus, at a time when Britain's population was growing rapidly, when prices were rising and poverty spreading, asserting that population must steadily tend to outstrip the food supply until famine restores an equilibrium. We see Marx in exile, applying his scalpel to the body of capitalism, diagnosing its symptoms of decay, and prophesying its inevitable self-destruction. We see John Maynard Keynes, teacher, man of the world, financial wizard, and great public servant, puzzling over the prolongation of the great depression and concluding that there was no automatic pump to restart the flow of investment when economic activity sank to a low level and that priming action by government was necessary to avert disaster.

While there are many famous economists who are merely referred to in this book or not mentioned at all, the author has made a catholic selection. In addition to discussing the great system-makers, he gives us some account of the Utopians—Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier—who represented a passionate protest against the horrors of the Industrial Revolution and the gloomy fundamentalism of Malthus and Ricardo. He shows us how John Stuart Mill brought the economic debate from the pure mechanics of the market to the realm of ethics and free-will. A chapter on the late Victorian era points out that the academics, intent on reducing economics to mathematical formulas, ignored the amateurs and dissenters who saw much better than they the shape of things to come. This reviewer is particularly delighted to find in these pages recognition for that shy, thoughtful heretic John A. Hobson, whose study of economic imperialism was a work of seminal importance and who anticipated in part the Keynesian theory.

In his first chapter Mr. Heilbroner notes that for thousands of years society solved the problem of production for survival "by custom or command," leaving no scope for a science of economics. That science developed with the advent of the market system, in which "the lure of gain, not the pull of tradition or the whip of authority, steers each man to his task." That was the economic revolution, "the most important revolution, from the point of view of shaping modern society, that ever took place."

Has this revolution now run its course? That is the question posed but not answered conclusively in the final pages of this book. Mr. Heilbroner points out, however, that even in Europe and North America, the only segment of the globe where the market system has ever been permitted full play, people are no longer prepared to accept its dictates as conclusive. "The questions which face us in the future are not the purely economic ones of whether corporations will naturally grow larger or whether we will suffer from business cycles, but the moral ones of whether we will *let* corporations grow unchecked and whether we will *allow* business cycles to develop their

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KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation *and formerly its financial editor, is author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism."*

full momentum unchecked. . . . To the extent that this is true, to the extent that we no longer let the game of economics proceed unhindered to its natural outcome, we are going beyond the economic revolution."

This does not mean that economic forces will no longer play an important part in our lives. Even though conscious choice replaces in an increasing degree the impersonal guidance of the market, we still need to understand the economic consequences of our collective decisions. Any form of planned economy places a heavy responsibility on government, that is, ultimately, on all of us. Consequently, an intelligent grasp of economic problems and mechanisms ought to be part of the equipment of every voter. For his contribution toward the realization of this ideal, Mr. Heilbroner is to be warmly commended.

New Books in Brief

Reversed Roles

JAPAN AND AMERICA TODAY. By Edwin O. Reischauer and Others. Stanford. $3.

History, the deadpan muse, is the real editor of this collection of material emanating from a conference of Americans and Japanese under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations of Hawaii. The contributions include a study of "Potential Sources of Japanese-American Friction" by Edwin O. Reischauer; a complementing essay on "Bases of American-Japanese Cooperation" by William Henry Chamberlin, who deprecates Japanese neutralism; a State Department tabulation of "United States Relations with Japan, 1945-52"; economic discussions by J. Morden Murphy (a banker), Shogo Yamaguchi (an editor), and Jerome B. Cohen (a professor); and a condensed record of the discussions at the conference.

What emerges most clearly is that since the Japanese surrender, the MacArthur occupation, and the Korean war America and Japan have changed ends on the seesaw of power politics in Asia. In the 1930's even Japanese "moderates" held that the grand design of stability required China to submit to Japanese hegemony. They did not object to Chiang Kai-shek; what they did object to was his refusal to fight the Chinese Communists in a way that would have made him a subordinate ally of Japan. They thought that the expansion of capitalism and the containment of Russia would work best if America would invest in Japan, leaving Japan to create the operating agencies for developing raw materials and expanding trade on the mainland of Asia. They accepted the economics of armament as essential to the structure of Japan.

Today it is the Japanese who do not "believe that Chiang Kai-shek could provide the prestige necessary to cement divergent groups in an attempt to regain control [in China]." The idea of Japanese hegemony seems to have been replaced by a willingness to allow Asian nations to determine their own needs, and to offer them the goods and skills that Japan can supply for the filling of those needs. The idea that Japan can be used to determine the trends of economic and strategic development in Asia seems now to be more an American theory than a Japanese ambition. Certainly on the question of rearmament it is the Americans who are eager and the Japanese who are cautious.

As for investment in Japan, an American view here reflected is that American capital is entitled to the rewards of risk-taking, plus "government insurance" to eliminate risk. This view is not described as creeping socialism but as "a policy that would find considerable support" in the Eisenhower Administration.

Poetry Made Exciting

POETRY AND THE AGE. By Randall Jarrell. Knopf. $4.

Jarrell is one of the most exciting critics of poetry we have when he is talking about specific poets or poems. He is less useful when he goes on at the top of his voice about the impudence of critics, or assures you that if you disagree with an opinion you would boil your babies up for soap, or summons up the massed fire power of history, posterity, or the future to cover his strategic withdrawals. This collection of essays includes a brilliant and wonderfully balanced evaluation of Marianne Moore —with that classic line "Like the *Literary Digest,* she sent postcards to only the nicer animals"—as well as excellent analyses of Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Lowell (although not the earlier, better one that appeared in this magazine).

It also includes a good deal of intemperate polemic about the role of this or that and two jobs of special pleading, on Frost and Whitman, which try by selective quotation, belligerent assertions that poem after poem is "an immortal masterpiece," and assurances that Shakespeare and Dante would agree, to establish Frost in the canon as an American Hardy and Whitman as an American Hopkins; the most charitable judgment here would be the ancient Scottish verdict of "Not Proven." Jarrell's picturesque metaphors sometimes seize him in their talons and fly off with him, and he is more patient than readers will probably be with his weakness for what he calls "indignant exaggeration," but most of "Poetry and the Age" is nevertheless eloquent, just, and beautifully written, and even where Jarrell is most wrong-headed he can be a delight to read.

The Snail

The snail is the perfect solipsist:
For home, secretes his spiral past,
And since he likes the dark and damp,
Dwells inside without a lamp.

There the I is never free
Of its autobiography;
Comes outside his armor-plate
Only to feed and copulate.

At times puts forth his horns and
snout,
And then politely looks about;
But in a moment will withdraw
To misinterpret what he saw.

Lives as furtive as an elf,
Broods and dreams, cuckolds himself:
And from the slime left by the snail,
The sun contrives a silver trail.

SAMUEL YELLEN

Existentialist Solution

EXISTENTIALISM AND THE MODERN PREDICAMENT. By F. H. Heinemann. Harper. $3.50.

This professional review of the procession of existentialist philosophers makes it clear that existentialism is not a single philosophy but a series of different attitudes coined in a common attempt to solve the problems of the modern spiritual crisis. In a world where man feels cut off from nature by technology, cut off from God by science, and cut off from himself by neurosis, it becomes necessary for him to formulate his position anew. That is what the existentialists since Kierkegaard have tried, in widely varying ways, to do. Careful analysis reveals mystery and inconsistency in much of the speculation of Heidegger, Jaspers, Marcel, and other thinkers, but Professor Heinemann feels it necessary to take special precautions against Sartre, of whose attractions he seems well aware. However, his exposition of Sartre's philosophy is so clear, and compares so favorably in coherence with his treatment of other figures, that Sartre emerges as the hero of the book. In Sartre one at least finds an understandable connection between his paradoxical doctrines of nothingness and liberty in bondage and the experiences of the German occupation of France. If he is inadequate on logical and ethical grounds, similar objections, according to Professor Heinemann, can be made against other existentialists whose ideas do not have the challenging relevance of Sartre's. In a final chapter the author offers his own approach to modern problems. Man's distinguishing characteristic is his response to the universe rather than his existence in it, and an exploration of this faculty may serve as a key to the solution of his spiritual dilemmas.

Girl Under Water

LADY WITH A SPEAR. By Eugenie Clark. Harper. $3.50.

Under-water books are in rather large supply at the moment. This is one of the most enjoyable, partly because the obviously modest and intelligent author takes her unusual interests and adventures so much as a matter of course. A Saturday-afternoon visit to the old Aquarium at the Battery settled the course of her life. She kept tropical fish, graduated from Hunter College, studied at Woods Hole and the Scripps Institute, and so quite naturally found herself a little later first in the South Pacific, then at the Red Sea. Without either glamorizing or debunking she tells us a bit about some interesting research problems, rather more about fish, fishermen, and various underwater exploits in out-of-the-way places. It is all related very simply and directly by a young lady who manages to seem typically American in everything except her career.

Wilson and the British

THE ROAD TO SAFETY: A Study in Anglo-American Relations. By Sir Arthur Willert. Praeger. $3.50.

Washington correspondent for the London *Times* before, during, and after World War I, later a Foreign Office official particularly concerned in American affairs, the author of this book is admirably equipped to discuss relations between Britain and the United States. Primarily his concern is to throw light on those relations during the Wilsonian period, and in so doing he gives some vivid sketches of the men primarily involved—Woodrow Wilson, Colonel House, the British ambassador Sir Cecil Spring Rice, Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Arthur Balfour and others. But these portraits are subsidiary to an illuminating account of a little-known figure, Sir William Wiseman, who was sent to this country in 1915 to head the rudimentary British secret-service organization. Wiseman became friendly with Colonel House and through him with Wilson. Thus at a critical moment he was in a favorable position to serve as unofficial liaison between Washington and London, a role all the more important in that Spring Rice had made himself disliked by his outspoken comments on American neutrality.

It is not often that a case-hardened reviewer complains that a book is too short, but this one certainly errs on the side of brevity. Sir Arthur is clearly in a position to write a history of Anglo-American relations from 1914 to The Peace of Versailles. It is too bad he has contented himself with an extended footnote.

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Canadian Statesman

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE YOUNG POLITICIAN. By Donald Creighton. Houghton Mifflin. $7.50.

Although we are gradually becoming aware of the emergence of Canada as a stable, rich, and potent nation, there is still in the United States little interest in or understanding of its history. Thus the subject of this book, chief architect of the Dominion of Canada and its first Prime Minister, is probably hardly more than a name to most readers of *The Nation*. Yet his achievements entitle him to be ranked among the foremost statesmen of North America.

Unlike his great successors, Laurier and MacKenzie King, Macdonald was nominally a conservative; like them he was essentially a centrist, for only a moderate with a genius for compromise could hope to overcome the centrifugal forces of race and geography that in the middle of the last century threatened to destroy the several colonies of British North America. The climactic chapters of this book tell of the three-year struggle which ended in 1867 in the triumph of the unionists led by Macdonald. Professor Creighton of the University of Toronto tells this part of the story with considerable dramatic force. Unfortunately his earlier chapters, on Macdonald's gradual climb to prominence, are so overloaded with the minutiae of provincial politics that they are likely to repel the unprofessional reader.

Anna and the King Again

SIAMESE HAREM LIFE. By Anna H. Leonowens. Dutton. $3.75.

This is the Anna of "Anna and the King of Siam," and the book is a sort of supplement to her own "English Governess at the Siamese Court." The City of Veiled Women, inhabited only by the wives, concubines, and female relatives of the king, with their slaves and personal attendants, had a population of about 9,000 souls, all completely dependent on the royal whim. Mrs. Leonowens' book is a rather quaint garland of stories and vignettes illustrating the hazards and cruelties of life within this walled city.

Destruction Through Love

THE VIOLENT WEDDING. By Robert Lowry. Doubleday. $3.

A curious and gifted novel that falls squarely between serious fiction and entertainment. Mr. Lowry is a natural prose writer whose earlier work has drawn praise from Hemingway, Algren, and Saroyan, and the present story of a Negro boxer is immensely readable, and sometimes highly effective. The white heroine is a disenchanted Greenwich Village artist whose failure in love has destroyed her life. As a last desperate recourse she fixes on Paris "Baby" James to save herself, or more accurately to complete her destruction; to him, at the start, the love affair is a dubious and dangerous attraction.

The portrait of Paris and the scenes of boxing lore are first-rate; the fear, the resentment, the hostility of the Negro hero are nicely joined with the cunning and the dignity of a professional fighter. Even the heroine—a Faulknerian type at best—has her moments of conviction, warmth, and tragedy. The trouble is that beneath the attractive surface of the narrative, the real studies of depth psychology are omitted; Mr. Lowry's insights are all compressed into the dimensions of a dramatic "narrative." The result is a good story which is not quite convincing.

Tedious Pleasures

THE DESIRE AND THE PURSUIT OF THE WHOLE. By Frederick Rolfe, Baron Corvo. New Directions. $4.

Among the group of English eccentrics and decadents who contributed to the *Yellow Book* at the turn of the century, Frederick Rolfe, who yearned to be a priest and called himself Baron Corvo, still remains a puzzling figure. Just as his best book, "Hadrian the Seventh," dramatized his early years, the present volume describes his final exile in Venice, which he loved and clung to despite misery, poverty, and sickness. It is an interesting addition to the literature of oddity.

The central story is a romance of a disillusioned aristocrat (Rolfe's favorite pose) with a boyish girl—or a girlish boy—who is also a perfect servant, an adoring disciple, a rapt and mute audience for the master's wisdom and wit. (The comparison with Hemingway's "Across the River" is obvious.) One enjoys the verbal exuberance, the exotic learning, the richness of the abuse and invective which are applied to the surrounding, and altogether despicable, group of Rolfe's fellow-expatriates in the

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Italian scene. But in the end one feels that this world of private pleasure is too narrow, too narcissistic and infantile, and rather tedious. The aesthetic superman of Rolfe's fantasy—"the cleverest, tenderest, unhappiest, most dreadful of all men"—is really rather tame.

Whimsy as Allegory

THE TRAIN IN THE MEADOW. By Robert Nathan. Knopf. $2.75.

Mr. Nathan should really take himself in hand before it is too late. Or is it? The present opus is another whimsical satire about our parlous times. A train stops in a meadow which is anywhere (U. S. A.). On this train there are many modern *types*, or spirits who are being transported across the border into a land of mystery. The hero is an orphan boy who has no passport; the little heroine, aged twelve, surrenders hers in order to save him. The solution is love: O childlike love! O allegory!

Cain Running Down

GALATEA. By James M. Cain. Knopf. $3.

James Cain, who is a brilliant technician and can be a first-rate practitioner of the hard-boiled novel, is running down. The fact that the present setting is southern Maryland instead of California hardly makes the story less banal. The heroine, with a beautiful face and a grotesque body, is put on a diet by a prize fighter with a heart of gold. Imagine the complications when you add a jealous husband, foul play, brutality, blood. One yearns for Mr. Cain's authentic sadism.

Record Notes

Bach: Concerto No. 2 in E Major, for violin and orchestra; Francescatti with Szell and the Columbia Symphony (Columbia); expertly machined, pretty uninteresting.

Bartok: Contrasts for violin, clarinet, and piano; Szigeti, Bartok, and Goodman (Columbia); Mann, Drucker, and Hambro (Bartok); a fine piece, witty and inventive; the new performance seems more flexibly dramatic than the old Szigeti performance, and it is much better recorded, except for an occasional high-frequency resonance. (The Columbia record contains also Bartok's Rhapsody No. 1 for violin and piano and his Portrait, Op. 5, No. 1, for violin and orchestra—fairly interesting pieces, well played by Szigeti.)

Dance Suite; Solti and the London Philharmonic (London); entertaining music, well performed.

Folk Songs of Hungary, Vol. II; Chabay and Kozma (Bartok); a few beautiful pieces, well performed. (With some folk songs arranged by Kodaly.)

"For Children," Vol. I; Pressler (MGM); effective enough for their purpose, good performance.

Sonata for unaccompanied violin; Tworak (London); Mann (Bartok); a very beautiful slow movement, the rest not very rewarding; Mann's is by far the better performance, but Tworak's is better recorded.

Three Rondos, Sonatina, and 8 Pieces from "For Children"; Kabos (Bartok); attractive music, rather aggressively performed and recorded. (With Kodaly's Seven Piano Pieces, Op. 11.)

Beethoven: Sonatas for piano, Op. 27, Nos. 1 and 2, Op. 49, Nos. 1 and 2; Backhaus (London); spiritless performances.

Sonata for cello and piano, Op. 69; Feuermann and Hess (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise. (With Beethoven's Variations on "Bei Männern" and Reger's Suite for unaccompanied 'cello, Op. 131c, No. 1.)

String Quartet, Op. 131; Paganini Quartet (Victor); a fine performance, less powerful than the Budapest Quartet's but more beautiful-sounding.

Brahms: Violin Concerto; Spalding with Loibner and the Austrian Symphony (Remington); first movement well performed, the rest quite poor.

Debussy: String Quartet, Op. 10; Budapest Quartet (Columbia); an excellent dubbing of the superb old performance. (With Ravel's Quartet in F Major.)

Haydn: Concerto for 'cello and orchestra; Feuermann with Sargent and Symphony Orchestra (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise.

Symphonies No. 7 ("Le Midi") and 45 ("Farewell"); Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); good performances.

Mozart: Sonatas for piano four hands, K. 358 and 381; Vronsky and Babin (Columbia); charming pieces put through the Vronsky and Babin clockworks.

Prokofiev: Concerto No. 2 in G Minor for violin and orchestra; Francescatti with Mitropoulos and the New York Philharmonic (Columbia); a million-dollar performance with little interesting musical life.

Schubert: Sonata in A Minor ("Arpeggione"); Feuermann and Moore (Columbia); a dubbing of the fine old performance, with considerable surface noise.

Gregorian Chants: Mt. Angel Seminary Gregorian Choir, conducted by Nicholson (Gregorian Institute of America); crudely mannered singing, poor diction.

Of Gods and Demons: operatic selections by Wagner, Berlioz, Gounod, Boito, Moussorgsky, and Rubinstein; London, with Moralt and the Vienna Symphony, and Adler and the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra (Columbia); the solemn music is impressively sung, but the selections that ask for wit and grace come off quite heavily.

The Piano from Mozart to Bartok; Webster (Perspective); a routine piano recital; very noisy surfaces.

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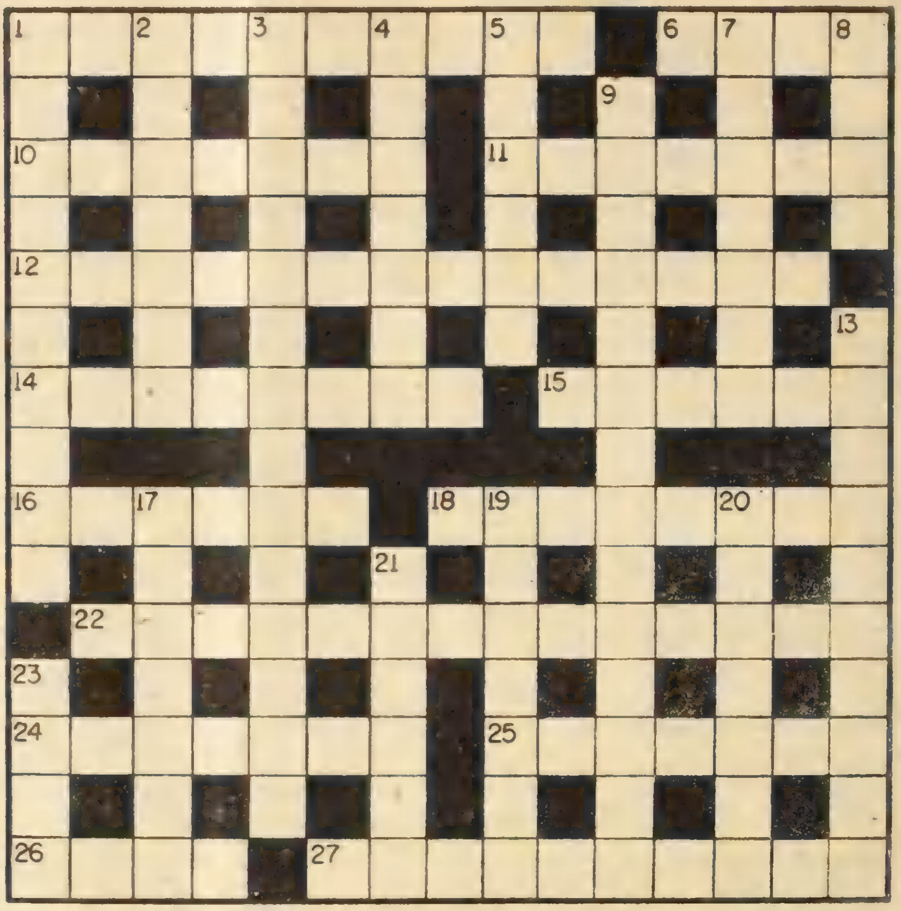
Crossword Puzzle No. 531

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Extremely porcine food for a big shot? (4-6)
6 See 23 down
10 Place where the sun god is either included or by himself? (7)
11 "The mysteries of this machine called Man! Oh the little that ________s it: poor creatures that we are!" Dickens, *The Chimes.* (7)
12 In a forward manner, before how we'd like to live? (14)
14 A low duet, as Robinhood and Friar Tuck were. (8)
15 Got the change for a quarter? (6)
16 Elia and I are both confused—it's a fine way to treat a body. (6)
18 Fix to dine? One who does should be 14! (6, 2)
22 Their members are sometimes in rather awkward shape! (14)
24 For the time being, before 6 it implies a piece is held vertically. (7)
25 There's something explosive about the Eternal City, in a way. (7)
26 Done like a knot, when untangled. (4)
27 Though they're common in operas, one might be strange on the stage. (10)

DOWN

1 In some sets, they permit one to be 2 without disturbing others. (10)
2 A united state of disorder. (7)
3 o? (8, 6)
4 No longer plentiful, for instance? (7)
5 Confine the command to quiet. (4, 2)
7 Tinkle? (7)
8 The way to check a trunk? (4)
9 What did Orwell imply was watched by it? The very idea! (7, 7)
13 Comes around to lay down as a principle, but made up of parts. (10)
17 The place to look for a novel denouement? (7)
19 It's demonstrative to sort of let a heraldic flower bloom. (7)
20 A sort of cat-tail? (7)
21 You might recognize such a person, if one came out of his trance! (6)
23 and 6 Well supplied with weapons, and ready to fight! (2, 2, 4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 530

ACROSS:—1 BULLETIN BOARD; 10 ANTONIO; 11 INTEGER; 12 CHERISHES; 13 PIECE; 16 CONFUSES; 19 BEGINNER; 20 CHASTE; 22 LULLS; 23 THROWBACK; 25 CUT-OUTS; 26 FORAGER; 27 GOLDEN WEDDING.

DOWN:—2 UNTIE; 3 LONG ISLAND SOUND; 4 TROPHY; 5 NAINSOOK; 6 ON TOP OF THE WORLD; 7 REGRESSES; 8 WATCH FOB; 9 and 14 FREE-FOR-ALL; 15 RIGOLETTO; 17 SPEAKERS; 18 JETTISON; 21 TRIFLE; 22 LUCK; 24 ARGON.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

(Continued from inside front cover)

of Hiss and Chambers as the blind man who, fondling the elephant's tail, was convinced he was dealing with a new species of snake. The Earl was a long way away, and, judging from Mr. Wright's review, his approach to the evidence varied from the purely legalistic, when it suited his purpose, to value judgments about the foolishness of honest men and the wickedness of fools, when such personalized reactions better suited his thesis.

Ira Wolfert's essay seemed more to the point, for he was considerably closer to the developing puzzle. And although his final reaction, like that of most of us, was probably as much the result of early emotional conditioning as of the weighing of cumulative evidence, at least he concocted a vivid psychological parable to buttress his opinion.

San Francisco RIDGELY CUMMINGS

Without a Scapegoat

Dear Sirs: Our country suddenly finds itself without a scapegoat. For more than a quarter of a century Joseph Stalin was the goat for our politicians and priests, Babbitt Club orators, professional spellbinders for chambers of commerce, and editorial pundits. These experts on Stalin sprang up like garden weeds. The members of the fraternity could tell us at any time what "Old Joe" was thinking of, what his intentions were, when he planned to attack us, and how many A-bombs he thought we had. His past "crimes" were aired in great detail with the usual confidence of the uninformed. He was frequently tried in absentia by our statesmen, and of course found guilty and properly sentenced—all in regular order except that the sentences were not executed.

It is difficult to know whether politicians or newspaper publishers are the greater losers from Stalin's passing. For many years the long-suffering American citizen has been obliged to witness our embryonic statesmen tearing their hair over Stalin and his communistic "aggressions." Millions of mare's nests of Communists have been unearthed. All were working under the immediate direction of "Old Joe"; all were plotting "violent overthrow" of our government. The fact that 99.9 per cent of American citizens have never seen a Communist out of captivity had no bearing on the activities of these spellbinders. If two candidates, usually lawyers, were running for Congress, each vigorously engaged in slaying Communist dragons, as the *only* issue, the discerning voter did not find it very easy to know which one of them could be expected to make the better statesman.

Now we find that Catholic Italy is half Communist, a situation not at all according to Hoyle, for we have spent many billions "saving" Italy from communism. Here is a people all educated in schools under complete control of the "only true church," blessed by the hierarchy of the "only true religion," with God's earthly representative living in their midst; yet half of them vote Communist!

With Stalin gone and more than half the world Communist, how are we to make statesmen from our raw material? With no "Old Joe" to execrate, and no Communist dragons to slay, we apparently are in for a dull, drab period. The "people," or at least that section of them which has been exposed to Christianity, must have a saint to love and a sinner to hate. With the deflation of MacArthur and the death of Joe, they are left with neither.

Yakima, Wash. IRA D. CARDIFF

Scholar and Communist?

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of July 18 a brief communication from Frederica Kirchner mentions "an eminent and respected [Danish] scholar who has been connected with the Communist Party."

Can you or any of your contributors give a plausible explanation of how an eminent and respected scholar, not yet behind the Iron Curtain, can support the Communist Party? I don't mean a Freudian explanation, in terms of childhood frustrations, or lust for power, or the like. I mean a common-sense explanation of why any artist or intellectual, presumably functioning as a normal, not too neurotic adult, would willingly surrender whatever freedom he can still enjoy in the Western world to that "tyranny over the mind of man" against which he should be just as hostile as Jefferson ever was. Or is communism in action *not* a tyranny over the mind of man?

New York MILTON KADISON

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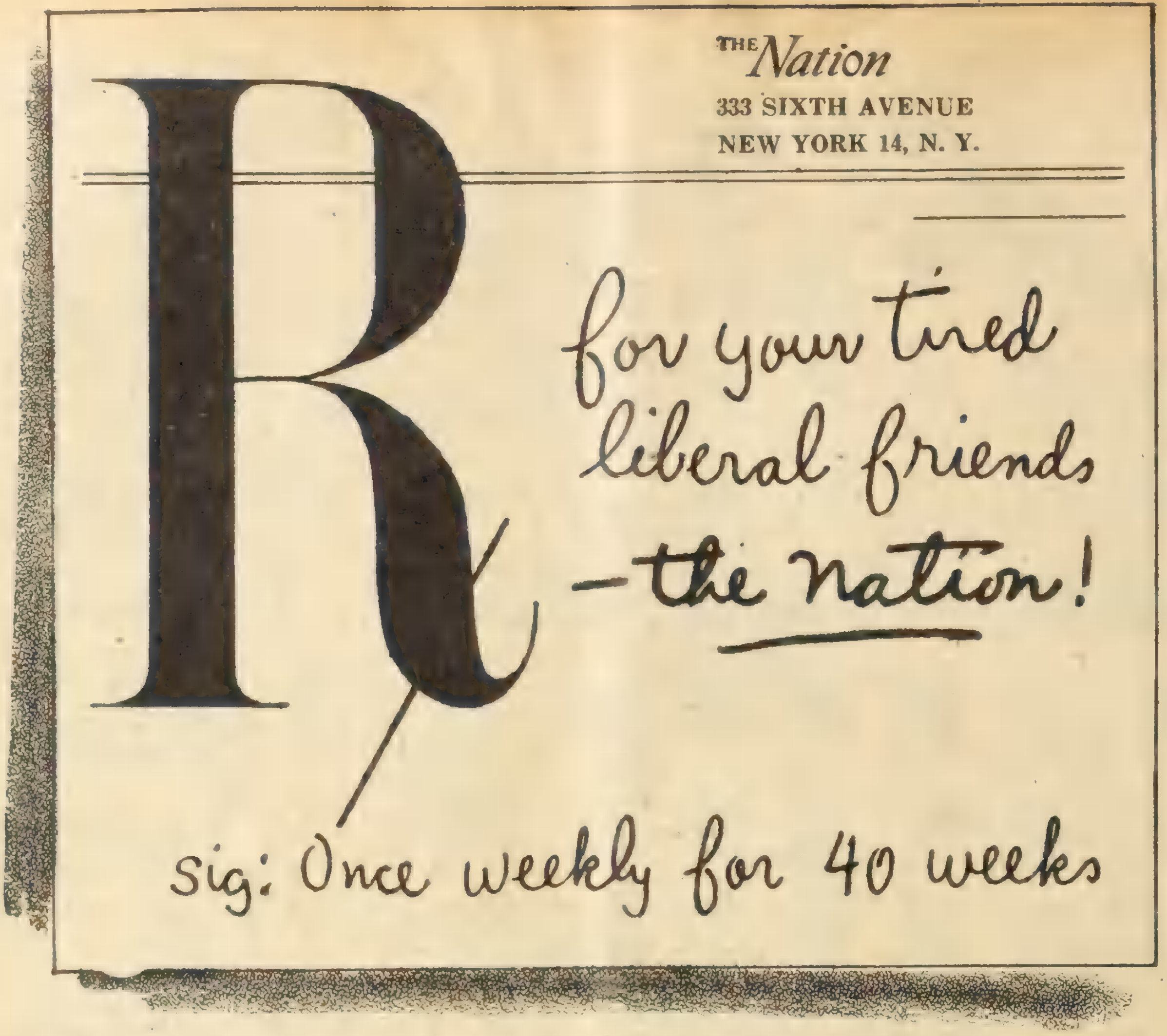
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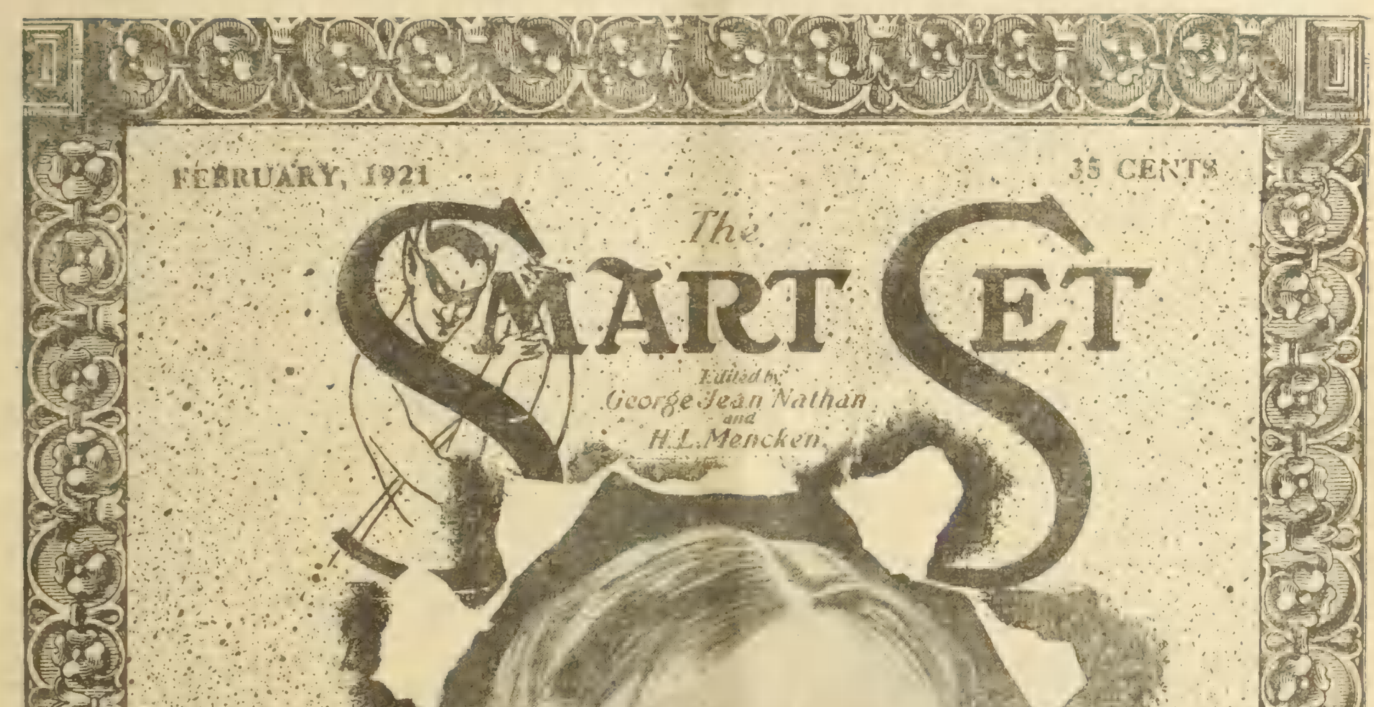
SEPTEMBER 12, 1953 20¢

Birthday Bouquets for H. L. Mencken by James Branch Cabell, William Manchester, H. L. Davis, Ruth Suckow, and Others


FEBRUARY, 1921
35 CENTS
The Smart Set
Edited by George Jean Nathan and H.L.Mencken
SG
H.L. Mencken

Letters

Letter from a Banker To John T. Flynn

[It is not often that a banker-merchant takes up the cudgels against the spokesmen of big business. Indeed, occurrences of this sort are so infrequent that we decided to preserve this one for the record. E. G. Shinner, who recently retired as chairman of the board of Chicago's South Shore National Bank, addressed this open letter via The Nation *to John T. Flynn, whose eloquent radio voice in behalf of reaction is heard in most of the large cities of the country. Mr. Shinner recently made it possible for the employees of E. G. Shinner and Company, a wholesale meat store with thirty-five outlets in three Middle Western states, to purchase the profitable business with their accumulated pension funds.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Mr. Flynn: I have just finished reading your broadcast, Series Z-159, which was sent me by a friend. He asked for my comment, and I am taking the liberty of putting it in the form of an open letter to you. For your remarks are widely circulated and deserve more than a private reply.

On several important points, I am sorry to say, you are either poorly informed or careless with your facts. You state, for example, that in 1938 unemployment was as high as it was when Roosevelt took office. This is an error to the extent of, roughly, four million.

You imply that the Roosevelt policies during the first six-year period did not improve the national economy. This, again is a misrepresentation. The national income for this period rose from thirty-nine billion dollars to seventy-two billion—no mean accomplishment in view of the utterly demoralized state of the country when F. D. R. took over. You go on to compare the cost of government in 1920 with the present cost and express great worry. Any comparison between these two periods without a detailed breakdown to show where, how, and why the increase came about is misleading and of no value. You might with equal logic get excited about the difference in the cost between the Mayflower and the Queen Mary.

You also imply that government financing should follow a pattern similar to that of the prudent financing of the affairs of an individual. Let us unwrap and explore this much used, abused, and fallacious line of reasoning. The life of a normal individual is divided into four distinct phases—a period of complete helplessness; a period of education, during which time he is usually dependent on others; a period of productivity which starts with modest earnings, rises to a peak during middle life, and then tapers off or ends abruptly; and finally a period of decline or senility—quite a different pattern from that of national development.

You are gravely concerned about the government debt, regarding it as a millstone around our necks. I have been saying for several years that the debt is not a millstone; it is, rather, a stabilizing factor in our economy. It is the flywheel on the generator, or any machine that depends for its efficiency upon constant and sustained speed. It stabilizes our interest rates; it provides a medium of sound investment for thousands of banks, fiduciary companies, and business men—both large and small.

About 40 per cent of the investment portfolios of all the banks in the country are in government bonds. No adequate substitute for these investments is at present available. The money to pay the interest on these bonds, of course, comes from general taxes, largely income taxes, and while the income-tax set-up may be far from perfect, it is still basically right; it taxes most heavily those who are best able to pay—a leveling process which has a salutary effect on our national economy.

I am not greatly worried about taxes for the reason that Uncle Sam shows no inclination to hoard money. The taxes gathered are immediately poured back into the economic mill stream and serve to make employment and prosperity for our people. My fondest hope is that we may maintain a degree of national prosperity that will permit us to bear an annual tax burden of sixty to seventy billion dollars indefinitely. If we can do that, the neon lights will continue to burn and the cash registers will continue to click in every town and village throughout this nation.

You also imply that during the last twenty years we have had nothing but trouble—economic trouble. My observation is that we are now, and have been for most of the past twenty years, enjoying greater national prosperity than has ever been experienced by any major nation.

Unfortunately, most of our commentators, editors, public officials, and economic foundations no longer make any attempt to examine the cause and effect of the violent changes that are taking place all over the world—changes in which we are playing a major role. In fact, they attack those who do try to apply common sense to such questions. This phobia for all ideas or expressions of a liberal nature has been carried to a point where a free and open discussion of the world's greatest problem—communism—is no longer possible.

In a recent journey through the Middle East, after talking to many people I came to the conclusion that the philosophy which you expound is having the effect of driving under the Russian umbrella every person and every nation with the slightest communistic leanings, thereby solidifying the opposition to us in the cold war. In other words, we lack a realistic approach to a world one-half of which is now communistically inclined or actually Communist.

While in Cairo I had an opportunity to become acquainted with and discuss the regime of Naguib. One of my newfound acquaintances owned a large tract of land in the Nile Valley. Naguib, it seems, is carrying out a program of expropriating these large holdings and selling the land in small tracts on deferred payments to the peasants (former share-croppers). He is paying the landlords on the basis of the real-estate tax which they have been paying over a period of years. Since most of these large landowners were close to the Farouk government, the tax per acre which they had been paying was much less than that paid by the small farmer; hence they have fared rather badly. Yet the fairness of the method was readily acknowledged by some of those most adversely affected, including my friend.

I note with interest that a similar program is being pursued in Guatemala; in this instance, by a leftist or at least a very liberal government. This must be extreme anathema to you and your followers, but to my thinking it is a much safer and more practical way of stopping the spread of Communist influence than the attempt to maintain the status quo throughout the world.

However much most of us hate communism, it is time we recognized the obvious—that communism cannot be destroyed by force alone.

Chicago, Ill. E. G. SHINNER

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Passing The Tariff Buck

It is no criticism of Mr. Lewis Douglas to say that his report to the President recommending lower tariffs and more American private investment abroad contains nothing very new. For at least thirty years the vast majority of economists have been arguing that the United States, as a creditor nation, must drop its traditional protectionism and make it possible for debtor nations to meet their obligations by selling goods to this country.

Similar advice has been given in recent years by groups headed by Gordon Gray and Daniel W. Bell but their reports are mouldering in the files while the tariffists go marching on. The President, with his party split in twain on the tariff issue, did not even wait to hear from Mr. Douglas before passing the buck to yet another commission headed by C. B. Randall, chairman of the Inland Steel Co.

The composition of this group suggests that at least a majority of its members will also report in favor of lower tariffs. But however loudly they may blow the free trade trumpets, the tariff walls will not come tumbling down unless President Eisenhower realizes that the time for investigations has passed and grasps the opportunity to give the country a sustained vigorous lead.

Whose U. N. Is It?

Last Tuesday the U. N.'s Administrative Tribunal declared illegal the dismissal of eleven American members of the secretariat who had refused to answer questions before a Congressional subcommittee. The tribunal ordered four of the eleven reinstated; the other seven, who did not want their jobs back, were awarded indemnities totaling $135,000. The verdict simply affirmed a principle that must be apparent to the most casual reader of the U. N. Charter and Staff Regulations: that is, that membership in any political party or the pleading of the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee does not in itself justify the dismissal of an international civil servant.

The sobriety of the tribunal's decision was in marked contrast with the furor it created. In Washington, Senator McCarthy insisted "those Commies can't go back" and said he would not stand for the payment of indemnities either. In that citadel of American liberties, the American Legion, then in convention at St. Louis, patriots tumbled over each other on the floor getting anti-U. N. resolutions passed. And in the U. N. itself James Wadsworth of the United States delegation whisked into Mr. Hammerskjold's office and had a long talk, no doubt about the hot weather. The result? Twenty-four hours after the tribunal had announced its decision the Secretary General declared that it would be "inadvisable" to reinstate the vindicated employees and that they would be paid indemnities instead.

The End Is Yet to Come

So the principle is upheld and the principals are sacrificed. Nor is this the end. Senator Jenner says he is going to "reopen" the cases to discover, among other things, what led the tribunal to its verdict! (Will he, we wonder, attempt to subpoena the members—four distinguished jurists from France, Belgium, Sweden, and Turkey?)

There is but one bright aspect to the situation. The U. N. has no money to pay indemnities; so the whole matter must be aired before the next session of the General Assembly. Perhaps the delegates, stung by the need to fork up hard-earned dollars for the purpose, will get angry enough to reclaim their organization from McCarthy and the State Department.

Going Our Way

The formation of the National Issues Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt "to refute manifestations of fear, confusion, frustration, and despair and to help keep America on the path of progress" is one of several recent indications that American liberals are beginning to understand the true dimensions of "the present danger" which we attempted to define in a series of editorials printed on June 6, 13, and 27. The new committee, non-partisan in composition, hopes to raise a fund of $100,000 for educational work; it does not propose to indorse candidates. The fund it proposes to raise is not large and should be quickly pledged. The makeup of the committee—it includes Oscar Chapman, Leon H. Keyserling, Telford Taylor, Walter P. Reuther, Alan Barth, Robert R. Nathan, Mary McLeod Bethune, and others—gives assurance of its political integrity.

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Stevenson's Opportunity

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON September 15 Adlai Stevenson will deliver from Chicago the most eagerly anticipated and possibly the most important speech of his career. During his absence much has happened. The Eisenhower Administration has shown its true colors, and the issues of the crucial 1954 Congressional campaign have begun to take form. While he was away, the Democrats in and out of Congress could plausibly contend that they had to mark time until his return; now that he is back they must demonstrate whether they are mice or men. Hence everyone, foe as well as friend, is eager to hear what Mr. Stevenson has to say.

The welcome home accorded Mr. Stevenson by the Dixiecrats and the right-wing Republicans is a measure of the importance of his leadership. The Dixiecrats manifested a lack of enthusiasm that soon passed from unfriendly silence to overt disapproval. Senator Holland of Florida declined an invitation to the Chicago gathering, while Governors Byrnes and Shivers have made it clear that Mr. Stevenson is not their favorite for the 1956 nomination.

The behavior of the right-wing Republicans has been even more significant. In his first press conference in New York on August 21, Mr. Stevenson had some tart comment for the "book-burnings, purges, and invasions of the executive responsibility" that have "obscured the bright image of America" abroad. The release of the Jenner subcommittee's report on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments" on August 24—it originally carried a release date of July 30—was clearly intended not only to undercut what Mr. Stevenson might have to say about McCarthyism but to warn him against making an issue of it in 1954. With a unanimity that suggests artful briefing, the right-wing columnists emphasized the fact that the report carries the signatures of the three Democratic members of the subcommittee (McCarran, Eastland, Johnston) and underscored the main conclusion—namely, that the Soviet conspiracy to "penetrate" the federal service has not yet been "fully exposed."

And then Attorney General Herbert Brownell carried the tactic a step farther by announcing that in some respects the internal "Communist menace" is more dangerous today than ever—despite fifteen years of intensive investigation by committees authorized and manned by Dixiecrat and Republican coalitionists, including a year's investigation by three committees staffed and headed by Republicans and aided by a Republican Administration and a greatly expanded Federal Bureau of Investigation. Clearly the intention behind all this is to warn Mr. Stevenson as the nominal head of the Democratic Party ("I never felt more titular," he assured European reporters) that "Reds in government" will once again be a major issue in the 1954 campaign. Just to drive the point home, the Republicans will follow Mr. Stevenson's talk with a program of their own originating in Chicago.

Elated by the response to all this ballyhoo, John O'Donnell reported in his column (September 2): "You can be certain that the former standard-bearer of the Fair Deal will make no attacks on McCarthy at his formal Chicago reception—and the same word has gone out to Truman." We have too much respect for Mr. Stevenson's courage to believe that he can be intimidated so easily, but there is an aspect of the war of nerves being waged against him that does concern us.

IS MR. STEVENSON, now that he is home, prepared to discard the role of special assistant to the President on foreign policy? "If Adlai E. Stevenson had been acting as official roving ambassador for President Eisenhower," reports William H. Stoneman of the Chicago *Daily News*, "he could hardly have done better or acted differently than he has on his current world trip." But a policy that Mr. Stevenson may have felt compelled to defend in New Delhi and London he does not have to defend in Chicago—unless, of course, he agrees with it. One cannot say for certain that he disagrees. After reading his speeches and listening to him, R. H. S. Crossman of the London *New Statesman and Nation* concluded that he criticizes Republican foreign policy only when it departs from the straight and narrow path of military containment, adding that Stevenson's "severe philosophy of anti-communism" inevitably breeds the very anti-Communist excesses of which he complains in Senator McCarthy.

But Mr. Stevenson cannot fail to have noticed that American policy is changing, nor can he have returned unmoved by what he heard and saw on his travels. It is understandable that he should have a high regard for the concept of a bipartisan foreign policy; after all, he served under Frank Knox in Roosevelt's win-the-war coalition Cabinet. But it is idle to talk of a "bipartisan" foreign policy when no one can define, with clarity or confidence, just what our policy is. When Walter Lippmann can write that "we are improvising from one predicament to the next," it is absurd to contend that all is well. Clearly the time has arrived for a thoroughgoing debate, not on peripheral issues or tactics, but on the meaning and direction of American policy. But we cannot have such a debate unless Mr. Stevenson chooses to initiate it.

It used to be a truism that a nation's foreign policy reflected, in no small measure, internal tensions and conflicts. We have developed a remarkable unwillingness to acknowledge the connection between our post-war foreign policy and our post-war economic problems, but the connection exists. The reason so many Europeans, and so many Asians too, are upset by McCarthyism is that they regard it, and quite rightly, as one of the keys to our foreign policy. Doubtless they exaggerate the danger of McCarthyism, but who would affirm that they are without justification in fearing the consequences should Senator McCarthy and the right-wing Republicans come to undisputed power in Washington?

On the other hand, those who deplore the influence of McCarthyism abroad can hardly be convincing, either in Europe or America, if they refuse to acknowledge the connection between McCarthyism and a certain tendency in our foreign policy which becomes more pronounced as McCarthy's power increases. Any number of Americans have recently come back from Europe to tell us that American prestige is at an all-time low. Lester Markel, Joseph Harsch, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and most recently, Mr. Stevenson, with variations in emphasis, have said substantially this. But while deploring McCarthyism, most of our returning travelers have had little to say in basic criticism of American policy. On the contrary, they tend to compound the confusion by taking up the cudgels against McCarthyism on the ground that it is creating a "bad impression" abroad. This type of criticism suggests that there is nothing basically at fault with American policy, that the trouble, if any, lies with Joe McCarthy. Yet the evidence mounts—in France and Italy, in the deterioration of Anglo-American relations, in the increasing isolation of the United States in the United Nations—that our foreign policy might benefit from vigorous criticism and debate.

WHEN HE SPEAKS in Chicago next Tuesday, Mr. Stevenson will have the undivided attention of a very large audience. He will be speaking to the nation and the world. Now is his chance to let the "bright image of America" break through the fogs of fear and ignorance. Let him call for an end to tactics of intimidation that most Americans condemn in "book-burning" but sanction when they are used as weapons by Congressional committees to coerce opinion and stifle debate. Let him demand that the First Amendment be respected by Congressmen as well as by other citizens. Let him call for a repudiation of entangling alliances with discredited dictators. Let him demand an American policy calculated to win friends and influence people—a policy based on the freest cultural exchange with all the peoples of the world. Let him challenge the "go-it-aloners" and the sappers of the United Nations to quit hiding behind dishonest slogans and untruths ("General Marshall lost China to the Reds") and state their real objectives. Above all, let him remember, as R. H. S. Crossman has reminded him, that while liberalism may have to take refuge under protective coloration in a period of reaction, it can only be revived by leaders who win adulation, "not by a non-partisan superiority to politics, but by a policy which transforms the political machine into an instrument of social change." Let him heed, and then use this opportunity to reject once and for all, Crossman's cynical appraisal: "The trouble about Mr. Stevenson is that, although he would have made a better Republican President than General Eisenhower, he was selected as a Democrat."

In 1952 Mr. Stevenson was handicapped by partisan commitments to a policy which he may have approved in principle if not in execution but which was still not *his* policy. Now he need no longer defend the decisions of 1946 and 1947; the burden rests on President Eisenhower to defend the disastrous Dulles-Rhee-Chiang policy. New times call for new policies. Stevenson can supply them if he will.

CHINA IN THE U. N.?

A Key to World Peace . . *by Edgar Snow*

A FEW weeks ago we might reasonably have assumed that serious consideration of Communist China's demand for a seat in the U. N. could be deferred until after a Korean peace settlement. Today that seems unlikely. Partly because of Mr. Dulles's curiously unsupple policy line, as read by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., before the General Assembly Political and Security Committee in August, Peking's claims for U. N. recognition have acquired an urgency which may make them a major issue here before the end of the year.

Looking over the situation on August 30, the New York *Times* reached the conclusion that we "are now faced with one of the most difficult periods in our history." That is no great exaggeration. Although Lodge managed, by use of the automatic Latin American vote, to block Indian participation in the Far Eastern conference, his "victory" in the Assembly committee was not merely temporary; its cost was grotesque in proportion to its negative value. It presented Mr. Vishinsky with the inestimable satisfaction of voting on the majority side together with the British Commonwealth, while only two of the fourteen nations allied with us in Korean combat supported Mr. Lodge.

Moreover, Communist China's counterproposals may be expected to take full advantage of this opportunity to divide the United States from its following by insisting on Indian—and possibly other Asian and Arab—representation. The issue could thus be forced to a second vote in the full Assembly this month, where the United States might be defeated. But an Assembly nomination of India, coming as a result of Anglo-Chinese-Russian (!) sponsorship, and after India has publicly committed itself to an enlarged conference covering major peace problems in Asia—Peking's right to sit in the U. N. being among the foremost—could present this Administration with a grave dilemma.

IT SEEMS incredible that the foreseeable risks were not considered before Lodge took an inflexible line which in itself magnified a relatively simple issue. Hence plenty of people are already convinced that top Republicans planned it that way. They think Dulles and even President Eisenhower basically agree with Republican Majority Leader Knowland and his well-known faith in "walk-out diplomacy"—in this case applied to the U. N. should Red China be squeezed in. I am not convinced of that, even though other speculation leads one to assume that the pedantic Secretary of State may very well not understand either the nature or the challenge of Russia's new "peace offensive" or the needs, hopes, and tempers of our allies.

China's place in the U. N. cannot of course be considered apart from its organic connection with Soviet diplomatic strategy; so it is useful to recall briefly the foundations of that strategy. These were laid down in Stalin's last "theses" on the international situation—formulations which, modified slightly by changing circumstances, continue to guide Malenkov's regime.

First, Stalin insisted, contradictions among the capitalist powers were deeper than those between his world and ours. Second, he saw a "disintegrating united world market," and profound capitalist crisis, with rivalries bound to erupt to fundamental disharmony. Third, the Soviet bloc is now strong enough not only to buy in "our" markets, but also to "dispose on the side of [some] surpluses" of its own, and thus accelerate the "disintegration" in the West. Fourth, Soviet policy should aim to and can, by combined economic and political-diplomatic offensives, divide and break down any anti-Communist combination of powers led by us.

Thus Russia seeks to "exploit the contradictions in the enemy camp," divert major wars—"inevitable," according to orthodox Stalinism—away from its own borders, and convert them into pack quarrels among the "imperialist jackals." Out of such conflicts may later emerge class war and further expansion of Soviet power, without Russia giving direct battle.

Except for the idiom, this theory is not new to Russia or to a Europe brought up on Machiavelli and *divida et impera* diplomacy. Nor is it unfamiliar in China, where *yung-yang ta-yang* ("use barbarians to beat barbarians") is the Eastern equivalent. Certainly such truisms about Soviet strategy cannot be news to Mr. Dulles either.

EDGAR SNOW, author of "Red Star over China" and other books, is an outstanding authority on the Far East.

Then why did he present Vishinsky with the Indian issue to use as a crowbar to pry apart the seams of Western unity?

Even if the narrow tactical reason for excluding India were valid, the practical aim could clearly have been accomplished in other ways. To mention but one: the whole matter could have been resolved, and on a reduced level, by United States sponsorship of both India and Pakistan. This would have compelled Britain to support both candidates and have obliged Russia to do likewise unless it wished to antagonize the Moslem vote. Thus we should have saved face all around, yet have secured a vote against any unwelcome Indian proposals at the conference and effectively canceled out Indian usefulness to "the other side."

THAT SOME such tactical maneuver was not employed must be explained not only by the doctrinaire mind of Mr. Dulles but by the strait-jacket of cold-war strategy itself, which continues to incase Administration thinking. That thinking has not caught up with the fact that the Soviet change of pace has already brought about a new international climate—which Krishna Menon aptly called a "post-armistice" atmosphere. The strictly military applications of containment philosophy no longer "contain" the yearnings of our allies for dynamic progress toward peace, based on realistic recognition of the de facto equilibrium which now actually prevails in the world balance of power, as proved by the Korean truce.

Also, in the U. N. there is a widespread feeling that Russia and China have learned the lesson of Korea and a suspicion that we have not. Nobody wants to see the U. N. dragged into bailing out Rhee from a quixotic attempt to conquer Korea, or supporting Dulles's unilateral agreements with him. Nobody wants to enlist with Senator Knowland and Chiang Kai-shek in fantastic adventures on the mainland. There is no noticeable enthusiasm for any other liberationist schemes which spell war. Nothing short of renewed naked Soviet aggression is likely to change the opinion which prevails nearly everywhere except in Washington that outstanding issues between East and West should now be submitted to negotiation—a course repugnant to dedicated cold-warriors.

Psychologically difficult as it is for some of us to accept all that, it nevertheless accounts for the sharp "decline" in "our prestige and moral influence" and in "faith in our judgment and our leadership" which Stevenson noted during his recent tour of friendly capitals. Now it is not enough for them that we merely wait for the Russians and Chinese and lately the Indians to propose, with the notion that the United States will always have a United Nations majority. Votes are getting out of control. It is necessary to do a great deal of proposing on our own—in packages offering dynamic alternative solutions to problems which block economic and political progress among non-Communist nations.

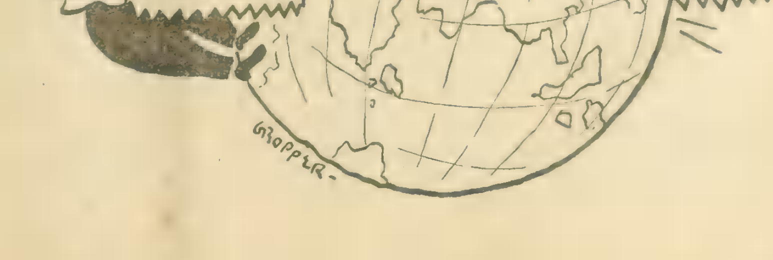
Obviously that cannot be done by walking out of the Far Eastern conference or the U. N. It can be done by patiently working with other democracies and by reconciling their legitimate needs with our own paramount national interest, security. It cannot be done by setting any arbitrary time-limits on negotiation, for after all what is a diplomat paid for but to outsit the other fellow? It can be done by strengthening the principle of negotiation as a method. It can be done by strengthening the U. N. as a center of world arbitration. It can be done by strengthening the U. N. as a center of organized economic and political planning for progress and peaceful alternatives, as well as of organized opposition to aggression. It can be done by demonstrating that the United States is no more afraid to compete with Red ideas in a world forum governed by democratic principles and law than it is to cope with Red insurrection and revolution outside of it.

IT IS against this background that the United States should now approach the question of China's seat in the U. N. Of course we must first of all ask ourselves whether a Chou En-lai over on the East River can offer us any new menace. If he can, then we have good reason for adamantly excluding him. To me the objection to China seems the same as that to the Russian empire being seated in the U. N.—that they represent about a third of the world opposed to us and our system. But there you have the very function of the U. N.: to bring antagonists together to seek a synthesis of sorts by peaceful means which otherwise will be attained by violence. The theory works only if the forces of both sides are fully represented.

Thus a Chou En-lai showing us his posterior from Peking and uttering slanderous statements or carrying out irresponsible or warlike actions against us is not necessarily *less* of a threat than the same infidel seated in full view of the U. N. and answerable to a body of world judgment.

As for the technical difficulties, they are less real than apparent. Even if Chou won entrance to the Security Council with veto power—certainly no early possibility—he would only be able to reinforce Vishinsky's *nyet*. And two vetoes do not make a majority, especially when they are two hands on the same arm. As for the Assembly, the Soviet minority there would only be strengthened by one. And not even that if meanwhile we insisted on the admission of another vote on our side.

There remains Formosa. Obviously the United States cannot agree to a decision to present the Communists with Formosa any more than it could be a party to presenting them with Hongkong



or other sovereign territory. Neither could we now permit Mao to conquer the island by force.

But there are always alternatives. If the Chinese show a disposition to make a fair peace in Korea, some pattern applicable to Taiwan (Formosa) may emerge from that. Meanwhile one rumored U. N. proposal is to seat both Mao's China and Chiang's China—alternately in the Council and jointly in the Assembly. Another suggestion calls for recognition of Chiang's government as a purely island republic. A third is for a U. N.-supervised plebiscite to determine whether the people of Formosa desire (1) to remain under Chiang Kai-shek, (2) to be annexed by Communist China, or (3) to form an independent democratic republic, with constitution-making and electoral machinery to be set up during a period of U. N. trusteeship.

Now, while all the foregoing thoughts are being ventilated among our allies, they do not mean that the United States is expected to rush out at once and reserve a suite for Chou En-lai at the Waldorf. They do mean that we must take something besides a purely static position on this and other Asian problems demanding settlement. If we wait until the China issue becomes acute and then follow Lodge's tactics of August we may suffer even graver moral-political defeats—always assuming, of course, that "reasonableness," to everyone but ourselves, continues to purr on "the other side." Our firmness may then be regarded as justification for other powers to seek a separate meeting ground with China and Russia. It will help the latter to "exploit the contradictions" on our side, whereas Mr. Dulles's aim should be just the opposite: to exploit those in the Communist camp.

•

HAVING LOOKED at arguments against admission of China, are there any possible benefits? I think there are.

Nationalism is still the strongest internal unifying force, as well as the strongest motivation behind external policies, in all countries of an Asia just emerging from colonial bondage. Their need for recognition as equals and their right to a first voice in Asian affairs are common bonds among China, India, Burma, and Indonesia, and indeed among all Asian nations. Our conflict with Chinese Red nationalist sentiments is as deep as the ideological cleavage. It is mainly in terms of such sentiments also that one can see embryonic contradictions between Peking and Moscow.

It is a mistake for United States policy to run counter to any legitimate Asian nationalist aspirations whenever it is at all possible to accommodate them without sacrifice. It is particularly a mistake to place all our emphasis on positions which seem to deny China's role as a great Asian power, and its right to internal unity and self-determination. It is a mistake to justify this by ideological differences and not to stress also the advantages to be gained by China, in terms of richer possibilities of a sovereign national development, through cooperating with other nations rather than remaining dependent on Russia alone.

Nascent contradictions do exist between Korea and China, between Vietminh and China, and between China and Russia. The Korean adventure has placed North Korea heavily in debt to both China and Russia. It has put China under very heavy obligations to the Kremlin. Moscow is not given to bestowing largess on anybody. Unquestionably it is exacting severe payments in economic, political, and military concessions in China—which no Chinese can fail inwardly to resent. But China gravely needs capital credits and machinery and deeply aspires to an independent heavy industry. Where else can it get them? If Mao Tse-tung now knew another answer, if it did not require any sacrifice of China's position as a major power, if the terms were much better than Russia is now granting, he might not be above reverting—after his education in Korea—to a little practice of *yung-yang tá-yang* against the Northern Barbarians.

Such arguments, which are supported by British and other European statesmen in favor of recognition, conclude that if and when serious differences do arise between Peking and Moscow, it would be much easier to discern and exploit them if China were in the U. N. There Chou En-lai, a far more important man in China than Vishinsky is in Russia, would also have a chance to see for himself "the other camp" about which Mao Tse-tung talks so much and knows nothing at first hand. He might even report some observations of fact "contradictory" to the second-hand information Peking now relies upon from Moscow. Great advantage might accrue from being able to address China directly, instead of letting Moscow serve as go-between. Not unaware of such risks, the Kremlin may be secretly just as concerned about the role Red China can play in the U. N. as Washington is.

SUCH HOPES are not to be counted on at all, of course, and the United States must act to counterbalance China *before* it is admitted. There are various positive ways of doing that. One is to consult with our allies and get them to insist upon the admission of Japan and/or Italy as a quid pro quo. Another would be to press for early revision of the U. N. Charter—either so as to enlarge the permanent Council membership to include India, or so as to eliminate the veto power entirely. Still another is to insist that neither of the "two Chinas" sit in as permament members of the Council until the status of Formosa is settled.

Aside from that, transition from cold war to "hot competition" implies that we induce France and Britain to speed up full independence in Indo-China and Malaya, and seek admission for them to the U. N. It implies that the United States take the lead in negotiating a German settlement coupled with concrete guaranties against German rearmament, and take the lead also in fresh proposals for atomic-energy and armament agreements. As part of a new approach implementing the much neglected make-democracy-work side of Kennan's containment thesis, the United States should place far more importance on constructive projects in the U. N. We should indeed make it the main agency for planned world development and for the extension of capital loans, economic, industrial, and technical help to all cooperative nations, in which our share should be no less generous than it has been in planning European defense.

In this way, in the long run, lies the best hope of proving to Karl Marx's disciples the errors of some of his more dogmatic prophecies.

In this way lies perhaps the only hope of "dividing China from Russia," or of bringing about "the break-up or gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Vienna Waltz

Zurich

AUSTRIAN diplomacy is showing itself to be subtle, realistic, and imaginative. Its task is not an easy one, for it has only a limited number of cards in its hand. It speaks for a small country, not to be compared in importance with its occupied partner, Germany, which in recent years has demanded and received better treatment from the United States than some of the official Western allies have enjoyed. In the continuing dispute between East and West, Austria's vital need—a peace treaty and the full restoration of its independence—is only a secondary issue.

This was again emphasized when Russia at the last minute turned down the West's invitation to attend another of the interminable conferences of deputy foreign ministers on the Austrian problem. The Soviet Union gave certain procedural objections as an excuse for its refusal, but the real reason was undoubtedly its unwillingness to talk about Austria except within the framework of the broader issue of Germany. Such talks, of course, could not be carried on to any purpose except at the meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers to which the world is looking forward.

Despite Austria's secondary role, one or the other of the great powers occasionally casts a glance in the direction of Austria, and then Austrian diplomats bestir themselves. A short time ago Russia decided to replace its generals in Austria with civilians and sent Mr. Ilychev to Vienna as high commissioner and ambassador. Of course the Raab government was delighted. It might be only a gesture, or it could signify that good relations with Austria seemed worth cultivating from the Soviet point of view. It turned out to be more than a gesture. Various controls were lifted; the Russians no longer required Austria to pay the costs of occupation, which had been a painful charge on its straitened treasury; and on August 11 Ambassador Ilychev informed Chancellor Raab that the Soviet authorities had decided to abolish censorship in the Russian zone. Allied diplomats in Vienna became nervous at once, fearing that these developments, like the tone of the two Soviet notes on Austria—one addressed to Vienna and the other to the three Western powers—represented an attempt by Moscow to entice Austria away from the Western camp.

The notes were genuinely conciliatory. Russia asked the Austrian government to withdraw its support for the draft treaty that the West had offered for discussion a year ago. In effect this was dealing directly with Vienna concerning a peace treaty; Moscow even began to treat the occupied country with a deference that the Russian generals had never shown to the preceding Figl ministry.

In a speech on August 16 Chancellor Raab voiced his satisfaction over the Russians' changed tone and declared he was ready to accept their conception of a neutral Austria removed from the game of world politics and maintaining armed forces merely to assure internal order. Apparently the remission of occupation costs and the new Soviet politeness outweighed in his mind the hostile reaction of Bonn and Washington to the Austrian-Russian flirtation.

BUT THE SOVIET note also warned Austria against the temptation to join the Atlantic coalition after it found itself free and independent. There was ground for this warning: some elements in the People's Party were attracted by the idea of taking advantage of the Trieste impasse and the enmity between Italy and Yugoslavia to make Austria instead of Italy the liaison between the European Defense Community and the Balkan nations. These people dreamed of a rebirth of the "Austria Mediatrix" which had served Europe so well during the Turkish era.

The choice for Vienna is between an adventurous and a realistic policy. The most intelligent Austrians, although they value the West's friendship, are unwilling to sacrifice the nation's first objective—the ending of the occupation—to any secondary considerations. Moreover, everything that is happening in Europe today, and in the United States, strengthens the position of those Austrian politicians who want to keep the road open to an accord with Russia. In Vienna as in the Scandinavian capitals—in all small countries—doubts are arising about the future of NATO. Its two main pillars, France and Italy, are seen to be shaken by serious social and political unrest. People ask whether the appointment of Admiral Radford as head of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff and of Senator Knowland as Senate floor leader will not bring renewed emphasis on the "Asia First" policy urged by the Republicans during the election campaign. This, they feel, is not the moment to turn a cold shoulder to Moscow.

SO VIENNA continues to try to obtain from Moscow economic advantages similar to those which the Russians recently granted the East Germans. The Socialist *Arbeiter Zeitung* thinks the Russians should at least return certain properties seized as reparations, as they have promised to do in East Germany. The newspaper suggests that, to facilitate the deal, there should be a development of trade between Austria and the countries of Eastern Europe.

All of this confirms the belief that Austrian diplomacy has turned to the realistic approach. If it is true that Russia will be willing to keep four-power negotiations going until next summer at least before making any drastic decisions of its own, Vienna will have time to reap any advantage that seems to be offered by the connection between the Austrian and the German problem. Vienna hopes to see both Russia and the West finally get away from diplomacy by correspondence and return to diplomacy by conference.

WHO'LL GIVE A DAM

For Public Power? . . *by Barrow Lyons*

Washington

THE new power policy of the Eisenhower Administration as announced last month will have at least one certain result: electric-power rates in most parts of the country will be increased. Rising costs will be the excuse, but the real reason will be that government competition as a means of holding rates within reasonable limits is on the way out. The pressure of "yardstick" low-cost operations like those of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Bonneville Power Administration will certainly be lessened. And where rates are far too high, as in New England, it can no longer be hoped that they will be reduced by pressures generated by low-cost power from the St. Lawrence River, or elsewhere.

The results can be roughly calculated in dollars. Annual revenues of privately owned Class A and B utilities from the sale of electricity are now about six billion dollars. A modest 5 per cent increase would mean adding around $300,000,000 a year to consumers' bills. The net gain to the utilities from the new policy could be several times 5 per cent, but an average gain of only 5 per cent for the four years of the Administration would certainly be worth while, even after reasonable contributions had been made to the 1954 campaigns of amenable Representatives and Senators and the chosen Presidential candidate in 1956.

Electricity consumers will not be the only ones to suffer. It is expected that many electric cooperatives sponsored by the Rural Electrification Administration will be squeezed to the wall, that publicly owned municipal distribution systems will be hurt, that public-utility districts which have depended on low-cost government power will be in a tight spot. The ultimate results will be a slowing down of industrial expansion, delay in coordinated river-basin development, and the demoralization of our American democratic system through the increased authority of private-utility executives in the government.

BARROW LYONS was formerly an economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Last month's power statement is curiously misleading; it reads almost like a reiteration of New Deal principles. The government, it declares, will continue to build great multi-purpose dams for comprehensive development of natural resources, preference in distribution of electric energy from these dams will continue to be given to public bodies and cooperatives, transmission lines between government generating stations will continue to be constructed. Only when interpreted in the light of statements by responsible officials and their actions over the past half-year does its real import become clear.

The evasive nature of the statement was recognized immediately by that staunch defender of free enterprise the *Wall Street Journal*, and clarification was demanded. "When it comes to tell how the Truman policy is to be changed," said an editorial, "the document becomes obscure, and parts of it are expressed in loose generalities which must evoke the admiration of devoted New Dealers. It affords only faint clues to the extent to which or the direction in which the Eisenhower power policy is to depart from that of the arch-advocate of federal electric power, Harry S. Truman." Then the financial journal found the chief clue to the statement's intent in this sentence: "It is recognized that the primary responsibility for supplying power needs of an area rests with the people locally."

Here was something new to ponder. Columnist Lowell Mellet commented pungently: "Local is the word, and you are going to hear a lot more of it in the days to come. . . . So the picture is offered of local folks getting together, pooling their financial resources, organizing a power company and setting up in business, unopposed by the powerful government in Washington."

But patently the statement cannot mean that, for that was the policy of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Under the Democrats more public-utility districts were organized in the West than ever before, almost a thousand R. E. A. electric cooperatives sprang up throughout the country, and municipalities were encouraged to own their generating and distribution systems. Surely the new Administration would not be guilty of such flagrant "creeping socialism."

What those who must administer the new policy have said is more illuminating. According to the Washington *Post*, Ralph A. Tudor, Under Secretary of the Interior, in an interview with the reporters to whom he handed the policy statement, emphasized that the effort will be "to take the government out of business" in accordance with Eisenhower campaign pledges. That makes more sense.

THE ROOSEVELT Administration got itself into the power business with both feet by building dams and generators in various localities where cheap water power could be developed. There was never any threat of taking over the private utilities in a large way—the proportion of water power to all power produced will continue to decline.

But government power projects did show what efficient production and sale at cost might mean. (As a matter of fact, public-power rates in the West, although consistently below the rates of private companies, have carried the burden of the cost of the connected irrigation projects.) At first the private companies were dismayed, but the example of the government inspired many financially rotten and technically backward private companies to bestir themselves. They began to improve service, and they discovered that lower rates so increased the use of electric energy that gross revenues actually rose, and brought greater net profits, too. Where they had found it "impossible" to serve sparsely settled farming areas, they began to stretch lines far into the countryside—sometimes just "spite lines" to prevent the organization of R. E. A. cooperatives. They suddenly began to be able to effect sharp reductions in costs by introducing technical operating efficiencies, cleaning up their financial structures, and revising accounting and rate practices. Publication by the Federal Power Commission of comparative rates in various localities enlightened the citizens, and where rates were exorbitantly high, public resentment did the rest—except in a few places. Now this kind of pressure is being removed.

PENDING in federal offices are contracts to deliver power from federal dams to many private utilities. The terms of these contracts favor the private companies as against the R. E. A. cooperatives and municipally owned systems as they never have done in the past. There will be great insistence that they be signed quickly, and they run for many years. The devices by which the proportion of power going to the public bodies and cooperatives will be progressively cut down are too intricate to be discussed here. They will effectively handicap many public systems and cooperatives and drastically limit their ability to meet future demands, which is what the utilities have been scheming to bring about for many years. The local enterprises to be fostered are clearly the private power companies. Yet nobody would gather that this was the case from reading the high-sounding policy statement unless he knew all the gimmicks.

Assistant Secretary of the Interior Fred G. Aandahl said of the new policy: "We should get cheaper power if it is handled locally. . . . I am sure we will see a major expansion program by local areas almost immediately." Was he telling the public that the private power companies plan to sell power to municipalities and cooperatives from 40 to 35 per cent more cheaply than at present? The Pacific Gas and Electric Company prevented just such a reduction in rates by opposing the Bureau of Reclamation's construction of transmission lines from Shasta dam through the Central Valley of California. Perhaps P. G. and E. just wanted the credit of putting into effect such drastic cuts itself, without having its hand forced by the government.

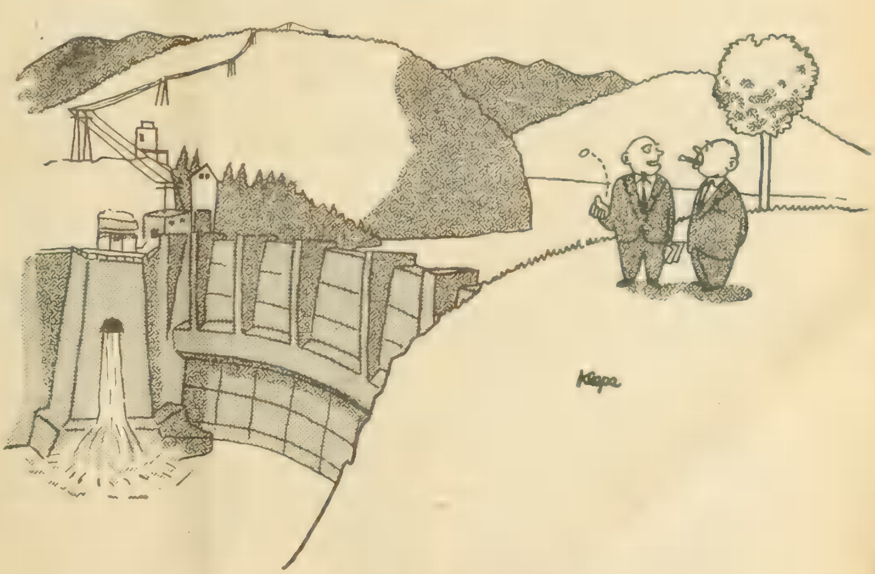
Did Secretary of the Interior McKay think the Idaho Power Company would do something similar in the Northwest when he withdrew his opposition to the company's proposal to build three low, run-of-the-river dams in the Snake River near the Hell's Canyon site? Or did he imagine—to paraphrase the famous statement of Secretary of Defense Charles Ek Wilson—that "what's good for the Idaho Power Company is good for the nation." The battle between public and private power at Hell's Canyon will be resumed September 21 before the Federal Power Commission.

Eisenhower himself told reporters: "I fully approve of this policy, and the various Cabinet officers and agency heads who are directly concerned have expressed, after careful review of the problem, their full agreement. It is my hope and considered belief that, translated into action, this policy will serve the best interests of the people of the United States." The President emphasized, it will be noted, that the policy must be "translated into action." There is a paradox here, for the new policy is primarily one of inaction: the government must not do this and must not do that. The things which the government *should* do to aid local citizen groups and control utility monopolies were left out of the statement. The only action promised is that the government will permit the private utilities to step into its place as the guardian of the public interest.

Protest against the new policy came almost immediately from the International Association of Machinists. Higher power rates are likely to mean fewer jobs in sections where low-cost power would bring new industries.

THE REPUBLICAN power policy was spelled out much more clearly than in the Administration statement by the report of the House Appropriations Committee on Interior Department appropriations for fiscal 1954. The report said: "The Interior Department should be concerned with only those functions or activities which private enterprise cannot or will not undertake. . . . With respect to construction activities, essential and completely justified projects in the construction stage shall be carried to completion to avoid waste of federal funds, but wherever possible, private enterprise shall be taken into partnership to build, own, and operate that part of each project that can be handled by private ownership." This means that the private utilities will become the preferred customers instead of cooperatives and public bodies. It might even mean that in the future the private companies will build the generating plants connected with government dams. They could show their appreciation of the favor by their campaign contributions.

The construction of power plants at government dams by private companies was actually proposed by Representative George A. Dondero, Michigan Repub-



"I'll Flip You for It"

lican, when he introduced a bill in the Eightieth Congress to permit the George Power Company to build a power house at the Clark Hill dam on the Savannah River. This would have amounted to surrender of more than $2,000,000 a year in net power revenues. Not even the Eightieth Congress was willing to report such a bill out of committee; but times have changed.

In claiming that the new policy will stimulate local responsibility, meaning activity by private power companies, the Administration has overlooked an important fact. Most of the large, integrated utility systems are not controlled locally, and are owned locally only to a limited degree. Control is in the great financial centers, mostly of the East.

Few newspapers took seriously the declaration of support for comprehensive river-basin development. Few believed the statement meant what it said when it asserted: "The Department [of the Interior] will particularly emphasize those multi-purpose projects with hydro-electric developments which, because of size or complexity, are beyond the means of local, public, or private enterprises. . . . The responsibility of the department is to give leadership and assistance in the conservation and wise use of natural resources." Just what "leadership and assistance in the conservation of natural resources" can mean in connection with the Republican "give-away" program in many fields is hard to figure. Perhaps semantic experts of the Administration should coin new definitions for old words and phrases. The word "local" might come in time to mean just one locality—Wall Street.

BOUQUETS FOR MENCKEN

IT IS not often that The Nation, *preoccupied with the unmitigated morbidity of world affairs, takes time off to prepare a birthday bouquet. But Saturday September 12, the date of this issue,- happens to be the birthday of H. L. Mencken, who honored* The Nation *by serving as contributing editor from 1921 to 1932. The coincidence of the dates—a birthday for Mencken, another issue for us—was discovered more or less by accident. On an excessively muggy Saturday morning this past summer I was contemplating a stack of manuscripts on my desk, and wondering for the hundredth time how Mencken, who used to read more manuscripts in a week than I read in a month, had been able to dispose of them—yes or no, never maybe—with such incredible dispatch. For a moment I was tempted to write and ask him for the formula, but remembering his long illness, I canceled the notion and made a note to send him a birthday greeting. Reflecting further on the date, I pushed aside the basket of manuscripts and began to dash off letters to a number of writers who had had the opportunity, as I had, to know and admire Mencken as an editor. Doubtless there are many more who would have been eager to pay him tribute, but a selection had to be made. Here, then, Mr. Mencken, is a birthday remembrance which goes to you with the best wishes of those of us, your former contributors, who will always think of you as the incomparable editor.*

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

WILLIAM MANCHESTER

Author of "Disturber of the Peace," a biography of H. L. Mencken

HE HAS finished cementing the opening notes of the Fifth Symphony under the tiny concrete bust of Beethoven set in his back-yard wall, and if you peer over the old pony shed—it stands where it stood in "Happy Days"—you can see him resting under a lattice, savoring his favorite summer drink of gin, ginger beer, and lime. It is September 12, a twin anniversary in Baltimore—Defenders' Day, honoring the Battle of North Point, where the British were turned back in the War of 1812, and Henry Louis Mencken's seventy-third birthday. In past years, when the chunky old man under the trellis was well and active, the memory of the Defenders was honored with torchlight parades, and he delighted in telling visiting friends the processions were in his honor.

The yard is worth examining, for it is as hallowed, to bibliophiles, as North Point is to patriots. Here Dreiser paced as Mencken edited vast chunks from "The Genius." Here councils of war were held over the suppression of Cabell's "Jurgen" and the Watch and Ward Society's banning of the *American Mercury*. Here, for a quarter-century, established writers made pilgrimages and the unestablished sent hopeful parcels. Above the lattice is the window where a younger Mencken, pondering the early manuscripts of Joyce, peered out through a cloud of cigar smoke; downstairs, in the quiet drawing-room, is the high, old-fashioned secretary where a still younger Mencken discovered his father's new copy of "Huckleberry Finn" and passed his first enthusiastic critical judgment.

How long ago it must seem to him! And how much has happened since! The battered old portable in the upstairs study, now retired, clattered out lexicography, dogma, and memoirs for nearly two decades after criticism and editing had been put aside, and an aging generation knows him only as a nostalgic pundit. Since his retirement from the *Mercury* eighteen years ago he has done no magazine editing, and his interest in literature dissolved in the great depression. In his library is an author's copy of "Tender Is the Night," with a pathetic note from Fitzgerald begging him to read it and support him against the howling critics. The pages are still uncut.

The moving hand shifted direction, and wrote on. But it could not strike out what had been once set down, and the files of the *Mercury* and the older *Smart Set* clearly testify to the eloquence and persistence of Mencken's call for freedom from the old restraints at a crucial moment in the history of American literature. It was a call not always understood; in the war for literary independence sides became confused; Mencken was wrongly identified with the avant-garde, for he was merely a staunch Old Guardsman who loved liberty more than he admired Henry Cabot Lodge, who hated cant more than free verse. But hypocrisy and suppression were the enemies of all honest artists then, and in the struggle against them he performed heroic service. In the critical hour he became, as young Edmund Wilson, Jr., wrote in the *New Republic,* the conscience of America.

He became more. To the rising generation which found its ultimate spokesman in Wilson, he was the established editor vitally interested in publishing young writers of competence, whatever their credos. It was Mencken's great editorial accomplishment that despite the rigidity of his own mind he always respected ability and nearly always recognized it. The recognition of talent is itself no small gift. In 1908, when he assumed the part-time post of literary critic of the *Smart Set,* "with the rank and pay of a sergeant of artillery," it was almost unique. In retrospect, the accuracy and range of those monthly analyses, reviewing upward of fifty books a month, is extraordinary. An unknown Virginian wrote "Cords of Vanity": James Branch Cabell was plucked from that month's horde. An expatriate published his first book: Ezra Pound's poetry was acclaimed. A huge batch of first novels arrived from the detective cult: Mary Roberts Rinehart alone was marked for survival. Dreiser at last found a champion, and the banners of realism, furled since the 1890's, flapped angrily again.

The Menckenian touch was extended throughout the magazine in 1914, when he and George Jean Nathan, the dramatic critic, became co-editors. It is doubtful that any critic has influenced his followers more profoundly than Mencken did in the period that followed. He searched their talents, chose a direction for them, and bade them follow it. And they did; there is a letter from Sinclair Lewis, written while "Babbitt" was in preparation, attributing the entire design of the book to a suggestion in Mencken's review of "Main Street." It was in these years that the Mencken-Nathan partnership contributed enduringly to American letters, that Fitzgerald, Eugene O'Neill, and Ruth Suckow were discovered, and that the *Smart Set* became a rallying point for young writers. The editors' knack for identifying genuine achievement among prospective contributors was uncanny—sometimes, as in Maugham's "Miss Thompson," it was found where every other magazine editor in New York and the very author himself had seen nothing—and their consideration of authors is unmatched to this day.

After the establishment of the *Mercury* and the withdrawal of Nathan, Mencken's interests turned from literary to social criticism, but that consideration remained to the end. Ruthless toward all society he might seem to readers of his thundering *Mercury* editorials, and ruthless he was, but no author who dealt with him can testify he was arbitrary. Rejected manuscripts were sent back in the return mail; if he thought a piece eligible for more profitable markets, however much he wanted it, it was returned to the author with a note explaining that richer editors were looking for just this sort of thing, and that if they wouldn't take it, he would.

Articles were copyrighted at the *Mercury's* expense and the copyright sent to the author, and if Mencken wished to make changes in the manuscript, as he often did, the writer always had the opportunity to strike them out in proof. Queries and inquiries were answered the morning they were received. In the briefest note there was always a sparkle of Menckenian wit; he could not write a formal letter if he tried. It is a tribute to the very special relationship he had with all his authors that when Princeton's Julian Boyd set about collecting these notes from Mencken's correspondents twenty years later, he had little trouble; nearly everyone had saved his.

But his greatest kindness to authors lay in his recognition that an editor's first responsibility is toward his readers and in his shrewdness in identifying writers those readers ought to meet. A sensitive awareness of the public pulse permitted him to join in happy marriage authors and admirers who otherwise might never have met, and because he recognized talent and exalted it above all else, his lesser convictions never prevented him from presiding at the ceremony.

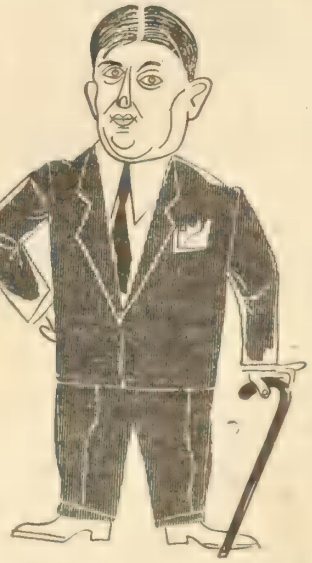
Between the pages of his copy of Mike Gold's "Jews Without Money," which he had serialized and praised in the *Mercury,* is a curious letter from Gold. It asks, quite simply, why Mencken bothered, and runs the gamut of possible answers, ending on a note of confusion and uncertain gratitude; the author suspects he has been the butt of an obscure joke. Gold, the militant Communist, could not understand why Mencken, the card-carrying reactionary, was intent upon introducing his talent to the public. It was not easy to understand. In a time of bitter partisanship it was a complex phenomenon. But it deserved applause. And after a quarter-century of Defenders' Days and deepening partisanship it is still, perhaps, worth a torch or two.

HARVEY FERGUSSON

Author of "Grant of Kingdom" and other books

ONE day in the fall of 1919 I was sitting in the lobby of a Baltimore hotel waiting for a man named H. L. Mencken. Although we had never met he was well known to me by reputation, but I was wholly unknown to him. I was working for the Frederic J. Haskin syndicate in Washington. Haskin, who had known Mencken for years, had sent me to get a story about Mencken's discovery of the American language.

Presently there entered the lobby a short stocky man wearing a blue serge suit, a very high white collar, a blue necktie, and a dark slouch hat. He carried in his right hand a heavy black walking stick, and his teeth were clenched on a pale-yellow domestic cigar. His face was wide and red, his nose short and tilted, and his eyes a peculiarly bright blue. I did not recognize this figure as the great Mencken, but he spotted me promptly, introduced himself, and took me to lunch. He gave me information for my story with the speed and precision of a veteran journalist, then took his cigar out of his mouth, fixed upon me his china-blue regard, and said: "Now what are you writing besides this newspaper stuff?"



Amazed and delighted, I confessed I was writing a novel.

"When you finish," said Mencken, "send it to me."

His hunch that I was trying to produce literature seemed to border on telepathy, and his willingness to read the result was certainly philanthropy. I sent him the novel a few months later. He wrote me shortly that it was good and that he would take it to Alfred Knopf. When I met him again he pointed out that the novel was not quite finished, and made some excellent suggestions for carrying the story farther. He also observed that the part I had sent him could be cut to make a novelette which he would be glad to run in the *Smart Set*. In due course I completed the novel somewhat as he had suggested and also cobbled out the novelette, which gave me a literary debut in a journal then widely read. So Mencken had launched another writer.

He is famous as a critic who achieved a unique leadership in American literatrue at a crucial period in its history, but I think only the many writers he helped, giving of his time and energy and hospitality, know how personal and human his conception of that leadership was.

STEWART H. HOLBROOK

Author of "Far Corner" and the forthcoming "The Age of the Moguls"

THOUGH he rejected more articles of mine than he bought, he never asked me to do any rewriting. He often cut my stuff, always improving it. He invariably concocted a new title, and his titles were perfect. . . . Once when the highly volatile *Mercury* readers were tearing me to shreds, he wrote a comforting and humorous letter, informing me that the controversy had sent circulation "soaring, well above the *Christian Herald*," and promised me my fill "of sound malt liquor next time you come to Hollins Street." . . . The stickers he sometimes appended to his envelopes were amusing. One showed a tremendously bearded rabbi and a caption in Hebrew characters. One was for an anti-cigarette drive. Another concerned the sale of bonds to free old Ireland from her British fetters. Once, when he rejected a piece, he inclosed with his note a handsome if antique perfumed card proclaiming the virtues of Paine's Celery Compound. . . . His great good-humor was one of many reasons that kept us young and indigent writers working for the miserable *Mercury* checks, which, in my case at least, were for the oddest amounts—$70, $85, $90; and once, when a check for $105 floored me, and I accused him of conspicuous waste, he replied promptly that it was due to a clerical error and that I should "keep the matter confidential." . . . Henry Mencken is the most wonderful guy I ever worked with.

H. L. DAVIS

Author of the Pulitzer Prize novel "Honey in the Horn"

WHAT impressed me most about Mencken in the years when he was editing the *American Mercury* was his anxiety to bring out in every contribution what the writer had to say, and to keep and strengthen him in his own way of saying it. It is a constant temptation, in writing for any magazine, to let one's material trail in the wake of the editor's opinions and verbal characteristics instead of making it work out a track of its own. This was especially so in writing for an editor like Mencken. I did it in a few places when I was beginning to send him stories. He always caught every place, and always either revised it himself or sent it back to be changed into what I should have written instead of what he would have written if he had been doing it.

He always wanted writers to write like themselves. When it came to writing like Mencken, he could do that better than all of us put together.

GEORGE MILBURN

Short-story writer

WHEN my name is called on the gaudy roll of writers discovered by H. L. Mencken, it strikes me as a mistake, because for years I have labored—and rested somewhat—under a fixed idea that it was I who discovered H. L. Mencken. Briefly, the revelation was granted me, aged twelve, on an ash heap in the alley back of Seltzer's Pharmacy, Coweta, Oklahoma, *circa* 1918. A batch of magazines which had failed to elicit cash from the local newsstand clientèle the month before was smoldering there. When I picked up a charred and spark-spangled *Smart Set*, it fell open on an early Prejudice. Thus I discovered Mencken with all the fervor of a supralapsarian discovering God.

After several years of prayer and meditation, I began dispatching stories to Mr. Mencken's newly founded *American Mercury*. These were addressed discreetly, in keeping with the best professorial advice: "To the Editor." Each came back with vertiginous expedition and a printed rejection slip. Almost four years passed before I began entertaining doubts as to whether H. L. Mencken was getting a chance to read my contributions. So I appealed to a poet who had befriended me in New Orleans, the night editor of the *Times-Picayune*, whom I knew to be high in Mencken's esteem. Soon after that I received the following letter, written on a ragged typewriter ribbon and with elliptic alignment: "John McClure was kind enough to let me read three of your stories. These strike me as capital stuff and will go into print at once. Would you care to let me have a look at anything else you have on hand?"

Needless to say, the signature on that letter meant more to me than Andy Mellon's on a million-dollar check. Thus began one of the happiest associations of my life, and H. L. Mencken always managed to convey the impression that he was glad I had found him, too.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

Author of "Pattern for Liberty" and other books

H. L. MENCKEN would be a rich man today if he had worked for himself half as hard as he worked for countless young hopefuls—many of whom were in fact hopeless—whose only claim upon him was that each had exhibited what seemed to be a flash of intelligence. But to him this was the strongest of all possible claims. In a world in which the ability to think is a rarity, any man so endowed was his brother, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any youth whom he suspected of being so endowed was his godson, for whose intellectual advancement he felt responsible to the race. If much of his time, energy, and enthusiasm was squandered upon unprofitable projects, is that not true of some donations of every philanthropist? What the world remembers is that some of his gifts of aid and encouragement were not squandered but yielded returns that were handsome additions to the intellectual assets of the country. Even when some protégé for whom he labored proved to be an ass, still there was honor in the effort. Mencken did prodigious execution among the frauds and shams of his day; but now that he has retired, his wars and excursions seem less important than his fine demonstration that a free spirit owes to every other free spirit aid and comfort in the common war "against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

JAMES BRANCH CABELL

Author of "Jurgen"

IMPRIMIS, in well-nigh everything which H. L. Mencken has published during the last forty-five years I have delighted. In private one might make bold to esteem him both as a literary and social critic more than often wrong—or childish even, or it might be just slightly pig-headed—in his estimate of this or of the other affair or person. But the magnificent verve and gusto with which always the man presented his chosen point of view, no matter what might be his theme, resulted almost always in a work of dramatic art that you savored with enjoyment.

Think what you might, whether before or after the performance, there at the moment was no denying this H. L. Mencken was putting on a rousing good show. So that temporarily his aesthetic or political or social rightness or wrongness did not seem, to me at least, to be of weight; and I no more wanted to pause and argue about them than I would care to interrupt a fine performance of "Hamlet" by rising to protest that I did not believe in ghosts.

There in brief has been, and I think there can be, but one Mencken. He in American letters has had no predecessor; and to my partial eyes a befitting heir is not visible among the several somewhat younger men who stand more than willing to succeed him as the monarch of a literary era.

Yes, and a monarch so thrifty that throughout his now semi-fabulous reign he elected to dispense with a court jester; and himself furnished for all his vassals a glut of fun continuously and offhand. I am proud to have served under His Majesty.

RUTH SUCKOW

Author of "Some Others and Myself" and other books

I AM glad for this chance to say a word about H. L. Mencken as editor—a truly great editor, and for me personally the most valued I have known. Independent in judgment, saltily humorous, outspoken, generous, human and approachable, genuine in all his dealings, always better than his word and his word was always good—these are a few of the characterizations that spring to mind. But I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude. He was at the same time the most warmly encouraging, the most critically candid, and the least dictatorial of editors. He himself spoke and acted as an individual, and he treated his authors as individuals—gave them credit for knowing what they were doing, and accepted or rejected what they sent. I never knew Mencken to indulge in small editorial caprices, or to want a story made over to suit either his personal viewpoint or the supposed tastes and demands of his writers. I can recall only two practical suggestions that he made, and they were minor, but good.

The term "Menckenian," which grew up around Mencken's own writings, did not apply to the material that Mencken and Nathan selected as editors, which was of the widest variety, as an actual reading of old numbers of the *Smart Set* and the *American Mercury* will show. Validity was what Mencken was after, and what he looked for with extraordinary zest. His interest in the people whose work he published—and even in many whose writing he rejected—had a personal quality, while his ways as an editor were large, bold, and free.

MICHAEL GOLD

Author of "Jews Without Money"

MENCKEN was very creative as an editor. He typed on his own machine hundreds of letters each month to authors young and old. He made his rejections and acceptances promptly, which is all an author ever asks. He handed out checks and literary and personal counsel generously.

As one of the young authors whom Mencken published and helped with counsel I can only add my testimony to his great and unusual kindness.

It seemed a strange contradiction in his character, for he preached an individualistic Nietzscheanism. He taught his disciples they were élite, the supermen, and others were the mob, the "booboisie."

But this alleged "booboisie" was the American people, no less. If one despised them, what remained but to exploit them? Mencken's disciples developed a dangerous cynicism, and sold their minds to the great corporations. Only when the crash came did they learn they were as insecure as the ditch diggers and machinists. Menckenism proved its inadequacy during the depression.

Mencken had gusto and life. He inspired a whole generation of writers to explore their own American environment instead of going off to Paris to be self-pitying and rootless exiles. The good that Mencken did, however, was balanced by the anti-social elements of his philosophy. He seemed like a leader against Coolidgism but was really an altar boy in the cathedral of prosperity.

The historical function Mencken performed was to fight the provincialism and rural morals of the McKinley America. It was part of the campaign to prepare America for its imperialist role. Henry Luce and his bland imperialists are the heirs of Menckenism, I believe.

I am sorry it is true. Mencken, if he had had another philosophy and a touch of Walt Whitman in his heart, would have been a great Rabelaisian liberator in our history. Let me add again, he was kind, despite his Nietzschean-plus-beer philosophy.

THYRA SAMTER WINSLOW

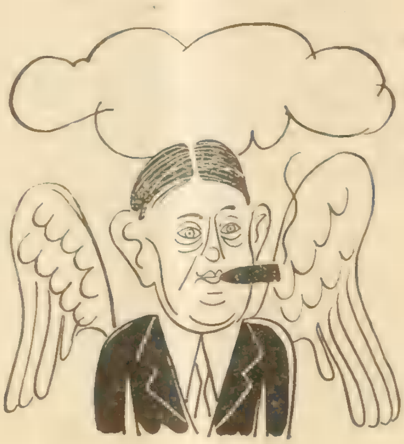
Author of "Think Yourself Thin"
and many short stories

AS H. L. MENCKEN has always been just one step—and not a very deep step—below God for me, it is pretty hard for me to get any opinions of him down in a limited number of words.

I was raised on the old *Smart Set*. I felt it was a New Note in Literature, just opposite to the dull stuff that was thrust into my unreceptive brain at the University of Missouri, where, after being raised on a small town newspaper from the age of fourteen, I was trying to believe that the academic nonsense taught by people who had never been on a newspaper and had never published a line constituted a School of Journalism. I escaped to Chicago, and after a brief chorus experience, managed to get on the Chicago *Tribune*.

I felt that some day I'd get a Great Idea. In the meantime, I decided to try to write a short story. Incidentally, I'm still waiting for the Great Idea. The short story, was, of course, written for the *Smart Set*. It never even occurred to me to try to write for any other publication. I suppose I'm the only writer in the world who never had a struggle. Mencken-and-Nathan—I thought of them as one word—wrote practically immediately, said wonderful things about the story—and sent me a check for $30. I've been happier only one other time in my whole life. They took all the stories I wrote, using two and sometimes three in each issue of the *Smart Set*, under all the *Smart Set* pseudonyms.

So of course I came to New York. And met the Lesser Gods face to face.



I heard, later, that they were quite formal with me—they put their coats on for my visit. I didn't know their office—with its beer posters and posters of old melodramas—was unusual, for I had never been in an editorial office before.

They took me to luncheon at the Algonquin—I got to New York at the end of the Round Table period and never was invited to sit there, except in the stories of people writing about the Algonquin. Hergesheimer was their guest, too.

"Be careful!" one of them said to me, "He's a leg pincher!" Of course they saw that I sat next to him! There I sat, scared to death! What should I do? Of course Hergesheimer was far too busy eating, with too few or too many teeth, I never could decide, to bother about leg pinching, even if he ever did have that idea in mind. I never even guessed, until years later, that it was Mencken-and-Nathan's way of showing me an interesting time.

The dear old *Smart Set* was on its last legs. Mencken-and-Nathan kept on buying my stories, the darlings. One day they sent for me and one of them said, "We've decided it is time you had a book published." And handed me a list of some of my stories. "These are the stories for the book. Knopf will publish it." And Nathan, as he has been good enough to do ever since, named the book. The title was "Picture Frames." It never occurred to me to question the idea, the contents, or the publisher. The Lesser Gods had spoken. What else? You don't criticize Lesser Gods.

I've just kept on worshiping. That there could be no modern literature without their influence seems too obvious to need comment. Of course I'd never have been a writer, if I am a writer, without them. Which may be important only to me, anyhow. If I don't pray *to* them any more, I do pray *for* them. God bless 'em!

IDWAL JONES

Author of "Eye of the Storm"
and other books

BEING a white-headed child of fortune I have met on this planet sundry immortals. In infancy I was rewarded with a sixpenny-bit by Lloyd George, which I squandered on gum-drops. In Westminster Abbey I was lifted up by Li Hung Chang, to the approbative smiles of the royal family.

President Taft and Bwana Tumbo I have gazed upon with acknowledged waves. In the cool cave of his crockery shop in Schenectady, New York, I had when young shaken hands with Colonel James, founder of the Knights of Pythias. At the Steuben House in Manhattan I clinked steins with an old friend of my father, Oswald Garrison Villard, long the good angel of *The Nation*.

But let me be remembered as one who knew Henry Louis Mencken. I read him in the old *Smart Set* days, with the fond couple waltzing on the pale lavendar cover, its tales in French and the *boufferies* of Pistols for Two. We met in Baltimore, in Manhattan, in my home in San Francisco, in the days beyond compare.

A man entrapped by beauty, Heinie Mencken. How he could play Brahms! The innumerable letters I received from him when I was writing for his monthly earthquake bound in Paris green, the *American Mercury!* He shattered the complacence of the age. The Sacred Cows of America he pole-axed by the herd. But to his contributors he was immeasurably kind.

On his birthday a toast to him! *Prosit!* Also in the tongue of Dante, *Ancora in cento anni!*

BOOKS

Pioneers of the Modern Spirit

REBELS AND ANCESTORS. THE AMERICAN NOVEL. 1890-1915. By Maxwell Geismar. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.50.

By Perry Miller

MR. GEISMAR comes to the writing of this book by working backward from his two studies of the novelists of the twenties. He now deals with the five writers who, in his perspective, "marked the beginning of the modern spirit in the national letters"—Norris, Crane, Jack London, Ellen Glasgow, Dreiser. He ends this volume by promising that he will pursue the quest farther into "the Middle Generation."

Perhaps it is an unfortunate result of such defiance of chronology that this account gives the impression of having been written by one so infatuated with the novels of today, whose horizons and critical terminology are so entirely those now in vogue, that he seems capable of looking into the past only in order to find crude anticipations of his heroes. Norris's descriptions are "in the style of the early Scott Fitzgerald"; "The Octopus" is the "direct predecessor" of "The Grapes of Wrath" and "anticipates similar passages from the pen of Sinclair Lewis and Thomas Wolfe"; London's supermen are "another theme that became a favorite in the 1920's"; and "Martin Eden" is "very much in the manner of Richard Wright's 'Black Boy'." After a while we get the squint that comes from too much looking through the telescope in reverse, and try to remember who once said that the great thing to remember about the ancients was that they did not know they were ancient.

Thus Mr. Geismar forces upon us an impression that he knows little or cares little about the historical circumstances, that he has indeed no sense of history at all. This impression is confirmed by his wearisomely reiterated use of the adjective "middle class" to describe just about everything and of "Darwinian" to mean the entire ethos of a period which he clearly has not studied at first hand. The sources for his vague concept of the "Darwinian Cosmos" are evidently reputable studies which nevertheless are monographs and not original texts. Our confidence in the accuracy of his comprehension of even these monographs is not strengthened when we find him, for instance, saying of "Progress and Poverty," published in 1879, that it "had appeared in the late eighties."

ALL THIS is the more regrettable because Mr. Geismar is preeminently a sincere student of literature who stalwartly refuses to be a "conceptualist," who labors manfully to prevent "theoretical issues" from standing between him and a direct view of the personality of the writer or the work of art. It is, indeed, an escape from the tedium of ordinary history, in which one school mechanically emerges out of another without the help of either personality or work, to go for a change up rather than down the stream of time, and so to look with new eyes upon a group of writers remarkable because in them appear "many typical themes of the later period." Furthermore, the exasperation readers may experience as each figure is submitted to scrutiny from a vantage point he did not know and is none of his making will be somewhat allayed when they come to the last chapter, Years of Gain, and discover that Mr. Geismar's method has, after all, been deliberate. Yet even so, anyone familiar with the period will remain distrustful of so loose a slinging about of terms like "Veblenian," "pragmatic," "oedipal," and, above all, that ubiquitous "middle class."

The five studies are none the less rewarding, for in them Mr. Geismar has room to exercise his great talent for reading honestly and reporting only his own findings. He does not hesitate to retell in detail the plots of the novels, so that the reader unfamiliar with them, or whose overburdened memory has forgotten them, is kept informed. The essay on Dreiser is especially helpful: brushing aside the captious debate about Dreiser's "style" in which much recent criticism has become bogged, Mr. Geismar expounds fully the secret of his craft, thus making it excitingly evident that Dreiser did indeed have a craft. He establishes the thesis that Dreiser was the novelist of this century "who most clearly understood the fundamental change in the social and economic bases of American society."

He says perceptive things about Stephen Crane's emotional orientation toward "the diminutive affection of the nursery," and tells with true compassion the spiritual tragedy of Jack London. To put Ellen Glasgow on a level with the other four, in the highly select society, is a deed of courage, but Mr. Geismar seems to me to vindicate the choice. He thus bestows upon her the importance which is, for some reason, not generally acknowledged today.

Curiously enough, when Mr. Geismar

PERRY MILLER, professor of American literature at Harvard, is the author of "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province."

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comes to his last chapter—which I could wish he had put first—for all that he apparently began with a fixation upon 1920, he ends by professing a greater respect for the mentality of 1900. "The submerged truths of the 1900's had become, in brief, the clichés of the 1920's." These five—including London at his most meretricious—maintained the "freedom to dissent even from the convictions they cherished." They turned the vulgar, cruel, or brutal concepts of their time against the age itself. "In the logic of contradictions," says Mr. Geismar, "which is so infuriating to the historian, and so essential to history," these writers made "the other side of the Darwinian Cosmos" the dominant spirit of the epoch. The five pioneers turn out to have lived in a larger, cleaner air than "the narrow constrictive, explosive atmosphere" their descendants must breathe.

Mr. Geismar's appreciation of this triumph of art is the triumph of his book. Hence I am the more obliged to lament that he takes over in so wholesale and textbookish a way a conception of the "cultural climate" as being what "historians of our intellectual history have pointed out." His great theme is almost drowned in unexplained premises; all his impressive honesty and industry are required to rescue it.

New Books in Brief

United States History

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A HISTORY. By Henry Bamford Parkes. Knopf. $7.50.

This book should make an admirable text for college freshmen and may have some appeal to the general reader. Its defects include a rather monotonous style and a certain timidity of judgment. Thus in describing J. P. Morgan's promotion of the United States Steel Corporation with a capitalization of $1,321,000,000, fully half of it "water," Mr. Parkes comments, "This was scarcely an example of Morgan financing at its best." Maybe this choice example of understatement can be ascribed to the author's British upbringing.

A strong point of the book is its emphasis on social, economic, and cultural developments and the linking of these to political changes. In particular, Mr. Parkes, successfully resisting the temptation to force history into a chronological mold, proves himself very adept in tracing the growth of trends of opinion. And while no Marxist, he rightly stresses the way in which American policies have been shaped by the process of clash and compromise between sectional and group interests—often groups of different kinds of property owners.

The book contains a number of well-selected and well-reproduced illustrations and many excellent maps, which are all the more useful because of the extended captions that interpret them.

Georges Sand as Romantic

LELIA: THE LIFE OF GEORGE SAND. By André Maurois. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Harper. $5.

The biographies of Shelley and Byron won for Mr. Maurois a large following at the same time that their romantic élan raised the eyebrows of some scholars. Years later his "Proust" showed how well he had learned laborious documentation without losing imagination, picturesqueness, or warmth. The present long book is equally impressive for its readability and its thoroughness. It is very full, very lively, and seems to reveal an impressive mastery of the almost too abundant materials.

From its pages Georges Sand emerges as a perfect example of that romantic who somehow replaced the *femme galante* of the preceding century. All the distinguishing characteristics are there—liberal political sympathies, a determination to "lead one's own life," an insistence that "the heart" is the final arbiter in all things from ethics to aesthetics, and a restless pursuit of the grand passion, which is always discovered to be something less than the real thing.

Mr. Maurois believes that she was a great writer of letters and journals if not of novels, and for all his occasional irony is definitely on his heroine's side. What is likely to amaze the reader is not the number of her lovers but the energy which made it possible for her to make each "affair" the very reverse of casual. "With her," says Mr. Maurois, "adultery was nothing if not domestic," and it is not gallantry but romance and domesticity which require time and effort. The following is a good specimen of the humor and realism which her romanticism could not always submerge: "Chopin is amazed to find himself sweating so much. . . . He says that no matter how much he washes, he stinks. We laugh ourselves sick to see that ethereal being refusing to perspire like everybody else."

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

BERTRAND RUSSELL	The great English philosopher and educator writes a pointed essay on *The World I Want to Live In.*
HAROLD TAYLOR	The President of Sarah Lawrence College deals with the challenging problem of *Freedom and Authority in Education.*
MATTHEW JOSEPHSON	A noted historian and biographer calls attention to the "know-nothing" attacks on modern art and artists in *The Vandals Are Among Us.*
NELSON ALGREN	One of America's leading novelists discusses *The Decline of the Intellectuals.*

Handbook on Iran

IRAN. By Richard N. Frye. Holt. $2.

With Iran back in the news, its future still unpredictable and still of vital importance to the peace of the world, this little handbook is as timely as it is informative. Its author, assistant professor of Middle Eastern studies at Harvard and expert on Oriental languages, writes with knowledge acquired in the field as well as the library. During the war he was an operative for O. S. S. in several Middle Eastern countries, including Iran, and he has since twice returned for extended visits.

In the first of his three chapters Mr. Frye surveys rapidly the character of the land and people, stressing the strong cultural traditions of Iran. Then he sketches the history of the country from the Achaemenid Empire—the first "world state"—to the early nineteenth century, when Russia began to intervene in its affairs. The final chapter, The West and Oil, describes the competitive struggle between Russia and Britain to gain control of Iran and the effects on Iranian economy and politics of the discovery of oil. There is also a bibliographical note and a useful statistical appendix.

Modern Ethnocentrism

NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL COMMUNICATION. By Karl W. Deutsch. Published jointly by the Technology Press of M. I. T. and Wiley and Sons. $5.

Many social scientists have long supposed that "social science" can be made truly "scientific" through precise measurement and mathematical manipulation of data. These devices have their uses, though they are no open sesame to the mysteries of man and society. Karl W. Deutsch, professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, here reaffirms the faith of the quantifiers and breaks new ground in an effort to measure the market for the ideology of nationalism. Drawing heavily on the concepts and methods of the sociologists, anthropologists, and economists—albeit, curiously, not upon those of the psychiatrists—he sets forth a technique for measuring social cohesion, communication, assimilation, and national consciousness. Almost half of his 300 pages comprise appendices of case studies, mathematical formulas, and admirable notes, bibliography, and index.

This is a subtle and brilliant book, full of exciting new perspectives and fascinating maps and charts. It deserves to be thought the most important contribution to the analysis of nationalism since the works of Carleton Hayes and Hans Kohn. For laymen it is too technical to reach a wide market. But as a stimulus and guide to further research it should prove invaluable.

Israel's Children

LEARNING LAUGHTER. By Stephen Spender. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

A book about the children of Israel and particularly about Youth Aliyah, an organization which has cared for 60,000 children brought from all parts of the world to the new state. A fresh and readable book of impressions based on a journal kept during a tour of Israel in the spring of 1952.

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Films

Manny Farber

THE Paramount crew that worked on "Roman Holiday" reminded me of expert marksmen who had made "charm" their target and seldom if ever missed it. The ancient buildings and streets of Rome are used as an unobtrusive backdrop, and I doubt whether architecture and sculpture have ever been tied in so tenderly and humorously with what the characters are doing at the moment. In the leading role of a bored princess who steals away from dull court routine for a day of street adventures with an American newspaperman, Audrey Hepburn has enough poise and looks for seven princesses. She also has an affected tom-boyish delivery. But Gregory Peck, Hollywood's master of all shades of the thoughtful expression, manages by his varied throw-away movements to keep the film from stopping on Miss Hepburn's affectations. While "Roman Holiday" is too succulent for my taste, I enjoyed Wyler's switch to romantic comedy more than the heavier art style he used in directing "Carrie," "Detective Story," and "The Heiress."

Wyler sometimes seems to be operating here with one eye on "The Bicycle Thief." He is moving a well-scrubbed new movie face—Hepburn's—against the worn face of the Eternal City, and doing a lot of other photogenic things borrowed from De Sica. When his princess is pacified with a drug by the royal doctor, both the camera and Miss Hepburn start acting in an innocent-dreamy De Sica-ish way. When the heroine leaves the palazzo in the back of a laundry truck, the palace gates float up and away as though Lewis Carroll had given them life. Instead of simply crossing the street, Miss Hepburn walks into and out of a carriage and then dreamily down the street—in what *Variety* would call a boff bit of business.

If I enjoyed Wyler's new work more than De Sica's famous comedy-drama, it is simply because Wyler is a sharpshooting technical wizard compared to the Italian neo-realist. Wyler is working strictly in the magically postured and timed idiom of Chaplin comedies when he starts Peck homeward with the doped Hepburn tagging behind. The main gag in this stretch is funny enough—Hepburn circling the winding stairway while Peck ascends it—but the wonderful things are the small bits of ballet work engineered by Peck and Hepburn. Peck's movement with his arm leading the sleepy girl back to the stairway is a masterful piece of grace-note acting.

Wyler does noble work getting his princess away from the inhibiting palace and into the reporter's bohemian quarters, but the adventures he arranges for the pair during the day are neither natural nor amusing. She gets a haircut, which is all to the good because of Paolo Carlini's oily-gigolo acting of the barber. After that she takes a wild motor-scooter ride, gets arrested, and escapes from a dozen plain-clothes detectives—and nothing works because it is all stock movie zaniness.

Unfortunately, the entertainment values of the picture make you constantly aware of someone's maneuverings. Miss Hepburn often startles you with perfect impressions of England's Princess Margaret Rose, even in her slow way of giving forth with a toothy, uncomplicated smile and that pale little hand wave to the crowd. You are always conscious of Wyler's cleverness—the way he times his jokes, puts sentiment into the laughs, or points up a silent stretch of story-telling with a funny photographic trick. Though I suspect the movie is aimed at an extremely gentle audience, it strikes me as a welcome, if eclectic, throwback to the beautifully acted, suavely directed comedies turned out in 1935 by Cary Grant and his zany tribe.

LAURENCE OLIVIER acts the role of an amorous, fast-moving bad man with a sort of smoldering, stuffy distinction, but otherwise Warner's has a loser in "The Beggar's Opera." Most of the bows for the artistic failure should be taken by the technical advisers. The technicolor is made up largely of hot emerald, scarlet, and a surprising amount of black to keep the film as indistinct as possible. The story consists of a few basic items from Nelson Eddy-type operetta—a dashing highwayman having fun holding up stagecoaches, escaping from jail, falling in love—raced through in stagy, skittery fashion. Besides Olivier's swashbuckling, there are two interesting crowd scenes and some half-intelligible lyrics that sound talented and racy.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

DOLIN'S book about Markova is one of several books which undertake to tell what has gone on behind the façade of the performances the public has seen and the official statements it has read—the others being Anatole Chujoy's "The New York City Ballet," Irving Kolodin's "The Story of the Metropolitan Opera," Louis Biancoli's "The Flagstad Manuscript," Roland Gelatt's "Music-Makers," and Cecil Smith's "Worlds of Music," all of which I expect to discuss here.

Mr. Chujoy—to begin with his book (Knopf, $5)—acknowledges his indebtedness to Lincoln Kirstein, who "submitted to unending questioning . . . and gave me frank and forthright answers to literally hundreds of questions, some of which must have been embarrassing to him . . . opened his private correspondence files to me, let me read memoranda that had the character of personal diaries. . . ." And all this certainly is evident in the book: reading it I have learned many things I didn't know about the succession of Kirstein ventures initiated by the founding of the School of American Ballet in 1934 even though I was in contact with Kirstein from the beginning. But my own knowledge has enabled me to perceive occasionally that here something is missing or there something is told differently from the way I believe it to have happened—from which inevitably I assume there must be other instances that I am unable to perceive. It may be that Mr. Chujoy found out a great deal but didn't find out everything, or—what I think more probable—that he doesn't feel free to tell some things. I would say, in other words, that the difficulty in writing about living persons that was evident in the Dolin book is evident in this one.

Thus I would guess that in his omission of some of the circumstances of Hugh Laing's joining the company, Mr. Chujoy is being considerate of Laing's feelings. And that he is equally considerate of the management's feelings when he writes that fairness to the older members of the company would compel Laing "to wait his turn for an old role or for one in a new ballet"; "wait his turn for an old role" is a considerate way of putting the fact that the older members were compelled to share their most prized roles with him. On the other hand, on page 163 he describes how personal friendships caused Kirstein to include on the second program of Ballet Society a modern dancer and a Javanese group that had no place on the program; but this is the only time he mentions this important factor in Kirstein's decisions and actions. The book, then, tells a large part of the story, but not "the full story" the jacket says it tells.

Moreover, in addition to the bare facts of this or that ballet having been produced on a certain date the story has to include an evaluation of the work and the performance. And there we encounter another of Mr. Chujoy's difficulties: that one may have almost everything—love of the art, experience of it, knowledge about it—that a critic needs

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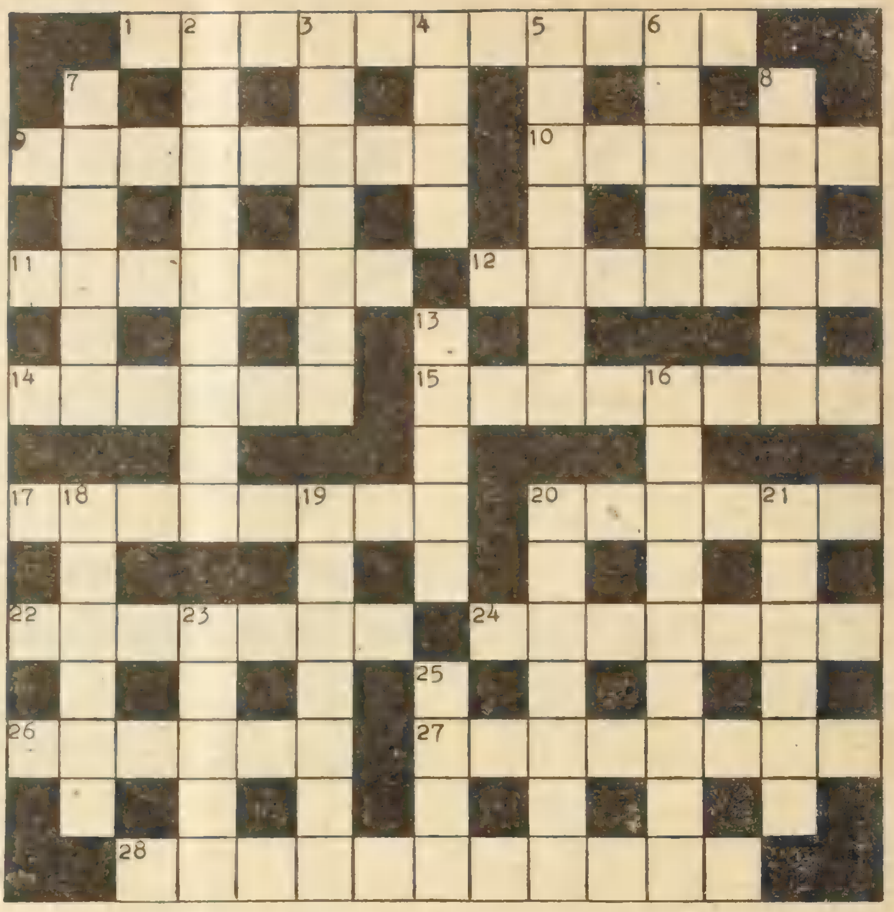

ACROSS

1 Refuse to be picked up by Oriental ways? (7, 4)
9 Find what one turns to hear the other side. (8)
10 A crossword animal surrounded by thousands more, if your spirit's in it! (6)
11 Associated with bed and board (especially bread). (7)
12 Kind of can? It showed your ancestors up! (3-4)
14 Time associated with impressions on the beach? (6)
15 Held characters, perhaps. (8)
17 Pat's deep, and so is his ear. (5, 3)
20 Hacks. (6)
22 The main boss. (7)
24 Sent in by kids to fight on the wrong spot. (3-4)
26 Hands aboard the *Hispaniola?* (6)
27 and 13 Materiel? (8, 2, 3)
28 He rents land, but not Hades. (11)

DOWN

2 Places to live, and each is different! (9)
3 At least occasionally it ought to be Blue Monday. (4, 3)
4 Not free, but sounds swell! (4)
5 This inn was novel. (7)
6 It's a bad thing to follow the end of 14. (5)
7 Otherwise a bear can only be seen at 6. (6)
8 Ordinarily one doesn't wear it to ride one. (6)
13 See 27 across
16 A little turkey, well cooled, and properly dressed? (9)
18 Was Hogarth's work so progressive as well as jaunty? (6)
19 The last word, when it comes to surreptitious procedure. (7)
20 Where one would expect a first class return to a bad actor. (7)
21 It holds things in the sporting event, if a 22 and 8 as well. (6)
23 Wood craft? (5)
25 Just beautiful? Only medium blonde. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 531

ACROSS:—1 HEAD CHEESE; 10 ANDORRA; 11 UNHINGE; 12 PRESUMPTUOUSLY; 14 OUTLAWED; 15 GHETTO; 16 EMBALM; 18 STICKS UP; 22 CONTORTIONISTS; 24 PRESENT; 25 TORMENT; 26 NODE; 27 INTERLUDES.

DOWN:—1 HEADPHONES; 2 AUDIENT; 3 CIRCULAR LETTER; 4 EXAMPLE; 5 SHUT UP; 7 RINGLET; 8 STEM; 9 THOUGHT CONTROL; 13 COMPOSITES; 17 BOOKEND; 19 THISTLE; 20 SUSPEND; 21 CRETAN; 23 and 6 UP IN ARMS.

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to write about it, and lack the one thing that is essential, namely critical perception. It isn't a matter of Mr. Chujoy liking something I dislike, or vice-versa; it is a matter of what he finds to say about something we both like or dislike, which makes it clear that he has nothing to say. And this is true of most of the writers he quotes—the fact being that many write about the arts but few are critics who should be writing. On the other hand the extensive quotations from John Martin's writings have the special value of spreading his performance on the record.

What I said earlier about Kirstein was not meant as disparagement. It would be fine if we got not only ballet but everything else from people who operated with rational minds and clear purposes unaffected by personal loves and hates and other such impure elements; but the fact is that we don't get good things always for good reasons and don't reject them even when they come to us for bad reasons. And one has to recognize that amid all the factors that have operated to produce the general Kirstein uproar and muddle there has been the holding fast to Balanchine which, implemented by Kirstein's willingness to spend every penny of his own for the purpose, has resulted in the creation of some of the greatest works of art of our time.

The fact that many write about the arts but few should is further demonstrated by the contents of "Dance News Annual 1953," edited by Mr. Chujoy and Winthrop Palmer (Knopf, $4.95), of which only Edwin Denby's article on foreign classicism, James Graham-Luján's on the San Francisco Ballet, and Oliver Smith's on ballet design are worth reading. I have read reviews of particular ballets and performances by A. V. Coton that were good; but his article on the general subject of form and content in this volume I find uninteresting.

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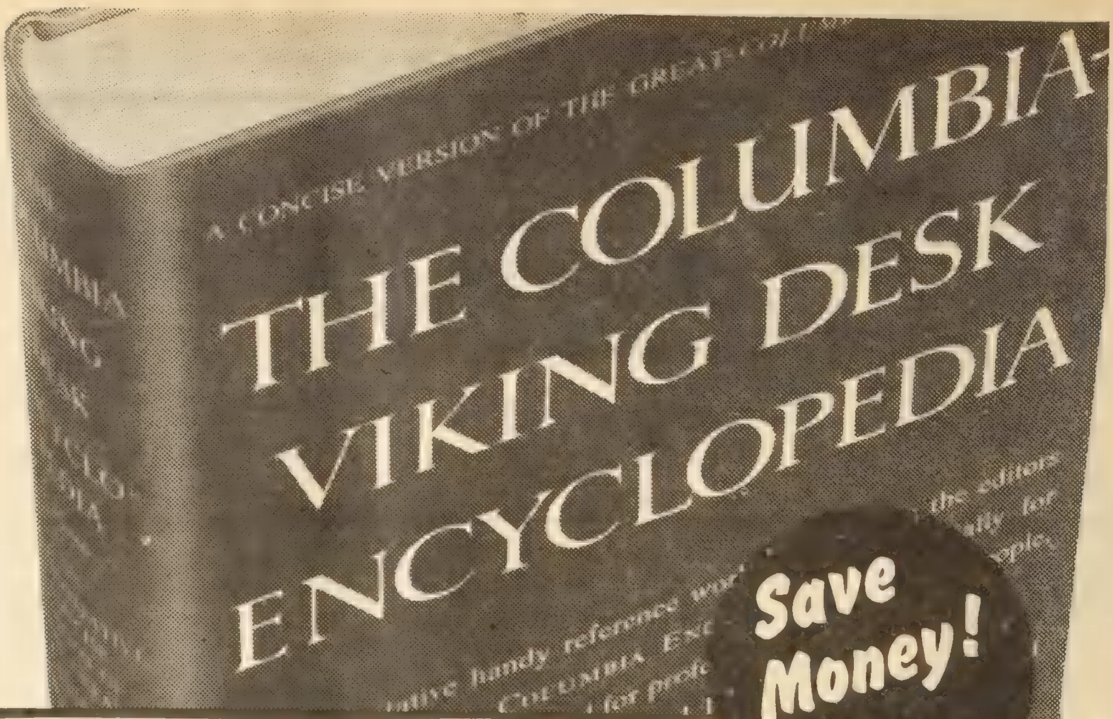
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Volume 177, Number 12
New York, Saturday, September 19, 1953

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The President Vanishes

So much has been said and written about the awesome burdens of the Presidency that everyone rejoices when the President takes off for a rest. But it is not the circumstance that he is currently on vacation in Colorado that prompts us to record the curious impression he conveys these days of being, somehow, the man-who-isn't-there. For one thing, the President has had less and less to say and what he has said has been less and less interesting. Then, too, the impression that he has vanished has been heightened by the feverish activity of his subordinates. What with dashing about the country making inflammatory speeches and needling our more reliable allies in reckless press conferences, Mr. Dulles has managed to preempt the headlines these last few weeks. And when Mr. Dulles is not in possession of the front-page right-hand columns, Mr. Nixon is usually there. Either the Vice-President is being pushed into the foreground usually reserved for the President or, with characteristic brashness, he has simply elbowed his way into it. In any case the gradual disappearance of Mr. Eisenhower is ominous. Like many others, we suffer from the recurrent nightmare of Mr. Nixon in the White House. Already the nightmare is becoming a daytime reality. Reassure us, please, Mr. President! Say something, do something, just to prove you're still there!

The Dulles Doctrine

In his speech to the American Legion in St. Louis, Mr. Dulles announced what is in effect a new Truman Doctrine for Southeast Asia. Unlike the original, however, the Dulles doctrine has aroused, in the words of the Alsops, "hardly a ripple of interest."

All that Mr. Dulles has committed us to, of course, is a full-scale war with China should Mao intervene in Indo-China—a policy that in less peculiar times would surely have called for a little discussion. But the implied commitments of the Dulles doctrine also merit attention. David Douglas Duncan, in a recent *Life* article, suggested that the French would lose interest in defending Indo-China once they lost the ability to dominate it and that they would lose their dominance once a large fully trained native army came into being. Perhaps that is why the National Security Council in Washington, in recommending last week a doubling of our appropriation to help the French in Indo-China, suggested that some of the money be used, not to strengthen the native army, but to enable France to send nine additional battalions of its own troops into the area.

But the more deeply we commit ourselves to the Indo-Chinese war, the more certain it becomes that the right will join the left in France in wanting its end. Only last June Mendès-France, seeking the premiership on a platform calling for a negotiated settlement, came within five votes of gaining absolute majority he then needed. The French constitution has since been changed; a new premier no longer needs an absolute majority but only a majority of all votes cast.

Should the French decide to abandon Indo-China, we shall inherit responsibilities not touched upon in Mr. Dulles's speech. The cost of empires has gone up, as the British, the Dutch, the French, and now we ourselves have discovered.

McCarthy: Commander-in-Chief

An extraordinary Associated Press Wirephoto shows Senator McCarthy, a coldly aloof background figure, tough and hard-boiled as a Mickey Spillane private eye, staring down at Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and Senator Dirksen seated puppet-like at a desk in front of him. The picture not only strikingly suggests his dominance over them but the new role to which he aspires, namely, commander-in-chief of the armed forces. After a fairly uneventful summer season—his investigation of the Government Printing Office was a thunderous dud—McCarthy is once again baiting the President, and as might be expected, the harvest of headlines is bountiful.

In his current venture Joe is not concerned with army loyalty procedures or screening techniques *per se;* he wants to score a popular triumph by showing that he can make the colonels talk. The Corliss Lamont book

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circulated by the Far East Command and the "leaks" to newspaper columnists are simply stage props for the new tableau of Joe McCarthy cracking the whip. It is a bold effort. But now that Mr. Brownell's bevy of bright lawyers in the Department of Justice—who had so little difficulty in dreaming up reasons to justify an appeal of Judge Youngdahl's decision in the Lattimore case, have confessed their inability to find basis for legal action in the Senate's famous report on his activities—Joe can afford to be bold.

Mr. Brownell's capitulation raises, incidentally, an interesting minor issue. If the facts in the report do not warrant presentation to a grand jury, they are still sufficient to warrant disciplinary action by the Senate. The only trouble is that the Senators have been averting their eyes from the report for so long that they can hardly be expected to recognize it now that Mr. Brownell has tossed into back to their collective lap.

Only Millionaires Left

So the plumber has left the Cabinet and only the millionaires are left. Mr. Durkin must have felt like going home a long time ago. Not only would his distinguished colleagues never listen to him (on the matter of revising Taft-Hartley, for instance, or on the appointment of the labor member to the National Labor Relations Board); they wouldn't even let *him* listen to *them*. He is reported to have told a friend, plaintively, that whenever he walked into a room "everybody stopped talking."

Mr. Durkin's decision to quit this hostile atmosphere reflects credit on him and on the labor movement. One could only wish that, having suffered so long, this patient man might have been willing to suffer a little longer—at least until the last week in October. His resignation on the very eve of the November elections might have been still more helpful in opening labor's eyes to the issues.

The War in Kenya

It is approximately one year since the white settlers in Kenya, rather reluctantly supported by the British government, launched the undeclared and officially unrecognized war against the Mau Mau. From figures published in the Tanganyika *Standard* and *Central African Post*, Reginald Reynolds estimates the casualties to June 3 as follows: killed by the Mau Mau, 411 Africans, 17 Europeans, 4 Asians; killed by the anti-Mau Mau, 848 Africans. At the outset the world press, following the lead of the British, spoke of the "Mau Mau terror"; today even the British press refers to the "Mau Mau insurrection." The official view, as expressed by General Erskine, is that "there is no good reason to expect the Kikuyu war to be brought to an early conclusion."

Costly as the war has been measured in loss of life and property, it has been even more costly in terms of the loss of good-will. "Prolongation of bloodshed," reports the London *Economist*, "is having incalculable effects on race relations throughout Africa." More and more Indians are aligning themselves with the Africans, while the words of Nehru have aroused "the bitter resentment of every European community from the Nile to the Limpopo."

On this first anniversary of the struggle some slight encouragement may be drawn from the fact that the British now realize that they are dealing with a full-scale insurrection. Even the settlers, or a few of them at least, are slowly awakening to the realities of the situation. According to the *New Statesman and Nation*, some of them are now toying with the idea of releasing Jomo Kenyatta from prison and persuading him to assume the leadership of a movement for reconciliation and adjustment. In this way lies peace.

They Want Negotiation

Stalden, Switzerland

THE annual conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace (I. L.-C. O. P.) was held this year in the beautiful castle of Heunigen at Stalden near Berne. The subject of discussion was the United Nations. A large number of organizations were represented, American as well as European—the National Peace Council, the Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others. No delegation came from the backers of the Stockholm petition, though the last conference of that group in Budapest emphasized their willingness to work with non-Communist peace movements. In fact, the keenest American investigating committee could not have found a single Communist.

The opening address was by Philip Noel-Baker, who had been a member of the British Labor government. His topic was Disarmament, and since Malenkov had just announced that Russia had the hydrogen bomb, his arguments had a striking timelessness. Mr. Noel-Baker was convinced that the armament race was the main cause of international tension and that the United Nations should make disarmament its chief goal. He assailed governments which lacked the courage to urge disarmament and excused themselves by claiming it was technically impossible. But while his audience listened with interest, it was by no means won over to his proposals.

The majority believed that no disarmament plans could be carried out until conditions favorable to negotiation had been created. One of the speakers stated categorically, "I would rather see the bare beginning of an agreement between the opposing blocs achieved at a great-power conference such as Churchill advocated than the most complete and impressive disarmament program."

The well-known Swiss Socialist, Jules Humbert-Droz, defined the real issue in a speech that was heartily applauded. He held that first of all the authority of the United Nations must be strengthened and that then it must be exercised to further negotiations, not to supersede them. His articles in the Swiss press prove that he is no pro-Russian, but he sharply criticized the United States for insisting that if negotiations were entered into, American demands must be fully satisfied. Coincidentally, the London *Times* declared on the very next day that no greater disaster could be conceived than for the United Nations to be converted into an anti-Communist coalition.

Other speakers were Gertrude Baer, permanent consultant at the U. N. for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Dr. Ernest Wolf of Switzerland, who organized the conference, Reginald Sorenson of the British Labor Party, chairman of the National Peace Conference of Great Britain, and Mrs. Annalee Stewart of the W. I. L. P. F. All considered the question of how interested organizations could rally greater popular support for the United Nations and infuse it with new life and vigor. J. A. DEL V.

France's Fascist Appendix

Paris

THE threat of new strikes and social unrest is considered very serious. Close observers of the August walk-outs were greatly impressed by three things: (a) the tremendous solidarity among the rank and file of all three principal federations—Socialist, Catholic, and Communist; (b) the skill and discretion with which the Communist C. G. T. at no point allowed the strike to become political but on the contrary always stressed the need for labor unity; (c) the almost universal sympathy for the strikers, or at least the inclination to excuse them for the infernal inconvenience caused by the work stoppages—especially in the postal and railway services—and to blame the government. In the end it was the Socialist F. O. and the Catholic C. F. T. C. which called off the strike; the C. G. T. followed suit in the name of "unity."

The prestige of the C. G. T. has risen greatly among all workers, and existing tendencies toward something like the old Popular Front have undoubtedly been reinforced. The increasing political significance of these tendencies has been stimulated by rumors to the effect that what is happening in North Africa is a small-scale rehearsal of certain plans for the appearance of a "strong man" in France. More and more of the press is talking of Marshal Juin as the "man of destiny," and not in North Africa only. Considerable importance is therefore attached to the election of President Auriol's successor at the end of the year. M. Pinay, who is a likely candidate, is viewed as very much "Juin's man," one who will give Juin his opportunity.

That some people think Juin a real danger is clear from the resignation of M. Mitterrand from the Cabinet. Mitterrand had reluctantly swallowed the coup against the Sultan of Morocco, but when he found that the new Resident General in Tunisia was another nominee of Juin's and therefore unlikely to pursue anything remotely resembling a liberal Mitterrand policy, it was the last straw.

Though it was not apparent at once, the August strikes were in a sense the crystallization of a major popular movement not only against the economic and social victimization of labor but also against an excursion by the right, the possibility of which had been demonstrated by events in North Africa. It has been said that North Africa is "a fascist appendix of a democratic France," but a diseased appendix can become dangerous to the whole body. And as the fear of dictatorship grows on the left, and even affects what might be called liberal opinion, so the fear of communism, or certainly of French Communists—"people not so different from us"—steadily diminishes. Hence a mood is developing that might favor a popular front. It is only a mood as yet, but— ALEXANDER WERTH

ADENAUER'S HOUR

But the Future Holds Peril . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THERE is general agreement in European capitals that Dr. Adenauer, having won his great victory, will encounter no obstacles at home when he proceeds to incorporate West Germany in the Atlantic community. The poor showing made by the splinter parties proves that the election was a contest between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, a genuine two-party contest from which the Chancellor's party emerged supreme. Moreover, Dr. Adenauer's personal triumph was even greater than that of his party; he can now pursue virtually any policy he pleases. The Swiss German press, which was particularly well situated to assess the result, emphasized that aspect of it. "The German people," the Bern *Bund* commented, "have again found a strong man."

Of course Adenauer was greatly helped by the support of the United States. With a more sensitive people like the French or the Italians, Mr. Dulles's intervention might have had a contrary effect. The Germans took it simply as proof that by electing Adenauer they would assure themselves unlimited American aid. All the former soldiers and officers of the Reichswehr counted on playing important roles in the European army; all who wanted German reunification above everything else believed they could best obtain it by shaking a mailed fist in the Russians' face.

BECAUSE Germans fall so easily under the spell of a strong man, the Christian Democrats benefited from having Adenauer as leader and the Socialists were penalized by having lost Schumacher. Ollenhauer is a competent politician, but he cannot sway the masses by the force of his personality as Kurt Schumacher used to do. Whenever Schumacher spoke in the Bundestag, even his enemies crowded into the hall to hear him. The austerity of his countenance was accentuated by his multiple disablement and his look of one who knew he had not long to live. His speeches were filled with striking phrases: "Clericalism is the fifth occupying power"; "I have no desire to see my countrymen incorporated in a European army to which the order to advance will be given in German and the order to retreat in French."

The Socialists had to contend also with the traditional bias against them. This unreasoning prejudice has continued undiminished since the time of Bismarck, though their opponents' policy of aggression has led the country into such terrible hecatombs. Their docility in voting for the war credits in 1914 did them no good. In 1953 as in 1871 they were the hated "reds." *"Nieder mit dem Marzismus!"* (Down with Marxism!) was again a war cry in these elections, though few Social Democrats today, in Germany or elsewhere, spend much time reading Karl Marx.

The rout of the Communists, who failed to win a single seat in the Bundestag and whose leader, Max Reimann, was beaten in his constituency in the Ruhr, where the workers were thought to be strongest, lessens the anxiety underlying the West's demand for "free elections" throughout Germany. Sunday's returns showed that even if the East Berliners and the people in the eastern zone voted unanimously for the Socialist-Communist Unity Party, the Parliament of all Germany would contain fewer Communists than the French or Italian Parliament does.

Neutralism as urged by the former centrist Chancellor Dr. Wirth and groups which take part in the world peace conferences was also decisively defeated. Gustav Heinemann, former Minister of the Interior, who broke with Adenauer because of what he considered the Chancellor's too great subservience to Washington, was not reelected. Tomorrow's Germany will be a strong military power.

Since the Christian Democrats have now an absolute majority in the Bundestag, the Chancellor will no longer have to placate the smaller parties in the coalition and can govern as the "strong man" pure and simple. Of course he must reckon with possible defections. In the course of the next few years some of the present enthusiasm for his policies may evaporate—much will depend on Russia's German policy, which so far has remained "soft" despite the election results.

EXPERIENCED commentators in Paris and London, though officially pleased with the outcome, express a certain anxiety about the effect on Washington. They fear a return to a high-handed "firmness" at variance with the conciliatory spirit that inspired the invitation to Mr. Molotov to meet his Western colleagues at Lugano on October 15. Washington's interest in reaching an accord with Russia may have been diminished by Adenauer's sweeping victory.

In both capitals America is thought to be moving toward a policy of imposing its own views on its allies at any cost. The Paris *Monde* said after the elections: "It is not putting it too strongly to say that in Germany as in Asia those who oppose the United States face the necessity of giving in but fear that if they do the worst will happen."

Of all the European statesmen who worked for the creation of a "little Europe," Adenauer alone has survived the present crisis of the Atlantic coalition. His two principal partners in the undertaking have been liquidated—Robert Schuman by the French, De Gasperi by the Italians. This fact has enormously increased Germany's influence and importance in the Western community. It has also strengthened the position of those Americans who say it does not matter if France and Italy do not want to go along with the United States so long as Germany and Franco Spain are "on our side." Acceptance of those countries as partners can of course only make the Atlantic coalition more unpopular in the free countries of Europe and nourish the belief that the crusade for liberty is supported by the most reactionary forces in the West. Neutralist tendencies in the rest of Europe are stimulated when the United States shows favors to a Germany which half the Continent fears and to a fascist Spain which more than half the Continent hates. The international "third force"—made up of Socialist and other anti-Communist but not clerical or reactionary elements—which American liberals had hoped would carry on the struggle against Russia from a progressive position has been smashed by the German elections.

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES

Meaning of the Bonn Vote . . *by Michel Gordey*

Bonn

A VICTORY for Konrad Adenauer in the West German elections was easy to predict. But no one, not even the "old gentleman" and his closest associates, expected such a landslide. On election night the 300 newsmen, including 150 foreign correspondents from all over the world, gathered in the huge press room of the Bonn Bundestag could only gasp in amazement as the returns started rolling in. Even in old Socialist strongholds like Hamburg and the industrial cities of the Rhineland and Ruhr, the Social Democrats hardly held their ground. In the early morning hours the picture was clear. The old gentleman had swept his party and his right-wing coalition to one of the most stunning victories in the political history of postwar Europe. Monday morning's complete returns gave Adenauer's party an absolute majority in the new Parliament. Moreover, his coalition, with the help of the Refugee Party, had now more than two-thirds of all the Bundestag seats. From now on Adenauer will be able to make all the constitutional changes he wants. The elections have given him absolute control of West Germany's domestic and foreign policies.

There were three reasons for this landslide. First, economic recovery in the past four years had been tremendous—the last figures on production, export, employment, the standard of living, and above all on housing gave the Chancellor a trump card which no opposition, however strong and shrewd, could beat. After years of misery, unemployment, and hunger, the West Germans in 1953 are well clad and well fed and enjoying much better low-rent housing. Adenauer and Minister of Economy Ehrhard could proudly point to these achievements and say, "Don't change horses in midstream." The Social Democratic opposition stressed the social injustice of this new prosperity, the contrast between the luxury of the rich and the still very modest condition of the wage-earners; and the powerful German labor federation with its 6,000,000 members threw its weight against Adenauer's reactionary social and economic policies. But the only result was to enable the Social Democrats to show about the same amount of political strength as in the last election. The huge majority of voters—the middle-class tradesmen and farmers and also quite a few workers—indorsed Adenauer's prosperity program, which was really the central issue.

THE SECOND reason was Adenauer's foreign policy. Striking posters showed the Chancellor returning from America as "the man who reestablished our links

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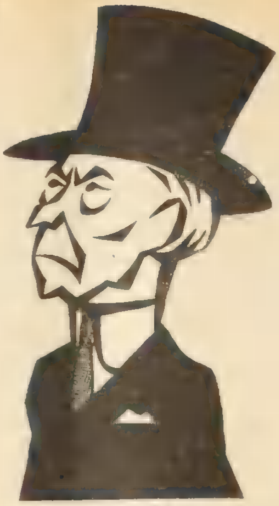
MICHEL GORDEY, brilliant young diplomatic correspondent of France-Soir, *is the author of "Visa to Moscow."*

with the free world." At twenty mass rallies Adenauer spoke at length on the friendship built up with America, England, and the countries of Western Europe. He pointed with pride to Germany's new and powerful place in the world and implied that all the big powers were seeking the new Germany's favors. He also explained that his policy of strength, exercised in close alliance with his friends in Washington, would force the Russians finally to "understand" that they must get out of Eastern Germany.

The German audiences loved these bragging accents of German power and these predictions of Soviet surrender to a display of strength. Night after night in Kiel, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and other cities I watched tens of thousands of men and women get up from their seats after Adenauer's speeches and sing with shining eyes and booming voices the famous words of "Deutschland Ueber Alles": "From Meuse to Memel, from Etsch to Belt." This revival of the old German nationalism was an important factor in the 1953 elections. The opposition tried in vain to show the dangers of Adenauer's plans for East-West relations. The Social Democrats reiterated that the only way to get the Russians out of Eastern Germany was to try negotiating and meanwhile postpone German rearmament. But the voters responded in overwhelming numbers to the forceful speeches of the man who gave them a sense of pride and security and a guaranty of Washington's support.

For the first time since 1945 Germans heard the country's great destiny, the bright future of German political and economic power, reaffirmed. They did not stop to think of the possible frightening consequences of Adenauer's policies. Certainly West Germans today do not want to think about war—the ruins and losses of the last war are still forceful reminders that war does not always pay even for Germans. But the opposition's advocacy of careful, peaceful policies lacked the appeal of Adenauer's references to Germany's might.

THIRD, as always in their history, the Germans were swayed by a man much more than by a political program. Adenauer's victory was a sweeping personal victory. This seventy-seven-year-old man, traveling all over the country, making several speeches a day, bearing himself like a young man, made a terrific impression on millions of Germans. His severe unsmiling face, his domineering nature, and his dynamic speeches gave the Germans a new idol just as in a recent, more dramatic time. A comparison between Adenauer's personality and that of Hitler or Hindenburg would be out of place. Adenauer is no totalitarian dictator. But his concept of democracy has nothing to do with democracy as we understand it in France, Britain, and the United States. His is a traditionally German, authoritarian approach in personal as in political matters. Here was a man Germans were ready to obey and follow. Obey and follow—the words have not lost their meaning in Germany today.


Chancellor Adenauer

The Social Democrats had no forceful leader to oppose to him. Erich Ollenhauer, the official leader of the opposition since the death of Kurt Schumacher, is a mild intellectual liberal. His failure to appeal to the imagination of the masses soon caused the Social Democrats to replace his portrait and the slogan "Ollenhauer Instead of Adenauer" on their posters by a picture of the dead Schumacher, captioned "He Warns You—Vote Social Democratic." It was just as if last year Stevenson had plastered Roosevelt's pictures on the walls of American cities. It was a sign of the coming defeat.

It should not be forgotten that the Social Democrats held their ground percentagewise and even gained a few seats. This they achieved against Adenauer, who had the support of big industry, the Catholic church, and the American State Department, not to speak of most German newspapers. However, with 150 seats in the new Bundestag the opposition has less than a third of the total number and is reduced to impotence. "From now on the only thing the Social Democrats will be allowed to do," said one of Adenauer's German henchmen, "is to scream." The first statements by Adenauer himself after the victory indicate that the "new Iron Chancellor" will have little Christian mercy on his enemies. He intends to settle accounts even with the powerful unions for their attacks on him during the campaign. He may even push through some anti-labor laws.

ADENAUER has emphasized the "complete obliteration" of the extremist parties. It is true that the Communists and neo-Nazis will not have a single seat in the Bundestag, but millions of Nazi-minded Germans gave their votes to the rightist coalition, and strong nationalist trends will be felt soon enough in the new Parliament. West German foreign policy will no doubt be based on the closest possible cooperation with Washington, especially since the Chancellor increasingly favors a tough attitude toward Moscow and has an almost mystical belief in the ultimate collapse of the evil forces in the Kremlin. Undoubtedly Adenauer will now pursue a much tougher policy toward France. Pressure will be applied from Bonn via Washington to force Paris to accept a solution of the Saar problem on terms favorable to Germany. A great clamor will be heard that France should ratify the European army treaty: Adenauer's close associates confidently expect Dulles to join this campaign. With the French people and Parliament in their present mood, such pressure may backfire very soon, disrupting even more the shaky Atlantic community.

As to the broader international implications of Adenauer's landslide, they can be summarized in one sentence uttered immediately after the official election returns were in by one of the few "trustworthy confidantes" of the Bonn Chancellor: "For all practical purposes the Big Four conference is now dead for a long time." In Western Europe the question asked these days is: Will Washington listen to Adenauer rather than to Churchill?

FACTORIES WITHOUT MEN

New Industrial Revolution . . . *by John Diebold*

[*We are on the threshold, not of the push-button era, but of an era in which buttons will push themselves. Here is the first of three articles explaining the vast social implications of this new industrial revolution, as well as the scientific principles involved. The writer, a management consultant, is a leading authority on the subject. In his recent book, "Automation—the Advent of the Automatic Factory," he describes a development which the* Christian Science Monitor *calls "an industrial adventure that is revolutionary in its potential and exhilarating in its promise."*]

WITH pilotless planes flying through our skies, bank tellers verifying check signatures by television, and "electronic brains" accurately predicting elections—at least when left to themselves—one is tempted to ask whether George Orwell may not have misdated his book. The almost daily appearance of new gadgets makes it seem that we are losing little time in creating the world that science fiction has for so long predicted. (Whether the praise belongs to the scientists for their gadgetry or to the fiction writers for their foresight is not altogether clear.)

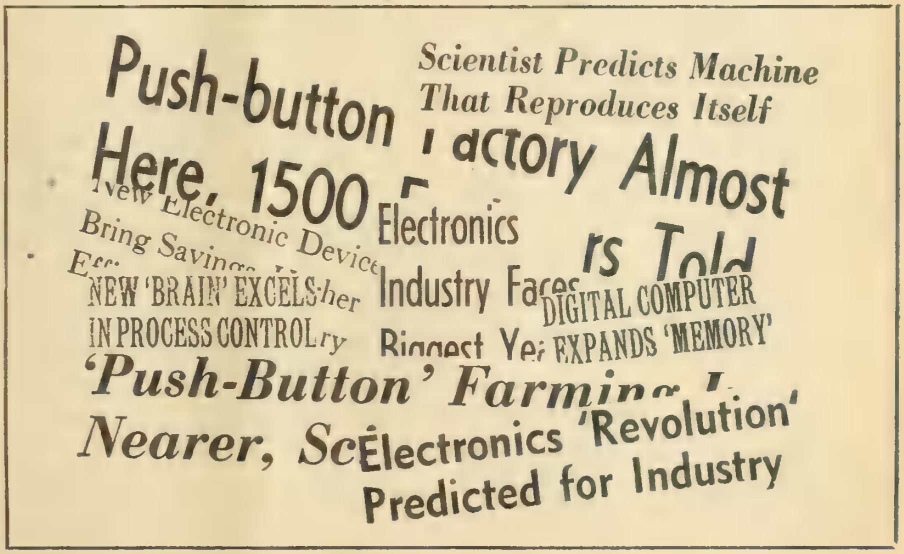
Having learned some time ago to expect the fantastic, we are not now startled to learn that the *Wall Street Journal* sets its type electronically, or that at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a paper player-piano roll has been made to control accurately a massive milling machine. But being accustomed to the innovations of the scientist is one thing; recognizing their significance is another. Taken together these many gadgets form a pattern, and it is a pattern that will have more meaning for our individual lives and for our collective future than the double-mushroom shape of atomic explosions. For the TV baby-sitter cameras, the computing machines, and the self-operating controls are only the first hardware of a new industrial era—*the age of "automation."*

The first industrial revolution provided power-driven machinery to perform the brute labor of our society. The industrial revolution now taking place is making possible the automatic control of these industrial processes and the mechanization of much of our routine paper work. It is already clear that the social and economic effects of this new industrial revolution will be as far-reaching as were the changes set in motion by James Watt's steam engine.

"Automation" is simply a new phase in the long continuum of mechanization. Nevertheless, it is a distinct and a very important phase. As the new industrial revolution runs its course, we shall be able to operate much of our industrial plant twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week—168 hours a week rather than the present 40 hours—and at the same time to shorten the work week for the human operators and to improve the nature of jobs as well as working conditions. The resulting enormous increase in the productivity of our society is but one of the many ways in which "automation" will affect our lives. Tremendous responsibility, for example, will be placed on our educational system to prepare our children for the world in which they will live. There will be increased need to reassess the role of leisure.

Like every far-reaching social change, "automation" will bring problems of adjustment. But we cannot hope to understand the nature of these problems, much less to solve them, without first determining the direction of the process and how far it will go. "Push-button era" is the phrase commonly used to describe the present stage of "automation," but it betrays a complete lack of understanding of the extent of the development. As the London *Economist* recently pointed out, the push-button age is already obsolete; the buttons now push themselves. The new controls are truly automatic, and not simply remote devices for starting, stopping, and otherwise adjusting machines as has been done traditionally by their human attendants. Controls in the "automation" age make it possible for machines to perform involved operations without the intervention of human beings. When properly *programmed,* or instructed, these new machines can correct their own errors and can choose, according to predetermined criteria, among several courses of action.

The distinction between the significant and the merely spectacular is nowhere more important, or less well understood, than in an assessment of the future course of "automation." Automatic operation is not in itself the core of the new industrial revolution. Pub-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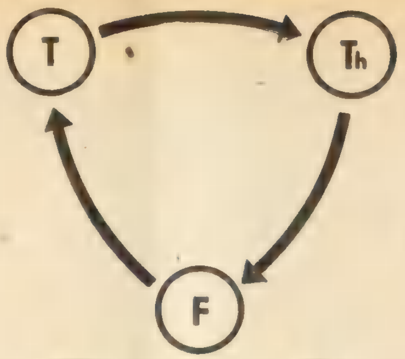
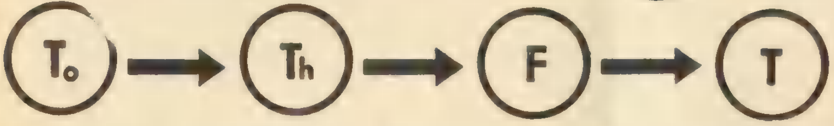
"Closed" and "open" sequences in methods of heating a room illustrate the principle of the feedback.

Below. The "open" sequence does not provide for feedback: *To,* outdoor temperature; *Th,* thermometer; *F,* fuel control of furnace; *T,* room temperature.

Right. In this "closed" system there is a feedback: *T,* room temperature; *Th,* thermostat instead of thermometer; *F,* fuel control of furnace.





Courtesy *Scientific American*

licity men to the contrary, automatic machinery is not new; and neither for that matter are wholly automatic factories. In 1784 Oliver Evans built an entirely automatic factory just outside Philadelphia—a continuous-process flour mill. Evans's mill made use of the three basic types of powered conveyors in a continuous production line. No human labor was required from the time the grain was received at the mill until it had been processed into finished flour. In 1801, in Paris, Joseph Marie Jacquard exhibited an automatic loom controlled by punched paper cards much like the punched cards used in modern office equipment. Jacquard's loom became so popular that by 1812 some 11,000 were in use in France alone. In the early 1920's the A. O. Smith Company built a fully automatic assembly line that is still operating at its Milwaukee plant for the fabrication of automobile body frames.

IF AUTOMATIC machinery is not the important fact of "automation," what is? The electronic computer has been hailed by many as the cornerstone of the second industrial revolution. Its ability to handle vast quantities of data at fantastic speeds, and consequently to act as a kind of super-control, tempts one to give it equal importance with James Watt's steam engine. But "automation" is too fundamental a development to be symbolized by any one piece of hardware, however magnificent that invention.

The basic concept underlying "automation" is the feedback. By application of this principle a self-regulatory control system can be created. Variations in the quality being controlled, your living-room temperature, for example, can be made to produce changes in the device controlling that quality—in this instance, your furnace. The result is a fully automatic and self-correcting system.

In the manufacture of machine tools, feedback makes possible control of the machine under actual operating conditions rather than under predetermined or ideal conditions. For example, if the operations of an "automatic" machine are controlled solely by a cam, no allowance is made for any defect in the piece being worked on. The machine stops or goes on to another operation after a predetermined time interval whether or not the workpiece is down to size. In a control system using feedback, however, extra cutting time is allowed if a hard spot is encountered.

A control system using feedback is known as a closed-loop system: operation of the control device is dependent upon the performance that it controls. In the open-loop system, the control mechanism is independent of the process being controlled. Many devices that we think of as automatic are of the open-loop kind. For example, the clockwork mechanism by which a street lamp is turned on at the same hour every day operates independently of the condition of illumination, for if an afternoon thunderstorm darkens the sky the light does not go on any earlier. Open-loop controls will undoubtedly continue to be used—even fifty years from now irons are scarcely likely to turn themselves on when our clothes become wrinkled—but fundamentally "automation" is the process of closing the control loops of industry.

The concept of feedback is not new. It was used in the construction of early windmills to keep the sails, or blades, facing into the wind. It was the basis of the fly-ball governor that James Watt designed in 1788 to control the speed of his steam engine; as the engine's work load changed, the steam flow was automatically adjusted. Ships' steering engines have used a feedback system since the middle of the nineteenth century to insure a constant angle of rudder turn for each turn of the ship's wheel, regardless of sea conditions. But until recently the development of such devices has been sporadic and has depended upon the ingenuity of individual inventors. Automatic mechanisms have consequently been built for the performance of only a limited number of tasks.

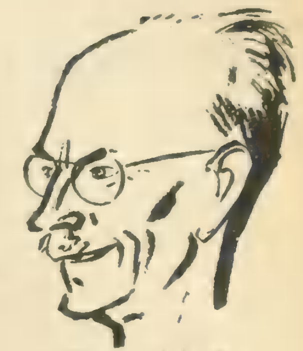
DURING the last ten or fifteen years, however, progress in electronics, communications, and electric-network analysis has made possible the mathematical formulation of a basic theory of communication and control, which in turn has facilitated the construction of a large variety of self-correcting machines. It is the universal availability of the simple principle of feedback, rather than the giant computers, that has lifted the idea of the completely automatic office and factory from the realm of science fiction to that of industrial possibility.

The new technology of "automation" not only permits closing the control loops of individual machines but also makes possible the over-all control of the group of machines constituting the factory. We should be able today to construct fully automatic factories in which the tasks of machine supervision, inspection, and materials-handling, as well as the actual fabrication, are performed by machines, not men. Moreover, by means of an entirely new family of machines, the electronic digital computer, paper work can be mechanized—record keeping, production planning, inventory taking, ordering, billing, pay-roll compilation, and check writing. This time the revolution is affecting the office as well as the plant.

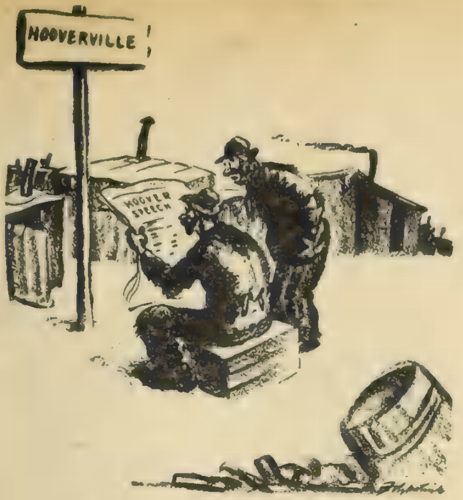
Effective industrial use of the technology of "automation" requires the solution of numerous problems, not all of them technical. These problems will be discussed in the second article of this series.

As Fitzpatrick Saw It

D. R. FITZPATRICK has been producing six or seven cartoons a week for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for forty years. That should give the mathematical-minded something to think about. Out of this prolific output, 311 have been collected in a book called "As I Saw It" (Simon and Schuster, $5), for which Joseph Pulitzer has written a foreword, Thomas B. Sherman a biographical introduction, and the cartoonist himself a running commentary on his work. As one way of reviewing the book, we are reproducing a few samples of its contents.—EDITORS THE NATION.



Fitzpatrick by Low


HOOVERVILLE
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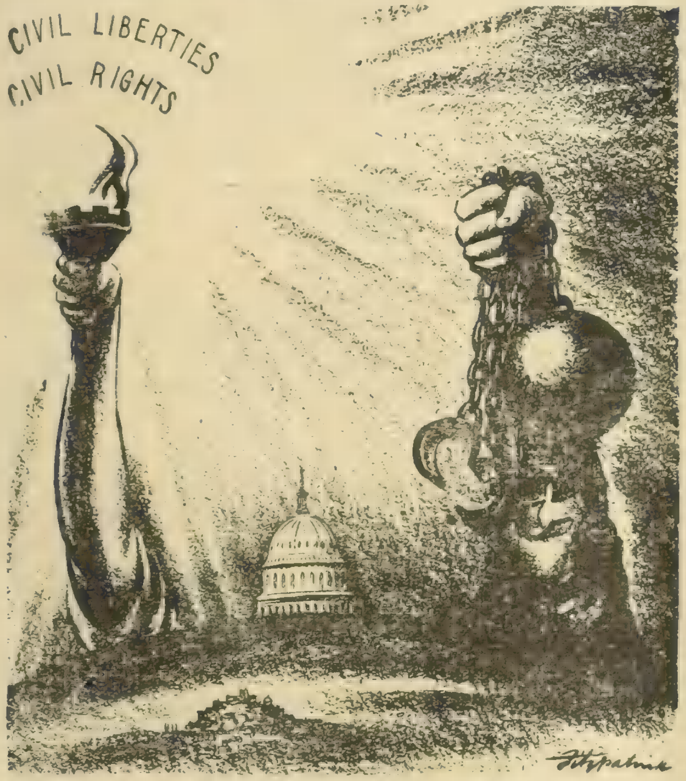
"It Seems There Wasn't Any Depression at All"

(December 18, 1935)


CIVIL LIBERTIES
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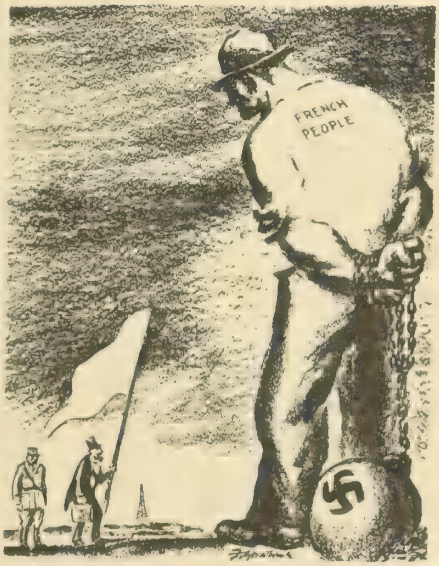
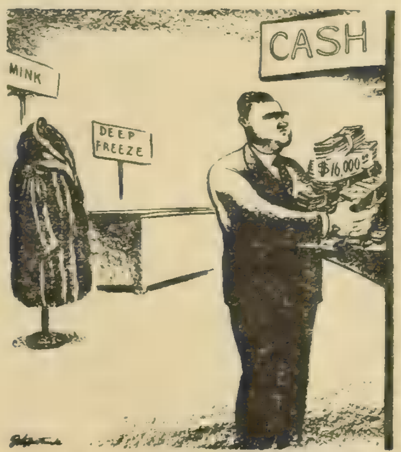
As America Goes, So Goes the World

(January 4, 1953)


FRENCH PEOPLE

"We Feared You More Than We Feared Hitler"

(July 2, 1940)


CASH
MINK
DEEP FREEZE
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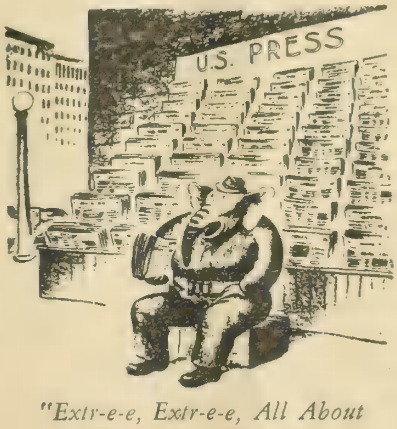
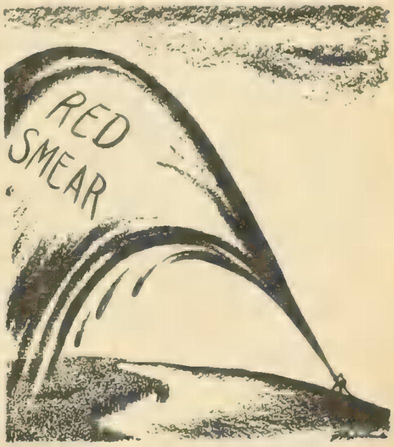
The Practical Mr. Nixon

(September 21, 1952)



"Extr-e-e, Extr-e-e, All About the Two-Party System"

(September 9, 1952)



On the Just and on the Unjust

(June 12, 1949)

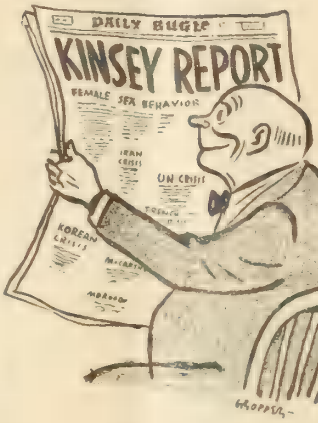
SEX, SEX, SEX, AND THE WORLD CRISIS

Reflections on Kinsey . . *by George Milburn*

IT SEEMS only yesterday, but in point of fact several weeks have passed since the rubric K-Day dawned. Although a vast patrol of pundits was assigned to prepare the public for the main event, not one gazer into the crowded crystal ball rose to predict that such a dog day would be one of those days on which all the big news breaks at once: the Soviet H-bomb blast was verified; Mossadegh surrendered; the Sultan of Morocco was ousted; Adlai Stevenson ended his globe-girdling trip with a portentous statement. Nevertheless, the top headlines of the day were left on a boiler-plate story with a Bloomington, Indiana, date line.

If the news behind the news is to be known, however, the ugly contretemps did create a certain amount of confusion on newspaper make-up stones across the land. More than a hundred highly paid correspondents had gone into summer quarters on the University of Indiana campus under as deep a hush-hush as ever prevailed at Oak Ridge—all to read and digest the advance galleys of a book which everyone acknowledged, under dire oaths of secrecy, was so explosive as to make the tests on the Nevada flats look like the fireworks display of a county fair.

Hence many newspaper readers will readily appreciate why the following report of a *crime passionnel* which would have hit the front pages—of the livelier tabloids, at least—on any ordinary day was crowded out on K-Day completely. The police made a thorough investigation and discovered that the home, as so many American homes are nowadays, had been wired for sound. Through the generosity of the police department, now that it is no longer news, we are enabled to reconstruct what happened in the Malone household on K-Day.



Malone came home that afternoon and found his good wife up to her *astragali* in a spate of newspapers and magazines. There was no smell of cooking anywhere.

"Oh, darling!" Malone's good wife exclaimed without lifting her eyes from the September *Woman's Home Companion* and its complete report on what Kinsey learned about women. "I'm so glad you're home! I've been dying to ask you—what's all this publicity build-up for the Kinsey report on women all about?"

"Sweetheart," Malone said, caressing his paunch, "my omniscience works better after I've had a bite to eat. What's for supper?"

"Oh, you and your four-bit words and your preoccupation with your gut," Mrs. Malone said, slinging down the magazine she had been reading on top of the heap about her. "When someone asks you a direct question, why can't you give a direct answer?"

"Maybe you'd understand me better if I used the Kinsey code," Malone said, picking up a copy of *Collier's*, the cover of which bore a portrait of the good Doctor Kinsey himself in full color, using his *digit muliebris* as a fulcrum for an old-fashioned nickel lead pencil, on the pointed end of which stood a statuette of Venus de Milo in perfect balance with Apollo Belvedere on the rubber end. The caption read: Kinsey—On the Difference between Men and Women.

Malone began thrumming between his teeth the tune of an old folk song, popular in the '20's, entitled "Don't Tell Me What You Dreamt Last Night, 'Cause I Been Reading Freud."

"Stop that disgusting whistling," his good wife commanded, "and if you've got a thought in your head, which I doubt, let me hear it!"

"Well, if you actually want to know what *I* think, honeybunch," Malone pontificated as he leafed through a copy of *Look;* "I think the reaction to the Kinsey report on women represents the bankruptcy of the American middle class."

"Bankruptcy!" she snorted. "Who's going to pay $8 for a book like that!"

"You mistake me, lover," Malone said. "I'm talking about moral bankruptcy—not financial! Although you might permit me to say that you've already spent on newspapers and magazines as much as the complete Kinsey report would cost."

"So what? Are you trying to keep me from keeping up with what's going on?"

"Not at all! But just by a rough calculation of the newspapers and magazines you've got around you there, the prices on them, I mean, I figure that you could have got a lot of potatoes and beans and onions for the same money at the nearest supermarket."

"Stop it!" his wife yelled. "Why must you always be so crass? Didn't you pay $6.50 for Kinsey's report on men, five years ago? And turned the wrapper on it and it stood around here propping up the book ends with only the blank side showing?"

"Yeah, Kinsey's Report on Men," Malone said thoughtfully, prowling the bookshelves. "We still got that here?"

"No, I gave it to the Salvation Army when they came up to take the old couch and that beat-up set of Dickens."

"Honeybunch," Malone said mourn-

GEORGE MILBURN, author of "Catalogue" and other books, conducts a fiction seminar at New York University.

fully. "You seem to be taking the wrong approach to Kinsey. I don't think we ought to *give* his books away."

There was a brief silence, after which Malone asked in a tender tone, "You want me to go on and elucidate, sweetie?"

"Go on," his wife said. "I'm listening."

"So I stopped into the liquor store to pick up a pint—which, by God, I'm going to hit right after we get through discussing Kinsey—and Mr. Michaelis, the proprietor, who proves to be a disciple of Daniel de Leon, gives me a long spiel about the Kinsey report being a diversion to keep people from meeting their main problems. Mr. Michaelis waved his hands and said, 'Sex is something we've known about for two thousand years. Bread and circuses,' he says. 'You get it?' he said to me."

"I don't, but keep on talking," she said, lying back in the arm chair with her eyes closed.

"Well, then, let me give it to you in a capsule. I don't know what the Kinsey Report on the Sexual Behavior of the Human Female is all about—but it seems to me that the Federal Trade Commission would have a strong case against him for flagrant mislabeling of a product." Malone shrugged. "At least he interviewed some five thousand white women in the Northeastern corner of the United States. I remember myself, several years ago, when he was staying at the Astor and all the little girls in our office chased over there and stood in line to register for an interview with Dr. Kinsey."

"Yes," Mrs. Malone said wearily. "I wish I'd had a chance to talk to Dr. Kinsey, myself."

"Oh, you would, eh? And what would you have told him?"

"Plenty."

"Yeah, I don't doubt for a moment that you would have, kiddo. But I'll venture to say that the Kinsey report on women doesn't say anything more than Somerset Maugham's gynecology professor used to say away back yonder in the '80's when he opened his course of lectures."

"What did he say?"

"Let's see if I can recall it—" Malone put a hand to his cheek and pondered before he began reciting, "'Gentlemen, woman is a creature that micturates once a day, defecates once a week, menstruates once a month, parturates once a year, and copulates whenever she has the opportunity!"

"Why, what a perfectly disgusting thing to say about women!" Mrs. Malone gasped.

"Yes," Malone said happily, "but don't you agree with Maugham that it it is a prettily balanced sentence?"

Just then on the sound recording there was a shriek and a yell, followed by some inarticulate words and heavy breathing, moans, and gargles. As police reconstruct the case, it was at this point that Malone's wife stabbed him with the scissors while he got his hands on her throat.

THE FARM BLOC

And Your Food Dollar . . *by Robert Engler*

ON AUGUST 14 wheat farmers voted overwhelmingly to continue price supports. By so doing they accepted controlled production through acreage allotments and marketing quotas. The New York *Times* front-page dispatch of that date recalled the Administration's desire that agriculture return to natural economic laws; in the next morning's report by the same writer the G. O .P. "hailed" the decision.

Political realism and falling prices had trumped pious morality and economic ideology. Farmers were apparently reluctant to live by the Secretary of Agriculture's faith that the "spur of insecurity" forces a man to do his best, that no "real American wants to be subsidized," that give-away government programs destroy initiative and undermine moral and spiritual values. The vote was also a slap at the leadership of several of the commodity groups as well as at the American Farm Bureau Federation. Confident that big and efficient agriculture can survive in a free market with flexible supports and not reluctant to see the "inefficient" drop by the wayside, the Farm Bureau, like the Secretary, remained "neutral." The National Grange indicated its distaste for continuing such a program but in the face of large crops accepted it as a "necessary evil." The third and smallest of the major farm groups, the Farmers' Union, went all out in urging its predominantly wheat membership to vote yes. But if the result jarred the bankers, food processors, and corporation farmers advising Benson who interpret the 1952 Presidential vote as a mandate to take the government out of agriculture, it did serve to get off the hook practical-minded Republicans on the Hill worried about $1.20 wheat and 1954 elections.

Falling income and the specter of another depression led the farmers once more to seek the protection of a "welfare state." But urban consumers, whose representatives in Congress have helped make possible such support programs, have no assurance that legislators from rural areas will now be more concerned about their welfare. The cost of living has reached an all-time high. Bread prices have gone up despite the fall in wheat prices. If the consumer is reluctant to blame the farmer he might speculate as to what extent middleman costs are a major factor. But a rider to the Federal Trade Commission's appropriation bill, upheld by a forty-five-to-thirty Senate vote, specifically prohibits the F. T. C. from making any study to trace the consumer's food dollar. In the Eighty-third Congress, as in previous years, many rural legislators of both parties have joined with big-business spokesmen to prevent such studies, while

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ROBERT ENGLER is professor of political science at Sarah Lawrence College.

slashing at price and rent controls, public housing, and labor safeguards.

It was the combination of such behavior and the rising cost of living that recently provoked Representative Javits, liberal New York Republican, to call for a reexamination of the price-support program. Similar resentment against this alignment for defeating public housing last year caused Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (D., N. Y.), to warn his colleagues that "as a representative of a city district I have continually preached to my people that we must help support the farm and rural areas of this country, because we can be prosperous only if the whole country is prosperous; but the day is coming . . . when my people will not listen to that any more and they will misunderstand if I continue to support the farm programs."

Urban exasperation with rural political power is not a new phenomenon in the United States, but it has seldom been translated into effective action. Romantic concepts about agriculture remain among our most enduring myths, though we live in an industrial age. Hardiest of these is the simple identification of the rural way of life with the democratic spirit, a belief which extends far back into the American heritage.

Few such romantic associations cluster around the large commercial farm or the farm bloc, but agriculture as big business is rapidly becoming the pattern, with less than one-third of the nation's farms producing some 80 per cent of the total food and fiber. The farm bloc is a coalition of agricultural organizations, responsive legislators, and other public officials whose concern is primarily for the dollars and the votes of the farmers and processors. It constitutes a powerful minority in public affairs and is more and more taking on the characteristics of the industrial giants with which it frequently teams up on legislative issues.

HOW FAR these forces challenge the pleasanter assumptions about farming and democracy has been forcibly brought home by a series of events involving the Grange and the railroads. Early last year a full-page advertisement sponsored by the Eastern Railroad Presidents' Conference appeared in metropolitan newspapers. It featured a letter from Hershel Newsom, master of the National Grange, to the chairman of the railroad organization. The head of the nation's oldest and second-largest farm organization wrote that the "National Grange now feels that our entire transportation policy should be carefully reexamined" so as to encourage the most efficient use of all forms of transportation "on the free-enterprise basis and with the least governmental regulation."

The National Grange was a leader in the late nineteenth-century movement that sought a measure of public control over the railroads; it fought excessive and inequitable freight rates. Out of this pressure came the decision of state governments to regulate the railroads and eventually the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission. These so-called "Granger" acts provided a first illustration of the potentialities of farmers organized for political action.

That the National Grange has long since abandoned any meaningful concern over the concentration of economic power is no secret. But allowing its name to be used on the eve of the freight-rate hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission was a public declaration of the growing big-business orientation of this segment of agricultural leadership. On April 14, 1952, the railroads won the increase—their eleventh since the end of the war.

Public-relations men for the railroads have planned a full-scale campaign to win farmer sympathy, complete with radio programs, "disinterested" speakers, pie-baking contests, and apple queens. At the height of the railroads' drive for a rate-increase law earlier this year, the July, 1953, issue of the *Grange Monthly* blossomed forth with ten large railroad advertisements, worth $7,170 at the Grange advertising rate. The three leading articles paid tribute to the railroad industry. It is interesting to note that in the past the *Grange* has used articles emanating from Carl Byoir and Associates, public-relations firm for the Eastern railroads, which are seeking to discredit the trucking industry. In the April, 1952, issue, for example, an article emphasizing the harm trucks do to our roads was expected, according to the Byoir people, "to reach the group the account was most concerned about, namely the farmer."

MORE IMPORTANT to the average citizen has been the performance of big agriculture in the area of price controls. Cotton, cattle, milk, and other commodity interests joined with the food-processing industries, the powerful National Council of Farm Cooperatives (Mr. Benson was once its executive secretary), the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and like-minded groups to prevent rollbacks and emasculate price controls. Three sympathetic Cornell professors of agriculture—one was to become a Benson adviser—provided the housewife with the learned explanation that during war "rising prices of certain products are highly beneficial. . . . What this nation needs is more of the so-called chiselers who know and understand how high prices stimulate production, create opposition to communism, divert resources from Russia and her satellites, and reduce civilian consumption."

Sparking this drive has been the American Farm Bureau Federation, the nation's largest farm group. Although designed to help spread information to farmers, the first Farm Bureau was founded by a New York State Chamber of Commerce and the Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad; other Farm Bureaus were started with financial help from boards of trade, railroads, and similar groups not generally noted for their kinship with dirt farmers. Viewing farming as an industry, the Farm Bureau has achieved many gains for agriculture while maintaining harmonious relations with organized business.

The general philosophy of these farm organizations is probably best revealed in the recurring fights over farm-labor legislation. Hostile to all attempts to provide decent standards for migrant workers who help make corporate farming so profitable, they demand and get guaranties for a cheap and ready reservoir of farm labor from Mexico and from underdeveloped and underemployed farm areas in this country. And there is no need for a field trip to discover how they operate. The answer can be found on Capitol Hill and in the Departments of Labor and Agriculture.

These farm-bloc activities in the areas of price control and farm labor have brought responses which agriculture might do well to heed. At its 1951 convention the C. I. O. declared that "it is a cause of grave concern to us when the views of those who claim a predominant right to speak for the farmers of America increasingly echo N. A. M. dogma, while sympathy and understanding of the needs and aspirations of all working people is hardly manifested at all." This stand paralleled an announcement by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that it was severing friendly relations with the American Farm Bureau and the Grange: "On economic issues of vital concern to the national welfare it has become difficult to discern any major difference between the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange on the one hand, and that of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce on the other," explained President Green. Declaring that farm-bloc policies were "dictated by the big corporate farms closely allied with big-business interests" instead of being representative of the attitude of most farmers, the A. F. of L. served notice that it was "not appeasing them any longer."

The American farmer may be riding for a political and economic fall if he does not become more alert to the positions taken by his organizations and reconsider his own political behavior. The basic agricultural reforms adopted since 1933, primarily helping upper- and middle-income farmers, who, save in the South, tend to support the Republican Party, have been passed with the active backing of urban and labor Congressmen. Yet agricultural Congressmen generally join with the representatives of big industry in fighting labor and welfare legislation. That certain Midwest agricultural states did vote for Truman in 1948 is significant, indicating the hold of New Deal gains and fear of declining farm prices. Interpreting the 1952 Eisenhower vote as a repudiation of price supports, farm credit, rural-electrification programs, and power and conservation projects may prove disastrous for farm Congressmen.

Reinforcing these warnings from labor are the latest Census Bureau statistics. In a steady downward trend the current farm population of 23,250,000 is a distinct minority of our 160,000,000 population. Of our total labor force of 63,000,000, some 8,750,000 are in the farm population, but only 5,825,000 of these are employed in agriculture. As former Secretary of Agriculture Brannan remarked, this means "agriculture can't just stand up and say this we want and this we take whether anybody wants us to or not."

A BASIC QUESTION is who represents agriculture. Claiming a membership of nearly a million and a half farm families, the Farm Bureau views itself as the "real voice of agriculture" with the responsibility of letting Congress know what the farmer thinks. Relying heavily on its power at the local level and its strong legislative influence, the Bureau is suspicious of all Department of Agriculture attempts to take the lead in agricultural affairs.

Although the Grange claims a membership of well over three-quarters of a million and wields considerable influence, its general conservatism and passivity preclude any leadership role. To the Farmers' Union, agriculture is a way of life, and family farming, with its deep democratic roots, should be preserved through a full governmental program, including price supports at 100 per cent of parity. Its sympathy for organized labor and comprehension of the needs of the economy are reflected in its drive for full-employment legislation, compulsory health insurance, and anti-trust regulation. Influential in the New and Fair Deal administrations, it has never exerted great power in Congress. It is handicapped by a small membership—fewer than 200,000 farm families—and a heavily one-crop and sectional base. Since cotton farmers have some of the same problems as wheat farmers, the Farmers' Union attempt to woo Southern support, often a dissident element in the Farm Bureau, has possibilities of success.

Most farmers belong to no general farm group, notwithstanding the multiplicity of farm, commodity, and cooperative associations. And no group fights for all farmers. The third of our agricultural population who are living on too small farms and receive inadequate incomes lack any effective voice. With the exception of the Farmers' Union, farm spokesmen appear interested in their fate only to the extent of forcing them out of agriculture. Whether the solution be in greater opportunity within agriculture—a debatable approach in the light of agriculture's increasing productivity despite the diminishing number of farms (5,382,000) and the increasing size and cost of the average farm (215.3 acres)—or in industrial rehabilitation, concrete programs must be advanced and undertaken.

Agriculture is increasingly a part of our industrial society, and must be so viewed. Current high levels of production must be examined in the light of growing domestic and world needs before they are hastily labeled surplus. Firm price supports may not be the best long-run solution; one factor in judging this is the worth we find in the institution of the family farm. (It should be remembered that we subsidize liberally the press, transportation, and other areas of our economy.) Alternative farm policies consistent with the values of a democratic society should be explored. Unfortunately, agricultural-policy formulation has become the product of private bipartisan political deals among the narrow farm interests that dominate the Congressional committees and much of the Department of Agriculture.

The public is penalized by high taxes and high prices. This is a far cry from agriculture as the seedbed of democracy and free enterprise. Taking policy out of the exclusive hands of the farm bloc and bringing it into the arena of public discussion and party responsibility would be a first step toward making such myths realities in 1953.

BOOKS

The Enchanted Ring

WILLA CATHER. A MEMOIR. By Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

WILLA CATHER LIVING. By Edith Lewis. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

WILLA CATHER. A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By E. K. Brown. Completed by Leon Edel. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

By Maxwell Geismar

IN THE tumult of contemporary writing—broken careers, sell-outs, disappointed hopes, fading talents, failure—Willa Cather's achievement seems even more secure as we draw away from it. Compared with late Hemingway and late Faulkner, she looks pretty good; and one could go on through the list of bright stars of the past who flicker so fitfully today and from whom, I think, we can expect very little. But just because Willa Cather's life and work appear so remote from the distractions and disorders of her own period—because she so carefully suppressed all evidence of her own conflicts—she is an aloof, mysterious figure. She manages to be at once rather chilling and somewhat stuffy.

These three studies do not really dispel the aura of reticence and self-imposed solemnity. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant is perhaps most openly critical of her early friend and literary mentor, whom she met at *McClure's* magazine in 1910, during the heyday of the muckrakers. Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell had just resigned when Miss Sergeant, fresh from Bryn Mawr, bearing her thesis on the toilers of the tenements, first encountered the "powerful, almost masculine personality" who was to take over the magazine and turn it as best she could towards the purer atmosphere of art. "Send the working girls to the *Atlantic*," the new editor remarked to her friend. And this was the epitaph for an epoch, as well as for a magazine, so far as Willa Cather was concerned.

Miss Sergeant's book is rather sharp about Miss Cather's respect for "wealth and swagger," her recurrent fear of "dying in a cornfield," her early and neurotic hatred of the Nebraska scene which she was later, almost as an act of atonement, to idylize. But for the years of the writer's maturity and literary achievement Edith Lewis's memoir, within its own limits, is more informative. Miss Lewis was Willa Cather's closest friend and daily companion; she was almost, if one may dare thus to speak about the half-sacred province of this artist's private existence, a sort of Alice Toklas to Miss Cather's Stein. Here we begin to feel, too, the gradual constriction of Miss Cather's later life—that "concentration" which produced such magical effects in her books and demanded, apparently, her withdrawal from so many forms of mature experience, personal and cultural.

HER ART was her life. But her life, ever narrowing into a circle of nostalgia that included only the past, and almost a child's view of the past, also restricted her art, which obtained its effects by exclusion, as she knew. This theme is clear in the best of these three books, E. K. Brown's authorized biography, which is, one must add, a model of its class, and admirably completed and edited, after Professor Brown's death, by Leon Edel. More scholarly than the ladies, more objective, and concerned with an analysis of Willa Cather's work as well as her life, Brown also describes her early belief in the "artist," alone in a hostile society, superior to human follies, fleeing from ugliness and monotony to "things of beauty and enchantment." This was her adolescent conviction, and perhaps her tragic flaw.

The typical portraits of Miss Cather in these volumes—the white middy blouse and black tie, the childlike arrangement of the hair—confirm this impression of adolescent revolt that drew inexorably into her "quest for antiquity"; for order and security (and comfort) in a medieval Catholic universe that had never quite existed in the Southwest of "Death Comes for the Archbishop" or the Quebec of "Shadows on the Rock." Brown also notices that not only is Antonia viewed through the eyes of Jim Burden, but the lost lady herself—Mrs. Forrester—is described by practically the same young Western observer, whose sexual disenchantment occurs when he hears a woman's laugh in the dark. The question is not purely one of aesthetic form but of the psychological impulse that suggested this form. It is not just a masculine view of these famous heroines that Willa Cather preferred to use—but an *innocent* view.

Yet Brown's biography in turn hardly does justice to the whole tragic withdrawal in Miss Cather's life at its high point of fame and achievement. What was the real meaning of this abdication which included not only sexual and social but almost a complete human renunciation? What was that wound of hers, so familiar in her stories, which, "healed and hardened and hopeless," as she said about her protagonist in "The Professor's House," impelled him toward suicide and a sort of desperate religious salvation? "He did not regret his life, but he was indifferent to it." This was perhaps the true conclusion of the artist's lifelong dedication to that enchanted ring of art—and of the past—in which finally there was hardly room for a human being to breathe.

Future critics will have to interpret such questions as these, about both the writer's life and her work, to get the full portrait. It is interesting also to compare Willa Cather's career with Ellen Glasgow's successful struggle to break through both that "enchanted fairy-ring" of the Old South, where no truth ever entered, and the neurotic armor she felt in her own temperament. These two great ladies of contemporary American letters are usually discussed as though they lived in different cultures or on separate astral orbits. (There is no mention of Miss Glasgow, so far as I know, in all of Willa Cather's writings, and very little in the present biographies.) Yet they throw a natural light upon each other.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, literary historian and critic, is a contributing editor of The Nation. *"Rebels and Ancestors," the third volume of his series on American novelists, has just been published.*

New Books in Brief

On Educational Theories

THE CONFLICT IN EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. By Robert M. Hutchins. Harper. $2.

In his usual pungent fashion the former president and chancellor of the University of Chicago presents six lectures analyzing prevailing theories of education. Listing these theories as adaptation, immediate needs, social reform, and "the doctrine that we need no doctrine at all," Mr. Hutchins indicates the impact of each and offers an alternative. Whether one agrees in detail or not, it is impossible to follow the argument without experiencing that stimulation which is the contribution of a significant book. In the belief that other nations may be tempted to imitate the American educational system, Hutchins queries "whether America has become rich and powerful because of her educational system or in spite of it." When college administrators "welcome" legislative investigations and devote their energies to public relations which seem to entail placating the orthodox and powerful, it is heartening to be reminded that a university is "a center of independent thought" with the function of criticizing the culture. A fact obvious to some but worth underscoring is that "there is not much danger to our youth from the improprieties of their instructors or the radical views that they may entertain. . . . A far greater danger is that the majority will exert pressure on the educational system for indoctrination in and compulsory adoption of the majority opinion."

Eliot Learned from Him

JULES LAFORGUE AND THE IRONIC INHERITANCE. By Warren Ramsey. Oxford. $5.

Most early readers of early volumes by Eliot and Huxley would have found those authors less startling if they had known the poetry published in France some two generations earlier by the Baudelarian dandy and symbolist manqué who is the subject of this study. Huxley's lovers, "quietly sweating palm to palm," and Eliot's metaphor, "like a patient etherized on a table,". would never have existed had their authors not learned from Laforgue, who died at twenty-seven, the trick of confronting emotion with physiology and comparing states of the soul with the most trivial and banal aspects of contemporary life. This first study in English is not only biographical and critical but comparative, containing an extended treatment of Laforgue's influence on such other moderns as Pound and Crane as well as on Eliot. It also deals interestingly with the whole subject of the "new" poetry in France toward the end of the last century. Originally a doctoral dissertation, it was awarded the annual Oxford Press–Modern Language Association prize.

New Light on Chekhov

CHEKHOV. A Life by David Magarshak. Grove Press. $6.

Chekhov's life, though undermined by an incurable illness—he died at the age of forty-four—was that of an average intellectual of his time and was marked by few colorful incidents. To overcome this handicap, his biographer, an English student of Russian literature, has concentrated on Chekhov's literary activities and used as sources chiefly the writer's letters, which are extremely valuable and self-explanatory material. Although Mr. Magarshak's own contribution to the interpretation of Chekhov's personality and work is neither illuminating nor deep, his book is a useful factual survey and often considers points that have not been given sufficient attention in other critical studies. For instance, it offers many particulars about Chekhov's interest in Tolstoy's moral preaching and about his final rejection of Tolstoyan religious "non-resistance to evil by violence." This rejection, by the way, is another piece of evidence against the claim that Chekhov was "politically aloof." It is true that he refused to join any of the contending factions in the Russian intelligentsia and was highly critical of all political parties, but he held strong liberal convictions and knew how to defend them with firmness and dignity:

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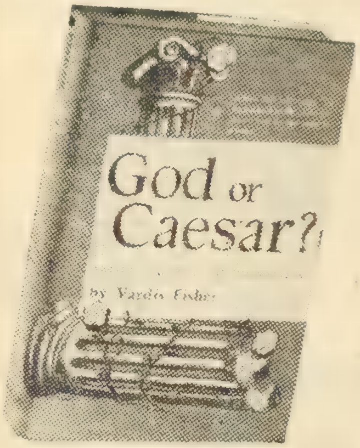
when Czar Nicholas II annulled Gorky's election to the Imperial Academy, Chekhov was one of the two academicians who protested by resigning. The vigorous stand Chekhov took in the Dreyfus affair shocked and frightened some of his conservative friends. Many other significant details about the Russian story-teller and playwright are included in this interesting biography.

Tremendous Poet

THE GYPSY BALLADS OF GARCIA LORCA. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Indiana. $2.75.

Rolfe Humphries's present version of the "Gypsy Ballads"—to which he has added three Historical Ballads—is largely a reprint from the last chapter of "The Poet in New York" published in 1940. In the years between he has considerably touched up and improved the weak spots in his earlier versions.

Thus the line "Huye, luna, luna, luna," mangled in 1940 as "Ah, flee, Moon, Moon, ah, flee," has become, much more winningly, "Runaway, run away, Moon!" And thus in the poem titled Fracas the line "El toro de la reyerta," originally "The bull of the argument," has taken on real form and substance as "The great bull of the brawl." The only revision that strikes me as unhappy occurs in a passage from The Gypsy Nun which earlier read "A dull and distant murmur/Undoes her white apparel." In the new version "loosens" has been substituted for "undoes," whereby a very usable double meaning is lost.



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Cavils aside, however, Humphries's poetic bookkeeping does well by Lorca, if my limping Spanish may attest. For though Humphries takes many liberties word for word, he does keep the poetic construct of the poem in mind, and without flagrant disregard for the actual wording wisely goes for the image and the motion.

The result is a good experience of Lorca in English. The strange and flashing images—"Far off the church is growling/Like a bear belly up," or "The inkwells of the cities/Pour out their thickness, slowly"—and the abrupt rhythms of Lorca pass into English with no sense of clerical violence. And what a tremendous poet Lorca is! To read him is to discover again that the eye is part of the mind.

Individuals and Symbols

THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. By Howard Fast. Blue Heron Press. $3.

When Howard Fast's "Spartacus" appeared, it was good to see a better treatment of the Roman slave revolt than that of Arthur Koestler. In the same way it may be hoped that some day a better novel about Sacco and Vanzetti than this will be written—but until that day comes, this one will do.

Fast's sincerity makes his work convincing and moving, but his symbols are too pat and his portrayals too much in black and white to be entirely successful for material of the recent past. The material is on the same level as the American mythology of Stephen Vincent Benét but much more difficult to write about without anger.

The book recounts the last eighteen hours in the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, with glimpses of the stir they made in the world and long close-ups of the principals in their story, distorted a bit, but impressive and in the direction of truth. Sacco and Vanzetti are the symbol about which men take sides; yet each is well characterized and stands for something as an individual.

A clear and complete picture of the whole case is given—from one side, of course—without interruption to the pace and feeling of their last day, which grows in intensity to despair and ends as calm as death. The flashbacks are smooth, and the evidence is summarized through a very clever device. Fast is deft in going right up to the brink of the ridiculous and not falling over: the persecutors have bad dreams or bad conscience, but it seems reasonable that they should. He is wise in quoting, or near-quoting, all the actual participants, for in that day of truth each man revealed his character in his words, and Vanzetti was a more moving writer than even Howard Fast.

The Struggle Against Sectarianism

CHURCH, STATE AND FREEDOM. By Leo Pfeffer. Beacon. $10.

With ministers' pay lagging so far behind that of other professions, it is tragic indeed that this magnificent 606-page book costs $10 a copy. A veritable library of studies on the history of religious freedom and current practices in church-state relations, it should be on the bookshelf of every working pastor in America—and of thousands of lay officers in our churches.

Dr. Pfeffer first recounts with fascinating detail the history of church-state relations in Europe up to the time the United States Constitution was adopted, a story of persecution, bloodshed, hatred, and war, all in the name of God and the Prince of Peace. He continues with a candid and alarming rehearsal of evidence about church interference in public education in this country, state subsidies to church organizations, the incredible sophistries of school boards seeking to justify religious observances and teaching at the taxpayers' expense, and the government's employment of religious customs in Congress, the armed forces, and the courts.

The grim finding on what happens to religious freedom when either church or state seeks to dominate the other are presented very impressively. The McCallum case, the Melish case, the Zorach case, the struggles of Horace Mann, the frank hostility of the Catholic church to public education of any kind, the Vatican-ambassador issue, and scores of other examples are discussed to the reader's immense enrichment. The Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic positions are justly and objectively presented. I know of no other book in which mankind's struggle against sectarianism has been told more completely.

The author shows that post-war church-state relations in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, as well as earlier experiments in the Soviet Union, reveal the dangers of state aid to churches even in a socialist society. It will be of interest to many readers to discover that the new state of Israel has so far been unable to adopt a constitution primarily because of the explosive issue of religious freedom: the leaders of the Knesset find our own First Amendment prematurely Utopian. Sweden and other Lutheran-dominated countries have only recently made partial efforts to mitigate the evils of sectarianism by the state, evils so long deplored by Protestants in Catholic Spain, Italy, and Latin American countries. The First Amendment with its wall of separation between church and state remains the high-water mark in man's effort to protect the religious conscience.

Little Masterpieces

LITTLE NOVELS OF SICILY. By Giovanni Verga. Translated by D. H. Lawrence. Grace Press. $3.

These beautiful stories of Sicily in the 1860's are not only "little novels" a very accurate title in this case. They are little masterpieces which deserve recognition on the same artistic level as the stories of Turgenev or Chekhov. Verga is closer temperamentally to the peasant life he writes about—and what a life. The stories take up informally, and always in human terms, the role of the church and the nobility, of law, medicine, and education, in a sick, backward country where even Garibaldi's revolution meant only more misery. "If they'd told me what liberty was like—!" stammers one of these farmers as he is led to the gallows. Yet Verga's people are full of dignity and drama, rich in feeling, at the farthest extremes of desperation. The stories combine the grotesque, the heart-breaking, and the comic texture of the society they describe. The translation is excellent.

On Fiction Writing

GOD OR CAESAR. By Vardis Fisher. Caxton. $5.

A book for beginners on the craft of fiction writing by the author of over a dozen novels. Fisher has read widely and quotes freely, but he is almost immodestly self-indulgent in displaying his prejudices and his resentment against reviewers who have treated him roughly in the past. The result is a book that is stimulating, aggravating, and at times wonderfully wrong-headed.

A Quaint Cult

THE PEOPLE CALLED SHAKERS. By Edward Deming Andrews. Oxford. $6.

An excellent history of one of the most interesting of American religious cults. Brought to this country in 1774 from England by Mother Ann Lee, the quaint doctrines fell on soil already prepared by the Great Awakening initiated by Jonathan Edwards and stimulated by Whitefield. After an initial period of persecution, the order flourished and at one time had six thousand members living in eighteen communities. Celibacy was strictly observed, for "he that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord," and emotional release was obtained through violent ritual dancing. All goods were held in common, hard physical work was expected of everyone, special skills were encouraged, and before long the Shaker communities were famous for their prosperity and for the excellence of their products. After the Civil War the order dwindled away for a variety of reasons and has now virtually died out.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

ABOUT once a year I get a letter questioning my practice of discussing other critics' opinions. One interesting thing about this is that there would be no such question if I discussed a book by one of these critics—even a book that was a collection of his newspaper reviews; what is objected to is my discussing the reviews when they appear in the newspaper; and this distinction is obviously absurd. But no more absurd, surely, than the idea that the critic is to evaluate what the artist does, but nobody is to evaluate what the critic writes about the artist. And if it is conceded that his writing is subject to evaluation, who is to evaluate it if not another specialist in the field? Is the rule for music critics to be different from the rule for historians, anthropologists, and philosophers, who are considered to be the right ones to evaluate each other's writings? Or different from the rule for literary critics, who constantly discuss each other's ideas?

All this aside from the fact that as someone intensely interested in music I am bound to be interested in what is written about it—to get pleasure from an illuminating statement, pain from a misleadingly unperceptive one. And the ideas about music published in books, magazine articles, newspaper concert reviews, record blurbs are a part of the musical scene that it is the critic's function to comment on—an especially important part since it affects people's understanding and thus influences the rest of the scene. If it is the critic's duty to object to a performance that gives people a false idea of a piece of music, it is equally his duty to object to a statement which gives them a false idea of it.

But, my questioners point out, since critics deal with what is not objectively measurable, and their judgments are mere personal opinions, can one of them contend that his opinion is right and another's wrong? To my questioners the answer is very clear that he cannot; and they would approve of what Virgil Thomson said when I asked him once what the *Herald Tribune* music staff had done in its course in music criticism at New York University: "On the democratic assumption that any opinion is legitimate that can be expressed in clear prose, we taught them how to write." But I would say the democratic assumption he referred to holds only for the opinions of private belief and conversation, not for those of published criticism; and that the assumption underlying the publication of an opinion is that it is worth publishing because it embodies the special critical perception that most people lack. Thomson might say he was speaking only of opinions of this sort; and my questioners undoubtedly would point out that their question is concerned with differences in opinions of this sort.

I would say then first that if one concedes the possibility of the critic having greater perception than his lay readers, one has to concede the possibility of one critic having greater perception than another. And my second answer is to say how I think criticism operates. The piece of music is a communication; as such it may impress different minds differently; and the critic reports to his readers the effect it has on *his* mind. But in this he acts only as a sort of guide-post, saying in effect: "At this point I hear this detail, this quality, this meaning, this value"—after which his reader listens and may say: "Yes, I hear all that too." But his reader also may say: "No, I don't hear that, I hear *this*." What the critic says about a piece of music is true for his reader only if it is confirmed by the reader's ears; and each critic writes for the group of people who have found his perceptions and evaluations confirmed sufficiently by their own experience. The critic, in other words, writes not what is true, but what is true for him, and what becomes true for other people who find it to be so when they listen. And this is so not only when he writes about a piece of music or a performance, but when he writes about another critic's statement.

One thing that is true for me is that there are a lot of people writing about music on nothing but Thomson's democratic assumption. To practice medicine or law or engineering a man has to prove himself qualified; but all he has to do is persuade somebody to publish what he has written, and he is a music critic, about whom I will be asked how I know I am right and he is wrong.

Speaking of Thomson and criticism I should mention an interesting clipping I came across recently. Early in 1934

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Olin Downes discussed "the becoming attitude of the American critic toward the native composer and his works," and asked Roger Sessions and Thomson (in America at the time for "Four Saints") for their opinions. The clipping gives their letters: one from Sessions on the relation of the critic to the composer; one from Thomson on the proper setting of words in operatic declamation. And I begin now to understand those articles and reviews that have no connection with the concert or book they are supposedly concerned with: Thomson writes about what is in his mind at the moment, and it's up to the pianist or author to adjust himself to that, not the other way around.

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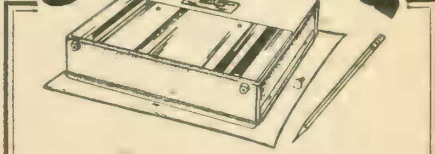

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Letters

The Big Swap

Dear Sirs: A marine wrote home to his parents (our neighbors), including in his letter the following: "Right there where thousands of marines and Chinese and all types of men in the world were killed—we had a big swap. Shaking hands all around, and just plain laughter. It's enough to make a guy wonder what the waste was for. . . ."

Yet in the U. N. we see our representative, Mr. Lodge, seeming to follow the dictates of that aged tyrant, Mr. Rhee. It will take bigger men than Lodge, Knowland, Dulles, and McCarthy to negotiate the peace in Korea and the world.

Walnut Creek, Cal. TOM KENDALL

Undeportable Expendables

Dear Sirs: Speed the day when that unfriendly, chilling term "alien," even in its most technically legal application, has disappeared and been replaced by "foreign-born"! However, I applaud its use when applied in a sense never envisaged by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. We have in our midst native-born Americans who are indeed aliens—but undeportable.

I would nominate for inclusion in this inglorious roster those judges sitting on political cases whose conduct reflects the current hysteria, lawyers fearful of defending proponents of unpopular views, faculties of schools and colleges maintaining prudent, unprotesting silence while colleagues, gifted and dedicated teachers, are dismissed. But leading all the rest, I would nominate as Dean of Undeportable Aliens, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

With respect to the foreign-born, I hope fellow-readers will wholeheartedly support the omnibus bill introduced by Senator Lehman and Representative Celler on August 3, which will come up in Congress in January. Its purpose is recodification of all immigration and naturalization laws, broadening their democratic base and eliminating their shamefully onerous provisions.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

For Mr. del Vayo . . .

Dear Sirs: At least one of your readers —and I suspect a good many others— values the independent judgment of your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, and consider his thoughtful commentary perhaps the best feature of *The Nation.* Surely Mr. Novick [*The Nation,* August 29] and his fellow cold-warriors can feel assured that their point of view is not being neglected since at least 99 per cent of the press is with them. Possibly what Mr. Novick finds most objectionable is a conscientious analyst realistically trying to appraise the role of the United States and Russia in the arena of international power politics rather than in the allegorical terms of good and evil so hallowed in the folklore of American foreign relations.

Newark, N. J. ROBERT D. WARTH

Dear Sirs: For months now I have turned eagerly to the writings of Mr. del Vayo in *The Nation* because he writes such good sense, is free from hostility and rancor. . . . I'm sorry Mr. Novick does not like his views. I'm sure the reason must be within Mr. Novick himself.

Syracuse, N. Y. LILLIAN E. REINER

. . . And Against

Dear Sirs: With good conscience I could have written every word that Irving Novick wrote in your issue of August 29 about Mr. del Vayo's strange reluctance to recognize the obvious in Russia. It must be reluctance, for I would not do his otherwise poised urbanity, keen insights, political sophistication, and wide erudition the injustice of taking it as insensibility. I say this as one who reads Mr. del Vayo with pleasure. He should be printed, but also he should be evaluated, especially when the question is raised.

Sarasota, Fla. ELLIS FREEMAN

Dear Sirs: I too have been a reader of *The Nation* for many years and find it informative and stimulating. Neverthe-

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less, I must join with Irving Novick regarding the articles by your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo. I read his articles with interest, but must admit that he seems to be biased, and certainly not favorable to the United States.

Chicago, Ill. WILLIAM E. RODRIGUEZ

Beg Pardon, San Diego

Dear Sir: Say what you like about Los Angeles—you can't be too caustic to suit us—but please don't bracket us with them by referring to "Southern California." When the Rome-inspired attack upon UNESCO was launched in the schools here, the citizenry rose en masse and put it down with a resounding thump. And when the parochial schools made their big play for tax exemption last November, San Diego stood out among the three great population centers as rolling up such a tremendous "no" vote that it looked for a time as if it might save the state. The current suit to invalidate the law on grounds of unconstitutionality was largely inaugurated through San Diego influence. [Last month the Superior Court of Alameda County held the measure unconstitutional, but the decision is being appealed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

When you speak of separation of church and state with reference to California issues, always remember the state's white spot—San Diego.

San Diego DEE SMITH

Ike on Academic Freedom

Dear Sirs: Writing in *The Nation* of September 4, 1948, Professor Frank Bowen Evans, of Columbia University, wondered whether I "had been seeing things under the bed" when I warned that colleges, universities, and teachers would come under destructive fire from Congressional committees. I am sorry that I was right and Professor Bowen wrong.

In retrospect, it is interesting to note two passages from his *Nation* article: "In any event," he wrote, "liberals must be prepared to fight for their beliefs now, before it is too late." He also reported what Mr. Eisenhower, then president of Columbia University, had said to me by telephone from Denver, where he was on a golfing vacation: "At any rate, the mere hint of such an examination of educational institutions led Dwight D. Eisenhower [to say], 'Universities are the cornerstones of democracy, and I defy anyone to find them otherwise.' "

We could congratulate ourselves if Dr. Evans's injunction to liberals were acted on today and if Ike would restate his views on university inquisitions.

J. ALVIN KUGELMASS

Westbury, N. Y.

Smoking and Lung Cancer

Dear Sirs: Your May 23 issue, containing the article on Smoking and Lung Cancer, has just come to my attention and given me great satisfaction. As early as 1928, in a paper in *The Medical Times,* I had focused attention on the comparative harmfulness of smoking. . . . The responsibility of the medical profession with respect to tobacco is tremendous. TV advertising drags out the doctor in a white jacket. "Physicians" are reported to approve this or that cigarette . . . Perhaps such articles as yours will prod physicians into challenging the tobacco companies and their advertising writers.

MEYER GOLOB, M.D.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Havelock Ellis

Dear Sirs: I have been engaged for the past eighteen months in writing the life of Havelock Ellis. Finding a number of gaps in the American side of the picture, I wondered whether any of your readers possess sequences of letters from him and would let me see them? I should undertake, of course, to see that all material was safely returned.

Alternatively, some people may have interesting recollections of him which they might care to pass on to me, or some memories of the lecture tours which Mrs. Edith Ellis made in the United States. Anyone who knew Mrs. Edith Ellis in the United States might be able to help me. My address is: 45, Great Ormond St., London, W. E. 1, England.

London VINCENT BROME.

Wrong Address

Dear Sirs: Some time ago, in an editorial on Fighting Franco, you referred to the "anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam." The confederation's headquarters are in Brussels, Belgium, 24 Rue Lombard, to be exact.

New York DANIEL G. KRANE

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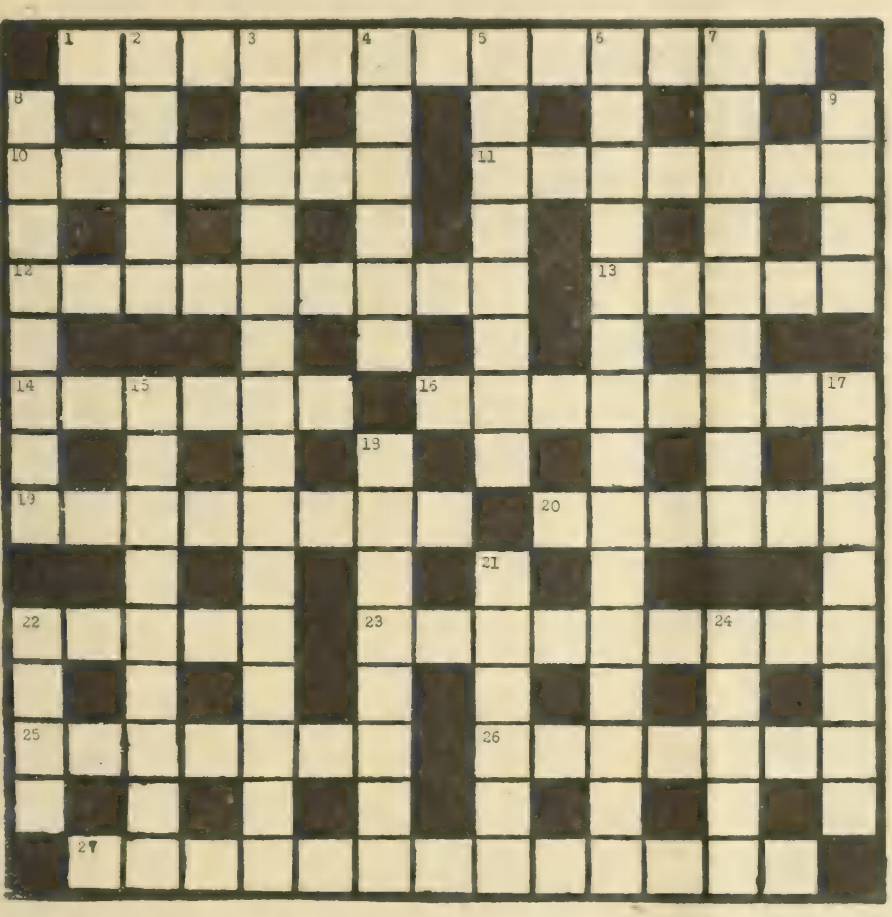
Crossword Puzzle No. 533

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

10 and 1 Method of Damyankee reticence which helps stop panic? (7, 7, 6)

11 They permit change of character, if one errs. (7)

12 An arrangement of the Psalm, done while in a cell. (9)

13 One animal that is responsible for another. (5)

14 Some of those referred to by 27 hope to make this register. (6)

16 Big head of 3. (8)

19 Making the minute, as planes might be? (8)

20 Venus's companion said "No!" (6)

22 Turner production of the French and the English. (5)

23 Sacrificed. (9)

25 If you've cut any, a land reform is possible. (7)

26 An outwork sounds as though it's coming undone. (7)

27 What grandfather looked for, instead of a good allowance on the old car? (8, 5)

DOWN

2 Most past participles do. (5)

3 The foreign stage, where some of us complained about the service? (8, 7)

4 Vernacular. (6)

5 Found on the range, the old highway, or the waves. (8)

6 Small cash-and-carry institution, and what it doesn't do? (5, 3, 7)

7 Always on the best-kept part of course! (9)

8 The ways of the transgressor. (8)

9 Finesse, but not with the organ. (4)

15 Successful fighter-pilot with a good cover above, but destined for the sea. (9)

17 Torn around the edge of the liver? (8)

18 The gain is in gold, for example, in either bar or leaf form. (8)

21 One has to be on the inside of things to do it. (6)

22 The last minstrel's were not those of ancient Rome. (4)

24 Blocked, perhaps, with old-fashioned hats? (5)

*

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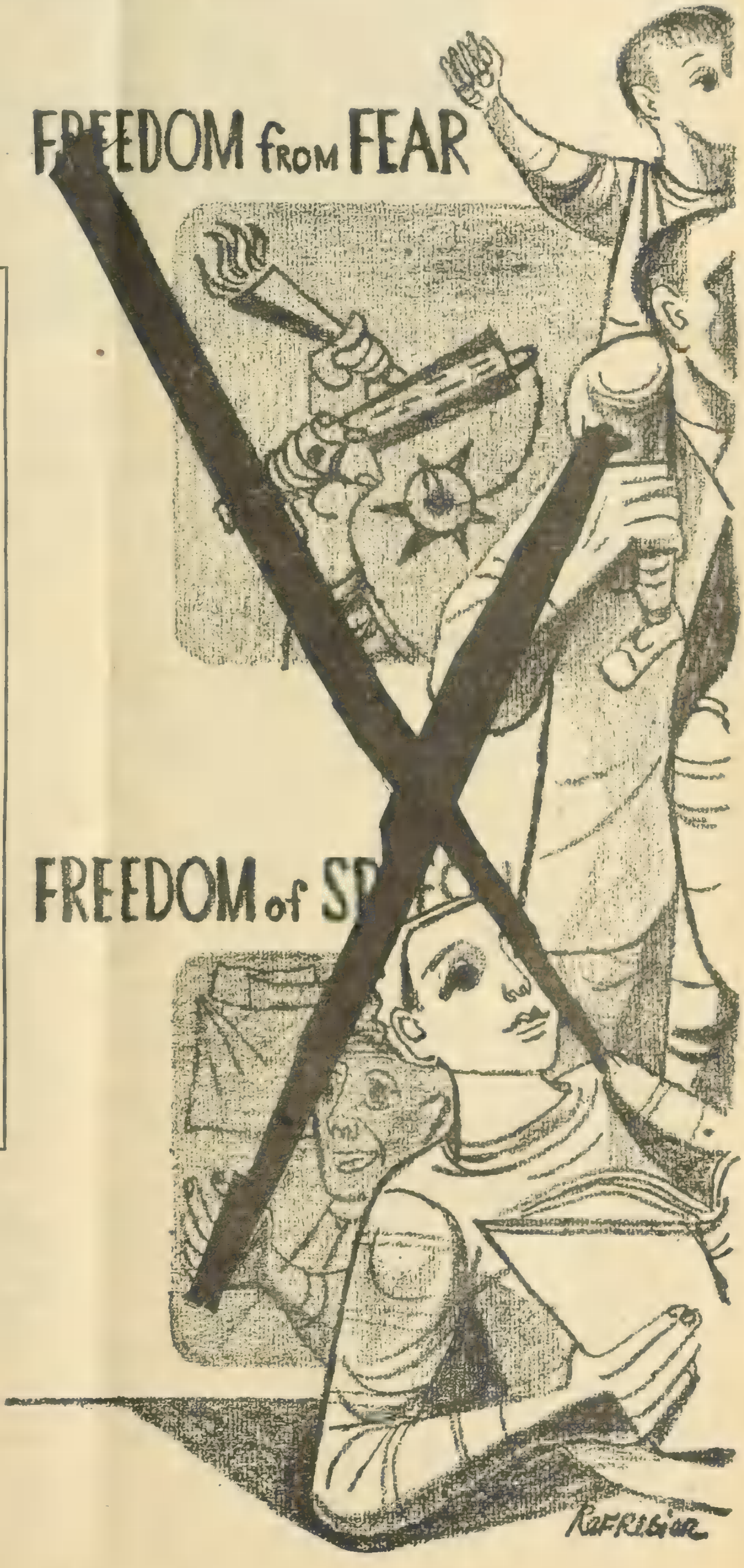
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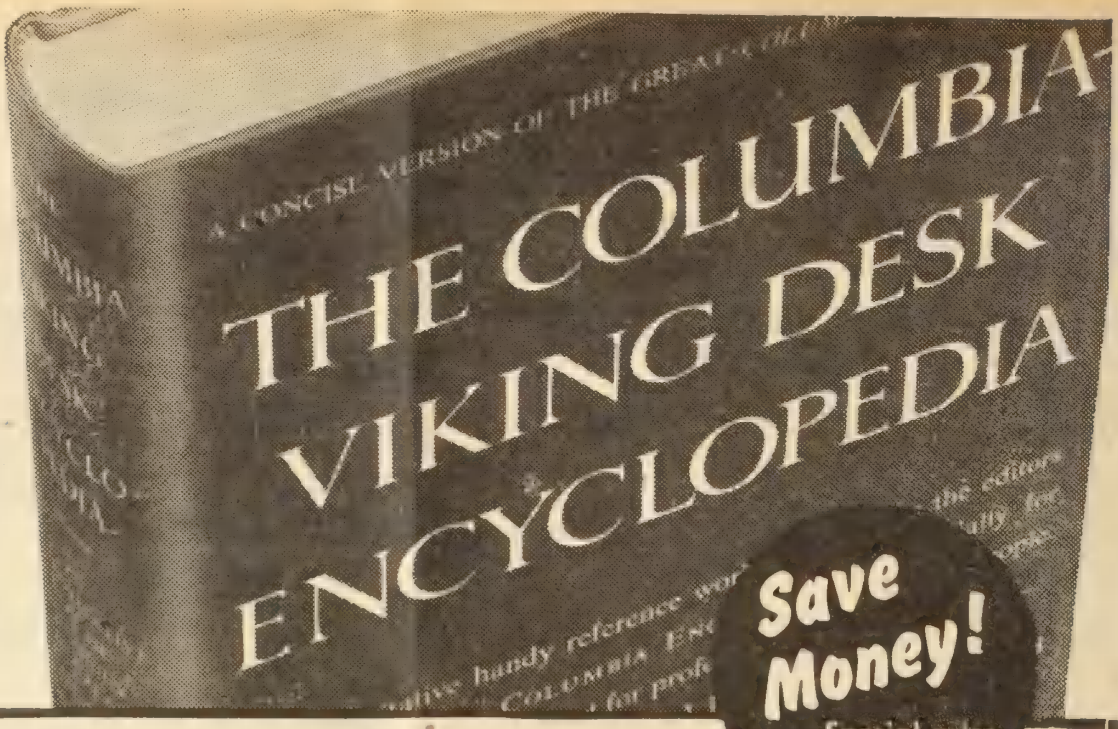
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Volume 177, Number 13
New York, Saturday, September 26, 1953

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Good Riddance

A minority of New York City's Democrats—only about one-fourth of them bothered to vote—displayed political good sense in giving Robert F. Wagner, Jr., a two-to-one margin of victory over Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri in the September 16 primary. Backed by a strange combination that included Jim Farley, Bernard Baruch, and the New York *Journal-American,* the fantastically incompetent Impellitteri failed to bolster his unlikely candidacy by crass appeals to ethnic egotism and racial chauvinism. Italian American precincts, in which he was supposed to enjoy special favor, were as little impressed by his name and antecedents as any other.

It is reasonably clear, as shown by the small percentage of votes cast, that the Democrats who bothered to vote were more interested in getting Impellitteri out than in putting Wagner in. But the effect, in any case, strengthens the liberal elements in the Democratic Party and improves Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.'s chances of capturing the governorship next year. By backing the City Council president, Rudolph Halley, the Liberal Party increases the chances of the Republican mayoralty nominee, Harold Riegelman; but the winner on November 3 is likely to be Wagner or Halley. With Senator Lehman, Averell Harriman, F. D. R., Jr., and possibly Stevenson and Truman backing Wagner, the loyalty of the rank and file of the Liberal Party to its leadership will be severely taxed.

Mr. Dondero, Aesthete

Representative Dondero, who would appear to be a man of strong opinions on many subjects, in reality has only one opinion on all subjects; anything modern, progressive, non-conformist is to him anathema. What he thinks of modern art is set forth in Matthew Josephson's chilling study in this issue of the vandals who are among us. Dondero also detests the T. V. A., and for the same reason: it is "communistic"; it is "creeping socialism." He wants artists to depict "our smiling and cheerful people"; but he is currently sponsoring a bill in Congress which would jack up power rates to the point where the only available models for his artists would be the private-utility tycoons.

The Donderos of our time are troglodytes in everything—in politics as in art. When such people seek to suppress the freedom of the artist, they are expressing not an aesthetic judgment but a whole *Weltanschauung.*

More Un-American Activities

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has released a transcript of the testimony it took back in July on the political and social activities of a selected group of Protestant clergymen and Jewish religious leaders. More incredible than the testimony itself is the fact that a committee of the American Congress should release a smear of this character based on nothing more substantial than the testimony of three professional informers. In this latest attack the committee went out of its way to defame the memory of two great religious leaders—Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Rabbi Judah Magnes.

While the slander was roundly denounced by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Jewish War Veterans, and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., the big guns of American editorial opinion, with a few exceptions, remained silent. This is hard to understand, for the committee made it clear that the attack on the clergy will be pressed, and this is confirmed from other sources. The following comments from a news broadcast by Gerald W. Johnson on September 6 are pertinent:

> The assault by the American Legion on the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. injects a most unpleasant element into the political situation. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are two strongly Protestant agencies. Following the attack on the Protestant clergy by McCarthy's man Matthews, this business suggests that somebody is persistently trying to inject the religious issue into American politics. . . .
>
> Talk about un-American activities—what could be more viciously un-American than an effort to stir up religious strife in the very country that has made the most careful effort to separate church and state?

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The Ebey Story

Houston, Texas, is the scene of the latest battle for control of public education. Dr. George W. Ebey, a distinguished educator with a fine record in World War II, formerly assistant superintendent of public schools in Portland, was last year induced to accept a year's contract as deputy superintendent of the Houston schools. On the eve of the appointment a Mrs. W. J. Edwards, in a widely distributed circular, warned against the selection of a "liberal" administrator. In January a second circular from the pen of Mrs. Edwards bore the title, "We've Got Your Number, Dr. Ebey." Then on May 11 an "anti-Communist" lawyer—last year he tried to force the cancelation of a meeting at which Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, was scheduled to speak—appeared before the board and demanded an investigation of Dr. Ebey's background. The board retained two former F. B. I. agents to make the investigation and two months later received a 348-page report and a bill for $5,750.

In effect the report exonerated Dr. Ebey of the charge of "disloyalty"; there is no implication that he is or ever was a Communist. But notice was taken of a reference in the reports of the Tenney committee that the California division of the American Veterans' Committee was under "Communist domination" during a period (1946-47) when Dr. Ebey was an officer. In addition, Dr. Ebey had been at Chico State College when the incredible Tenney—vice-presidential nominee of Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party in 1952—had conducted a three-ring-circus inquiry on "sex education," and he had—a blighting detail this—participated in an intercultural education program sponsored in Portland by the Urban League. This was enough. On July 16 the Houston Board of Education voted four to three against renewing Dr. Ebey's contract.

This is the zaniest of the poison-pen attacks on public education since they began in 1949. No one, for example, has ever been able to find or identify the mysterious "Mrs. W. J. Edwards." Of far greater importance is the fact that a board of education should have enlisted the aid of two private investigators to check upon charges so flimsy as those brought against Dr. Ebey and then have ignored the findings. The report did not question the loyalty of Dr. Ebey. Yet the board acted, and the community reacted, as though this were the issue. Fortunately the case is not closed. Community opinion is deeply aroused and sharply divided, and the National Education Association will undertake an investigation. The residents of Houston may be certain of one thing: Dr. Ebey was not the issue in this case; the issue, as they will learn in due course, was the control of public education. The affair proves again that we live in an age of paranoia in which poison-pen letters can threaten our institutions.

Blackjack and Stiletto

FOR ALL its sketchiness—given the setting and the occasion it could hardly have been otherwise—Mr. Stevenson's Chicago address was a fine performance. Coupled with his *Newsweek* interview (September 14), it leaves little doubt that the era of "bipartisanship" is coming to an end. In the *Newsweek* interview, for example, Mr. Stevenson pointed out that whereas any number of Republicans had been asked to participate in the conduct of foreign policy under the Truman Administration—Paul Hoffman, John Foster Dulles, Robert Lovett, Walter Gifford—about the only Democrat tapped for service by the President is Jimmy Byrnes, an Eisenhower Dixiecrat. It is the Republicans, therefore, who have scotched the "bipartisan" concept.

Indeed, the whole tenor of Mr. Stevenson's address implied criticism not only of the conduct but of the direction of American policy. The criticism was general because it could not be partisan; the occasion did not permit the speaker to name names or quote the record. But he clearly indicated the areas in which the current Dulles-Rhee-Chiang policy is vulnerable. We have failed, he said, to state our traditional ideals in affirmative terms; the peoples of the world respect "the ideas of the American Revolution" but they note the "contradictions in the current wave of conformity and fear" and are quick to relate these contradictions to our support of colonial powers and discredited dictatorships. Mr. Stevenson would have us quit acting like an international Watch and Ward Society to Suppress Distasteful Ideas and start reaffirming the values in which we have always said we believed.

BUT Mr. Stevenson would have us do more than accent the positive. He wants us to explore, in utter seriousness, the possibilities of negotiation. The issue could not be stated more succinctly: "Is our "objective to discover through negotiation ways to relax tensions, or is it intensification of the 'cold war'? Is it coexistence or is it extermination of Communist power?" *The Nation* stated the issue in almost exactly this same form three years ago (Peace with Russia, Can It Be Negotiated?, our 85th anniversary number, December 16, 1950).

Mr. Stevenson also touched upon one of the most significant aspects of American policy in the period since the death of Stalin when he said that "we should not press alliances upon unwilling allies" and then ventured the prediction that "huge, uncommitted India" was the key to huge, uncommitted areas of Southeast Asia. That he should have said this at a time when Senator Knowland, who always manages to act like an enraged bull in a china shop, was running berserk in Cambodia, underscores the fact that Mr. Stevenson was criticizing official policy and not talking in a void. Of major importance, also, was Mr. Stevenson's emphasis on the paramount necessity of seeking an alternative to the garrison state through "an effective plan of arms limitation." Mr. Dulles echoed somewhat the same sentiment to the General Assembly and used, for a change, the traditional language of diplomacy. But he still sounded pious and insincere; nor did his unctuous phrases square with news of the arrival of six far-ranging B-36's at the Thule air-force base at the northern tip of Greenland—1,700 miles from attractive Soviet targets. Mr. Stevenson, on the other hand, sounded friendly and sincere; he is—and doubtless Nehru would agree—more "mature" than Mr. Dulles.

IT IS only in such passages as the reference to "Communists masquerading as nationalists in the wet, green rice paddies of Indo-China," that Mr. Stevenson continues to arouse apprehension. If it were simply a question of unmasking Communists masquerading as nationalists, one could feel less anxiety about the future control of these wet, green rice paddies. But the reality is a great deal more complex. There are Communists who are quite sincere nationalists and there are nationalists who are quite sincere Communists. To imply that all nationalists are masquerading Communists is to make communism and nationalism virtually synonymous. A sound policy for Southeast Asia cannot be predicated on this assumption.

Happily Mr. Stevenson did not fulfil the predictions of the right-wing columnists who had been saying that Senator Jenner's report on subversion in government would silence him on the issue of "McCarthyism." He hit the issue hard, and what he had to say about it drew the sharpest applause of the evening. Nowadays Mr. Stevenson seems to be getting two kinds of advice about "McCarthyism": one group urges him to meet it head-on, another to avoid it. By and large the Democrats would prefer to avoid the issue; Mr. Truman by-passed it in both his Chicago and his Labor Day address in Detroit. But the rise and fall of demagogues is only partially affected by what their opposition does or fails to do. That McCarthy should have slipped a few points in his Hooper rating during the dull midsummer season should not encourage the Democrats to believe that "the less said about him the better." The Republicans have announced that they intend to "sic" McCarthy on the liberal Democrats in 1954.

As a postscript it should be noted that the Democrats succeeding in conveying an impression of confidence, solvency, and, outwardly at least, of unity; by contrast the Republican show was dull as dishwater. Everyone agreed that the Democrats have in Mr. Truman and Mr. Stevenson a team that can work both sides of the street. Only a Roosevelt could hold the New Deal coalition together; but Messrs. Truman and Stevenson, if they cannot placate the Dixiecrats—in our view the party would be stronger without them—are almost ideally equipped to hold the other elements of the old coalition in line. The combination of "the blackjack and the stiletto"—the phrase is John O'Donnell's ("the bludgeon and the rapier" to quote the *Wall Street Journal*)—has great political potency. But the combination is less important than the quality of Mr. Stevenson's personal leadership. Let him heed, then, these words of excellent advice from the Madison *Capital-Times*:

> Because you refused (in 1952) to be anything but yourself and because you talked the same language wherever you were, you inspired greatness in our people at a time when others were seeking to frighten them. This is what millions of Americans—those who voted for you and those who didn't—remember about you. . . . The world has always responded to this kind of leadership and it will respond again. That is why mankind has advanced from the days that it prowled in dark caves, fearful of its neighbors and itself. . . . All you have to do to continue that kind of leadership is to be yourself.

THE VANDALS ARE HERE

Art Is Not for Burning . . by *Matthew Josephson*

Your writers, your artists, and your composers . . . are not going to be conformists in any sense, and in my view it is a good thing they are not, too. They are the people that, when they are really good, carry the ball for civilization.—Henry Allan Moe, director of the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, at hearings of the House Committee to Investigate Tax-exempt Foundations, Dec. 11, 1952.

THE trouble is that our triumphant Babbitts, in this time of witch-hunting and scapegoats, have at last turned their attention to art and culture. America's poets and artists used to lament that their works were neglected by the hard-headed type of citizen who ran the chambers of commerce and the American Legion posts. Now all this is changed. Amid the delights of waging the cold war at home, Babbitt and his political allies have been discovering books in libraries, pictures in museums, and murals on the walls of public buildings, and have scented heresy on every hand. This new interest in belles-lettres lately reached such a pitch that even Mr. Eisenhower was led to reproach our overzealous culture seekers. But apparently they will not be denied: after studying the movies, radio, comic strips, and twenty-five-cent thrillers, they have begun to move in on art.

While our art schools, museums, galleries, and studios, not being media for mass communication, have so far been spared the kind of policing that has improved the movies and radio beyond all recognition, individual artists have lately been coming under fire. Those who long ago contributed to medical aid for Loyalist Spain or were associated with similar organizations listed by government hindsight as "subversive" have been denounced as unfit to have their works exhibited to the public view or to be awarded prizes in competitions.

In Congress, Representative George A. Dondero, Republican, of Michigan, a lawyer admittedly without training in aesthetic matters, has been carrying on a one-man campaign against modern art, especially against artists who work in the abstract or use effects of distortion—indeed, against all who have advanced beyond mid-nineteenth-century canons of taste. "Modern art is communistic because it is distorted and ugly, because it does not glorify our beautiful country, our cheerful and smiling people"—such is the burden of Mr. Dondero's speeches. He has not suggested that exponents of the new techniques should be placed in the penitentiary, but he has urged that art critics in the newspapers "who glorify vulgar, perverted modern art" be subjected to control. The pages of the *Congressional Record* are spread with the names of hundreds of our leading artists and art critics who he charges are "enemies within," breeding "dissatisfaction" or spreading "sinister ideas," and in his opinion "opposed to our government."

Of course remarkably similar phrases were once uttered by a frustrated Austrian artist and sometime paperhanger who denounced modern painters as "un-German," "degenerate," and "bolshevistic." The Nazi Brown Shirts then made bonfires of some pictures they found offensive and sold abroad those of greater market value. Friends of theirs who were devoted to old-fashioned art took over the jobs of museum curators and art teachers guilty of having a few ideas. Likewise, though out of different social motives, the Bolshevist dictator, Stalin, censured modernism in art and called for the representation of "ideas of patriotism." According to a study made by Alfred H. Barr of the Museum of Modern Art (Is Modern Art Communistic? *New York Times Magazine*, December 14, 1952), a most promising Russian school of modern art was suppressed by official censorship in the 1920's, and its works supplanted by paintings in the manner of Repin.

THE ROOSEVELT Administration launched one of the most enlightened art programs ever attempted by any democratic government—first through the WPA, later under the federal government's Section of Fine Art—and artists who benefited were subjected to a mini-

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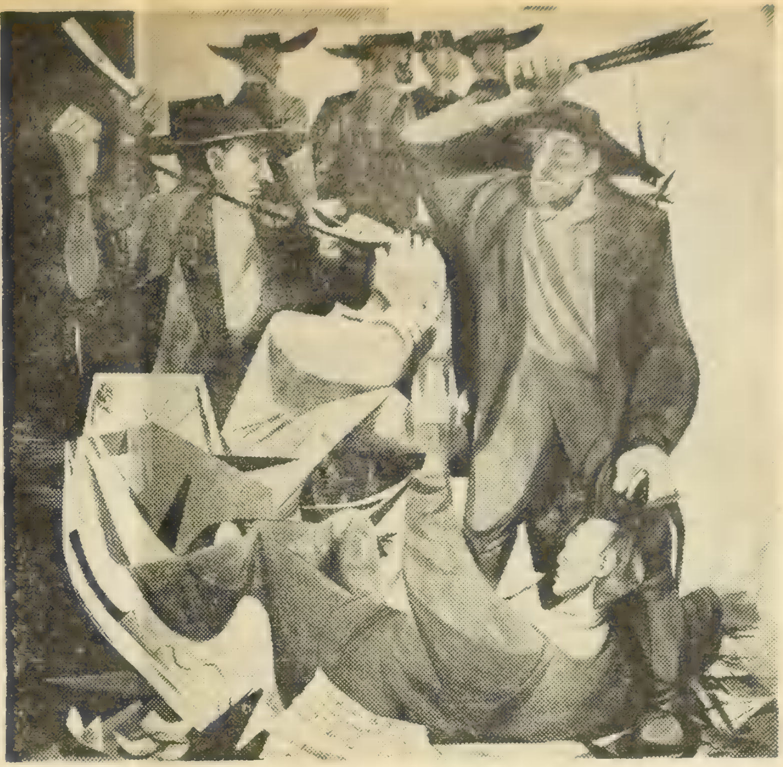
MATTHEW JOSEPHSON, well known as social historian, biographer, and literary critic, has also written on art. Among his books are "The Robber Barons," "Portrait of the Artist as American," and the recently published "Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor."

mum of official censorship. After the war, under Truman, the State Department paid $50,000 for 117 paintings by contemporary Americans, which it planned to send as a traveling exhibition through Europe and South America. The purpose was to tell the world that ours was a nation not of mere money-grubbers but of free men and lovers of art. At once the Hearst newspapers, certain radio commentators, and some members of Congress assailed this enlightened venture. Most of the artists whose works were to be exhibited belonged to the modern movement that had been developing all over the world in the fifty years since Cézanne. This was scandal enough to cause the dispersal of the collection after one showing in the spring of 1947 and to block any further effort by the government to sponsor international art exchanges. Behind this unhappy incident lay the jealousy of a group of artistically reactionary painters and commercial illustrators, the American Artists' Professional League, whose works had not been included in the State Department's traveling show. Their denunciation of their successful competitors as "subversive" started the cold war in the art world.



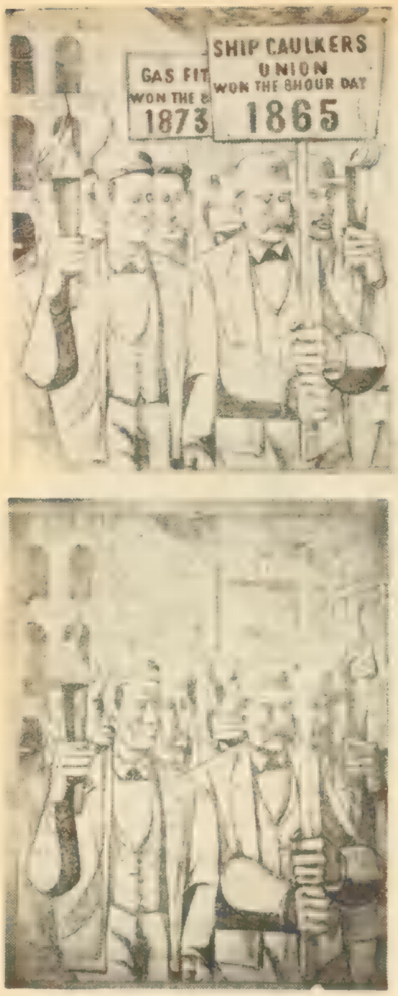
From a Refregier Panel: The Anti-Chinese Riots of the 1870's

SINCE THEN, Representative Dondero of Michigan has made the Menace of Modern Art his favorite theme, and curiously enough he has shown considerable foreknowledge of goings-on in New York art circles, such as recent plans for international artists' gatherings under the auspices of UNESCO. He has "smeared" the Artists' Equity Association, a non-political national guild of 1,400 artists, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum, and many other groups and institutions as pro-Communist and un-American. Last year one of his bursts of scattershot was directed at the very citadel of traditionalism, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For in the winter of 1950-51 the Metropolitan had at long last opened its halls to a show of contemporary American painters of *all schools* and in the following year to a similar show of living sculptors.

Again a number of our more backward-looking artists, officers of the National Sculpture Society, went into action and staged a public protest at the showing of so-called "left-wing" sculptors in the Metropolitan and the award of prizes to them. Some retired admirals and doctors added their names to the artists' petition for the rescue of the grand old Metropolitan from a bunch of wicked modernists—in the name of the "sound normal American people." It must be noted that several of the most distinguished members of the National Sculpture Society, namely, Paul Manship and James Earle Fraser (former presidents) and Cecil Howard, strongly opposed this action. It was engineered by such people as Wheeler Williams, Donald de Lue, and Mrs. Katharine Thayer Hobson, who invariably equate communism with modern art. Significantly their charges against the show and their totalitarian vocabulary ("wholesome art" against "subversive art") were echoed immediately afterward in a Dondero speech in Congress.

Recently self-styled patriotic groups have demonstrated against modern art in places as far apart as California, New York, and Indiana. At a city-sponsored art exhibition in Los Angeles, in 1951, the jury's award of second prize to an impressionistic picture of a sailboat bearing an emblem thought to resemble the hammer and sickle was used by the local Philistines as the occasion for a near-riot which was followed by an aldermanic investigation. The offending insigne turned out to be the regular trademark of a purely capitalistic shipbuilding concern, and the Los Angeles chuckleheads were covered with ridicule. They might as well have rioted—as one witness remarked—against the new moon, which when crossed by a wisp of cloud might appear to the idiot's eye to be making Communist propaganda.

MORE OMINOUS are the attacks on Anton Refregier's large mural paintings portraying the history of California in the lobby of the Rincon Annex Post Office in San Francisco. In this instance you can fairly smell the bonfires of the Brown Shirts being ignited in America. Criticism of the murals has been voiced for several years, ever since they were unveiled in 1949. It reached a climax on March 5 of this year, a few weeks after the Republicans took control of Congress, when Representative Hubert Scudder, Republican, of Sebastopol, California, introduced a resolution calling on the federal government to remove all the twenty-nine Refregier murals from the walls of the post office. As grounds for this unprecedented action Mr. Scudder asserted that the murals were "artistically offensive and historically inaccurate; and . . . cast a derogatory and improper reflection on the character of the pioneers and history of the great



CENSORED

Detail from the Refregier panel on the San Francisco general strike of 1932. The upper photograph is of the artist's original cartoon as first approved by the federal authorities. Later the authorities ordered the posters painted out. The lower photograph shows the detail as it now appears in the Rincon post office.

State of California." In support of these charges he cited the opinion of such art scholars as the Associated Farmers, the D. A. R., the American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West, and the Society of Western Artists—the last being a group made up largely of commercial illustrators. Refregier's murals are painted directly on the walls in casein tempera. Their "removal," according to experts in such matters, would mean their destruction.

Refregier won the commission for the Rincon Post Office murals in 1940 in a nation-wide competition conducted by the federal Section of Fine Art, in which eighty-two artists submitted sketches and plans. Execution of the murals, which extend for 240 feet around the lobby of the big post office, took five years and brought the artist a fee of $26,000, the largest ever paid by the government for such work. Refregier is widely esteemed as one of the ablest and most resourceful of contemporary American artists, and his studies of California are considered by an informed art public to approach in dynamic effect the work of the great Mexican muralist, Orozco; they are "some of the finest, if not *the* finest murals anywhere in the United States," Dr. Ernest Mundt, director of the California School of Fine Arts, has testified.

Half-French, half-Russian, Refregier was born in Moscow in 1905, brought to France by his parents when he was fifteen, and then, several years later, to America. He studied at the Rhode Island School of Design and also in Germany and France. By the time he began to work at his craft in New York the great depression was upon us. It is difficult in these days of armed prosperity to convey the mood of desperation in which artists young and old struggled to exist by purveying their "luxury product" during the years when millions of practical workers were idle and hungry. Like others, Refregier was aided by the WPA art program, which allotted him $23 a week. In the climate of opinion of the late 1930's it was natural for him to become "socially conscious"—pro-New Deal and pro-labor. Many great artists of the past have glorified absolute monarchs or painted in the service of the church. Others, like Goya, Daumier, Courbet, and Picasso, have been on the side of the popular revolutions of their time. Refregier absorbed the new disciplines of the "abstract" and "primitive" schools, but his direction has been toward an art imbued with social criticism and protest. And like most American artists he has desired to stress democratic and human values rather than the acquisitive virtues. He has long specialized in the "public art" of the mural, for he has a flair for historical research, also much humor and the spirit of irony characteristic of the artist with a social conscience. When he won the award for the San Francisco murals, he was already nationally known for his wall paintings in hospitals, business buildings, steamship salons, and hotels.

Work on the California pictures was begun in 1941 but was interrupted by World War II. In 1946 Refregier stationed himself on a scaffold in the lobby of the Rincon Annex Post Office and painted steadily for two years, in full view of the public. A man of verve, he greatly enjoyed exchanges, as he worked, with his "sidewalk superintendents," some of whom came to jeer, while others offered suggestions—about such events as the San Francisco earthquake—that he was able to put to good use.

He was enthralled by the story of California, surely the most fabulous of all our states, its brief history a telescoped dramatic parable of America's destiny. His pictures show the century of pastoral slumber under the Spanish missions; then the gold rush, the vigilantes, and the flood of settlers; the coming of the railroads, the rise of large-scale farming, the great labor and race conflicts. It is a world of beauty and violence, of man as builder and destroyer. In the earlier panels are scenes touched with a tender humor (Pioneers Receiving Mail); the artist has caught the sadness of the pioneers as well as their bold achievements. One is penetrated with a sense of the stormy past and feels how the artist has related this clearly to the present. "A mural painting must have something to say," Refregier points out. He has skilfully adapted the techniques of the modern school to the uses of history. Our tastes may change; painters may now be retreating from "naturalism" toward the abstract or symbolic. But these emotionally charged, emphatically colored murals, so dynamic in composition, surely represent a high point in the pre-war movement toward an art of "social content."

PATRIOTIC Mrs. Grundys have found but three or four of the twenty-nine panels tendentious or controversial: the anti-Chinese riots of the 1870's, the Mooney case, the San Francisco waterfront strike of 1934, and a United Nations panel. Some complained that the mission priests were too fat, the pioneers too thin. From my own readings in Californiana I judge Refregier to have been tactful enough and to have shown respect for his subject. Did not the historian H. H. Bancroft tell us of the long years of California's "moral, political, and financial night" after 1849? Refregier might have included the pitiless railroad baron, Huntington, or the settlers' fight against the land-grabbers, as described in "The Octopus" by Frank Norris. But one who works in the field of "public art" must adjust himself to the conditions of the building, the feelings of its architect, and the views of his employer—in this case, the federal government. So Refregier "slenderized" his pot-bellied priest, regretting the loss of an amusing detail. Veterans' groups protested at the presence of a man with a V. F. W. cap among the 1934 strikers —as in newspaper photographs—and this too was painted out. A plan to incorporate a gigantic head of President Roosevelt in the final panel on the founding of the U. N. was also dropped very reluctantly at the demand of the federal authorities. In the end, after ninety-one conferences or inspections, everything was approved by the government's Commissioner of Fine Arts and the work was paid for as agreed.

Nevertheless, after the unveiling of the completed murals San Francisco's legionnaires became vocal. And on January 18, 1949, Representative Richard Nixon wrote to an officer of a San Francisco American Legion post a letter on the subject of "objectionable art" in public buildings. (He tried to keep this letter out of the newspapers, but it was cited in *The Nation* for January 10, 1953.) In it he said: "At such time as we may have a change in the Administration . . . I believe a committee of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this type of art with a view to obtaining removal of all that is . . . inconsistent with American ideals and principles."

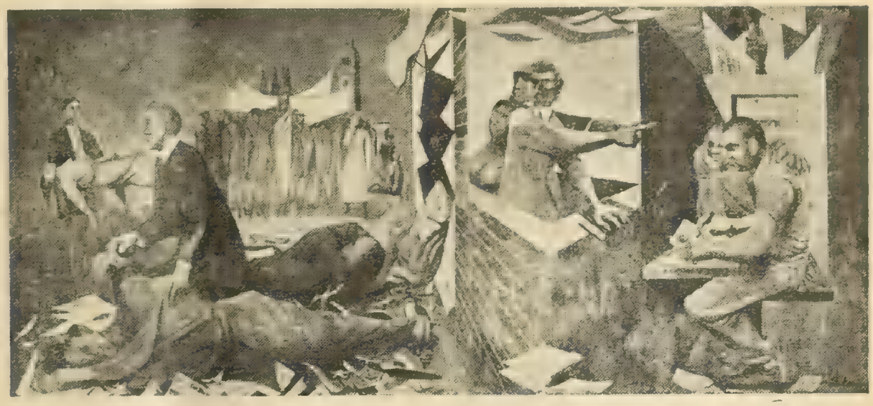
WHAT WAS objected to, as Refregier himself remarked at the time, was that he had pictured a few unhappy passages of California history without resort to the "big historical lie." His typical critics, he said, would have liked him to paint his pioneers "dressed in the Hollywood fashion, shaven and manicured," and guided by a "spirit" of something or other, perhaps oil or grapes. "Had I painted the murals when I won the competition, in the calmer days of the Roosevelt Administration, there would have been much less fuss, and the only question would have been—did I, as an artist, perform the job well?"

But the change has come. Mr. Nixon's party is in the saddle, and Mr. Dondero is now chairman of the House Committee on Public Works. The intellectual-moral achievements of the Roosevelt-Truman era are now to be liquidated; its paintings along with its social plans are to be consigned to the rubbish heap. The "inquisition" of New Deal artists and their works was begun promptly after the conservatives took over in 1953, with Anton Refregier as first defendant. After Scudder's resolution was introduced in Congress, hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works were held on May 1.

Most people in the American art world were filled with shame by the news that the Refregier murals were to be put on trial and perhaps destroyed at the will of a group of self-styled patriots. What many had long feared was happening: the Vandals had come to sack our treasures of art. When a book is burned, thousands of copies are left. But destroy a great painting and its likeness may never be seen again. This time a vigorous defense action was quickly prepared by Artists' Equity in conjunction with the country's leading art associations and museum directors. In cosmopolitan San Francisco decent people were fully aroused to the danger. With Dr. Grace M. Morley, director of the San Francisco Museum of Art, as informal secretary, a Citizens' Committee to Protect the Rincon Annex Murals was formed and support for it obtained from the city's three art museums, its wealthy art collectors, its business and professional leaders, and the daily *Chronicle*. Representing the committee, Thomas C. Howe and Chauncey McKeever went to Washington to plead for the preservation of Refregier's murals at the hearings. A representative of the American Federation of Arts, in behalf of 390 museums and college art departments, also appeared for the defense. John Hay Whitney, on behalf of the Museum of Modern Art, wired his protest at the proposed "act of vandalism," which would dishonor the nation. The London *Times* voiced its disgust at this latest atrocity of the American heresy hunters.

REPRESENTATIVE SCUDDER, however, reiterated his condemnation of the artist's distorted figures, "cadaverous, soulless pioneers," and "sadistic" scenes of riots, earthquakes, and strikes. Why were there not more such "beautiful things as wine, cattle, and grape-growing?" asked the Congressman from wine-raising Sonoma County. Against him the testimony of experts in California's history was calmly presented to show that Mr. Refregier, in his studies of the padres and pioneers, had reproduced with great accuracy the impressions of old engravings and early photographs; Professor George R. Stewart, California historian and novelist, declared that he had been "remarkably sensitive in his feeling for early American physical types." The Democratic Representative from San Francisco, John Shelley, commenting on scenes of mob violence, said, "It's history and you can't change it." As a Roman Catholic he found nothing offensive or anti-clerical in the murals.

Scudder and the American Legion delegation objected to the picture of a Russian representative as one of the founders of the U. N., to a Soviet flag placed among the others, and even to a man wearing a red necktie! Refregier's past membership in various organizations listed by the Attorney General as "subversive" was also cited as cause for the "removal" of his wall paintings. Above all, Refregier's accusers insisted that he had used "subtle ridicule" in painting the U. S. representative at the



From a Refregier Panel: The Tom Mooney Story

United Nations as if he had an ass's ears extending from both sides of his head. These objects, green in color, proved to be canopies of laurel hung between the square columns of the U. N. rostrum at San Francisco, as originally designed by Jo Mielziner and sketched at the time, 1945, for *Fortune* Magazine, by Refregier, its artist correspondent.

To all such charges Representative W. S. Mailliard, Republican, of San Francisco, answered that Congress should not be moved to drastic action in this case by the opinions or prejudices of special groups having no competence in matters of art; though some might not approve of Mr. Refregier's ideas, authorities in the field had testified to the artistic value and historical truth of his murals, which should be treated as a public trust; in any case, he urged, we must not turn this country into a state like Communist Russia, where artists are not allowed to function unless they conform to the views of the ruling party.

The enemies of art were plainly taken aback by the stout defense they encountered; their ignorance and folly had been laid bare. Moreover, the subcommittee's chairman, J. C. Auchincloss, of New Jersey, conducted the hearings with great fairness. The "Vandal resolution" is being studied, and while it may be reported favorably by Mr. Dondero's larger committee, its passage through both houses of Congress may take longer than its advocates reckoned. But liberals of the art world will need to be alert and energetic if they would not have our painting and sculpture degraded to the level of calendar art.

Are we to conceal our beliefs of yesterday, "rewrite" history, curtain the paintings of another decade—as the New School for Social Research has done with its Orozco murals—because one political party rather than the other squeaked through at the polls? Against such counsels of intellectual and moral panic, the "trial" of Refregier's pictures has brought forth courageous answering voices, as in the statement by Dr. Ernest Mundt to Mr. Scudder: "If the spirit of these murals runs counter to the tastes of some individuals at this particular moment of history, please do not forget that the great art of all ages soon stands above the issues of the day. Neither you nor I would have wanted some authority in the past to have removed the frescoes of Michelangelo or the murals of Giotto because they disagreed with some aspect of them. The world of the human spirit and its artistic record would have become unforgivably poorer."

Our Babbitts who have come blundering into the art world are trying to turn back the whole current of art, which for fifty years has been flowing toward new areas of knowledge and expression. Our conservative artists know well that the modernists, so-called, including Refregier, would be censured and suppressed in Communist Russia as "bourgeois." Why, then, do they extol a Dondero for uttering his characteristic nonsense about the new art movements? In art circles it is a matter of common knowledge that Dondero has been supplied by a few more or less anonymous artists with information intended to injure the faction they are opposed to.

IN THEIR hard struggle for survival artists depend a good deal upon the periodic award of prizes and teaching appointments to supplement the money they receive from the sale of their pictures. Of late the academic fellows have definitely been losing favor with the growing art public in America. A few of the more embittered and frustrated ones have attributed their misfortunes to "subversive plots" or "sinister" influences. Artists have fought among themselves over aesthetic theory for centuries, but never before has one faction exploited public hysteria and the ambitions of demagogues to destroy its professional opponents.

A clue to the mentality of these retrograde artists is given in an article on them by Alfred Frankenstein in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of March 23, 1952. The so-called Society of Western Artists, it will be remembered, alone among such organizations, gave support to the Scudder resolution. Its leading spirit is said to be John Garth, a mural painter who has declared that many years ago he witnessed the hatching of a conspiracy to capture the American public by a group of alleged "subversive" painters. (Have not artists conspired in every cafe of Paris and New York to "conquer the world"?) Their object, Mr. Garth insists, was to "confuse" and "corrupt" in order to prepare the way for revolution. That the Nazis and the Kremlin have held the same hostile view of artistic experiment only shows, according to Mr. Garth, that they were "wise" and that their methods of repression were "nationally strengthening." The former masters of Germany were "social experts," in his view, and the effort to combat a "disintegrating ideology in every social structure is right." Here we meet again the totalitarian program for the state control of a people's culture. Nor is there any doubt that it has begun to attract certain political personages in Washington. We seem to be losing many freedoms nowadays. Will our artists lose the freedom to paint as they please?

The Meaning of Freedom in Art

> Freedom of expression, freedom from want and fear, these are desirable for the artist. But why should the artist's freedom particularly concern the rest of us? Because the artist gives us pleasure or tells us the truth? Yes, but more than this: his freedom as we find it expressed in his work of art is a symbol, an embodiment of the freedom which we all want but which we can never really find in everyday life with its schedules, regulations, and compromises. Of course we can ourselves take up painting or some other art as amateurs and so increase our sense of personal freedom; but even in a nation of amateur artists there would still be a need for the artist who makes freedom of expression his profession. For art cannot be done well with the left hand: it is the hardest kind of work, consuming all a man's strength, partly for the very reason that it is done in greater freedom than other kinds of work.
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> For the arts thrive, to repeat President Roosevelt's phrase, where men are free "to be in charge of the discipline of their own energies and ardors." The greater the artist's freedom the greater must be his self-discipline. Only through the most severe self-discipline can he approach that excellence for which all good artists strive. And in approaching that goal he makes of his work of art a symbol not only of truth and freedom but also of perfection. *—From "What Is Modern Painting?" by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., published by the Museum of Modern Art.*

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Dollar and the Cross

Paris

ON AUGUST 27 in the office of the Papal Secretary of State, Franco's Foreign Minister, Martín Artajo, and the Vatican's Deputy Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Monsignor Tardini, affixed their signatures to a new concordat between Spain and the Holy See. This concordat was represented as a model document defining the relations of the church with a Catholic country and was hailed by the Spanish press as one of the great triumphs of the regime. Before the republic was set up in Spain it was the king's prerogative to name new bishops, and the church was constrained to approve his choice. The new concordat bestowed this ancient privilege of the crown, in essence, on Franco.

As another concession to the Dictator the concordat laid down that Spanish priests must offer daily prayers for Spain and for the chief of state, Francisco Franco, in conformity with liturgical prescriptions. But Franco's greatest triumph was that he actually got the agreement concluded. For a long time the Pope had hesitated to sign it, knowing that the regime was opposed by a large group of good Catholics in Spain, including the Basques, who are still loyal to the republic. When he finally yielded, Franco had reason to feel pleased.

This was only the first dish of a rich repast being set these days before the Spanish dictator. On September 25—or so it is expected in Madrid—United States Ambassador Dunn will sign a bilateral treaty giving Spain hundreds of millions of dollars in exchange for air and naval bases. Many Spaniards, and not only Republicans, think the United States will profit very little from this deal; they say that a people which for three years fought so desperately for its freedom will not calmly take orders from foreigners

Franco hopes that the agreement will include a promise of ultimate membership in NATO. To strengthen his bargaining position, according to an excellent source within Spain, he plans to press the issue of French unilateral action in Morocco, France being obligated by a 1912 treaty to consult Spain on Moroccan measures. But he is prepared to drop this claim if the Quai d'Orsay will cease to oppose Spain's inclusion in NATO. This maneuver was decided on, I am told, at a Cabinet meeting that followed a long conversation between Franco and Ambassador Dunn.

The Spanish people will not forget that Franco received aid from both the Vatican and America just as his difficulties were multiplying. I do not mean simply his economic difficulties—the poverty in Spain is an old story. I mean the political unrest caused by the uncertainty about his successor. It is not a matter of Franco's health; rumors about his supposed illnesses circulate regularly, but he looks well and strong. It is rather that the question of the succession appears still open, and Spanish conservatives are worried.

THE PROSPECT of another struggle for power is reviving old differences and rivalries within the regime. The friction between the "classic right" and the Falange is growing sharper. Even during the civil war the original members of the Falange, dreaming of their own "revolution," of a dynamic and aggressive Spain brought into being by a new kind of government, a mixture of Italian Fascism and German Nazism, found themselves in open conflict with the old oligarchy. The great landed proprietors and rich industrialists had no sympathy with the Falangist demagogues. Some of them felt their interests so threatened that they approached the Republican leaders—and paid for their lack of loyalty to the Caudillo by losing their high posts in his entourage. Among those who were quietly "purged" were Hedilla, Ciménez Arnau, and the sister of the founder of the Falange, Pilar Primo de Rivera.

Today the Falange watches with suspicion and resentment as the ruling classes plot among themselves to assure the peaceful transition to a new regime when Franco passes from the scene. Some of the conservatives would even like to hasten his passing, believing that he has accomplished his mission and should be retired with appropriate honors. The bankers, manufacturers, and landowners are resolved to instal a government which will consolidate their victory over the people, perpetuate their privileges, and keep a tight check on the Falange's adventurous spirit. It is amusing to note that some sections of the Falange, particularly the younger members, have suddenly become interested in Marxism. Their opposition to the intrenched oligarchy makes them seem on the side of the workers, which may have influenced Franco to issue his recent statements about the necessity of raising the people's standard of living. Imitating Perón's "paternalism," Franco has been making rhetorical promises to labor with the complicity of certain ambitious and subservient union leaders, but the miserably low wage scales have remained unchanged.

Just when a serious internal crisis seemed inevitable—even part of the army was becoming restive—the United States and the Vatican came to the Dictator's rescue. Reaction has everywhere reaped the advantage of the community of interests between the Catholic church and the great Protestant republic. Having yielded so often to Catholic pressure at home, Americans will scarcely object to financing a dictatorship in Spain which persecutes Protestants, bars them from their churches, and casts their ministers into prison. Harmony between the rival faiths has been established by the common goal of exterminating communism. This purpose dominates all Western political strategy. Anyone who offers a sword for the crusade, although it may be a sword stained with Christian blood, will receive the twofold protection of the dollar and the cross.

ATOM AND AUTOMATION

Retooling for the New Era . . *by John Diebold*

IT WAS the military requirements of World War II that produced the technology of "automation," just as they provided the impetus for the war-time research on atomic energy. Used in peaceful pursuits, atomic energy will supplement coal and oil as a source of power. "Automation" will have a decisive effect on the way that power is used.

Effective industrial use of these war-time developments has only begun. The time interval between basic scientific innovation and widespread industrial use of both "automation" and atomic energy has proved much longer than the enthusiasts at first expected. In some industries, however, and in the plants of truly farsighted companies "automation" is already under way, and faster progress is certain in the next decade.

Paradoxically, the spectacular performance of the automatic controls that are the heart of "automation" has diverted attention from the problem of their application to industry. It is a mistake to think of the new technology as providing gadgets which when attached to present machines and processes allow automatic operation. Trying to apply electronic controls to industrial processes as they exist today is in most cases rather like trying to fit them to a horse and buggy. To some extent economically meaningful results can be obtained, but they do not represent the optimum use of what is essentially a new principle.

Although automatic control mechanisms are necessary for the achievement of fully automatic factories they are not sufficient in themselves, and the full promise of the new technology cannot be realized as long as we think solely in terms of control. The redesigning of products and processes, the analysis of processes in terms of function rather than of the steps now being performed, the rethinking of the entire operation—all these infinitely difficult tasks must be performed before business can in any real way begin to take advantage of the Aladdin's lamp which technology holds forth. It is unfortunate that discussion of automatic industrial processes has revolved chiefly about control devices and systems, and that when other problems have been mentioned it has been in an aside.

MANY PROCESSES in their present form do not lend themselves to automatic production. There is a vast difference between applying controls to a process and having a process that is fully automatic. Automatic controls, for example, are used in all stages of the manufacture of steel, but the basic technology of steel production, with the exception of continuous casting, is such that it is economically impossible to make it wholly automatic.

The processing industries, from oil refining and chemical manufacture to the production of fissionable materials, show how the redesign of production methods can lead to automatic manufacture. Only fifty years ago both oil-refining and chemical manufacturing were batch processes. Today instruments monitor a continuous flow of raw materials through automatic equipment, and the finished product flows from the plant in an uninterrupted stream—the entire process being automatic. The manufacturer of discrete units has a different problem, but he can well take a lesson in the usefulness of redesign from the experience of the processing industries.

Redesign of the process can go only so far. Often the product too must be redesigned before "automation" is economically possible. Product redesign, for the purpose of automatic production, can be as simple as casting one or two reference points—small holes or tiny protruding jots of metal—on a part. For example, casting a small glass nipple on the side of a bottle or jar permits automatic printing on the glass in two or more colors. Before this was done it was necessary to hand position the container under the printing screen.

On the other hand, basic redesign of an entire product may be involved. The manufacture of radio circuits, which usually depends upon a large proportion of hand assembly, was put on an entirely automatic basis in England by John Sargrove's new design for them. By thinking of radio circuits in terms of their functions rather than in terms of the circuit elements as they physically exist, Sargrove was able to make a radio set of molded plastic plates on which a conducting material had been sprayed and from certain portions of which the conductor had been machined, thus providing insulation between the conducting elements. The entire operation of spraying and machining the plates as designed by Sargrove can be performed automatically on a machine composed of a number of fabricating units that can be interchanged or altered as changes are made in the design.

SARGROVE'S development of an automatic machine that is capable of being altered as the design of the product is altered is an excellent example of the *flexibility* that machines must be given if automatic production is to be feasible for more than a small area of the economy. At present most automatic production is carried on by single-purpose machines. In the cases where such machines are necessary, the new technology can do much to improve their design, particularly by replacing elaborate mechanical controls with electronic circuits. However, future automatic production should not be conceived of in terms of single-purpose or single-product machines such as are used, for example, in the automotive industry. These ma-

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JOHN DIEBOLD is the author of "Automation—the Advent of the Automatic Factory." This is the second of three articles in which he discusses the scientific bases and social implications of "automation," which appears to be introducing a new industrial revolution.

chines are only suitable for long runs of an unvarying product. As soon as there is more than a minor change in the product, the machine becomes obsolete or requires rebuilding. If we were to forgo variations in style and improvements in product, single-purpose automatic machines could be more widely used; but we will not do that.

Before "automation" can be adopted in a large area of the economy it will be necessary to develop machines that are flexible enough to be used in the manufacture of a number of different products. Such flexibility is not so distant as might appear. To some extent it has been achieved in the form of the semi-automatic production machines—the chucking and screw machines—of modern industry. In so far as they are designed to fulfil a group of related functions rather than to turn out a specific product, these machines point in the right direction. What they lack essentially is the ability to load and unload workpieces automatically and to transfer product units from one machine to another. But the rudiments of equipment for performing even these functions are already found in some plants. If we can overcome the tendency to be satisfied with the large, fully automatic—and soon obsolete—machines of today and look to the less spectacular innovations in flexible material-handling equipment, we shall see guideposts to the fruitful industrial use of the scientific inventions of the last decade.

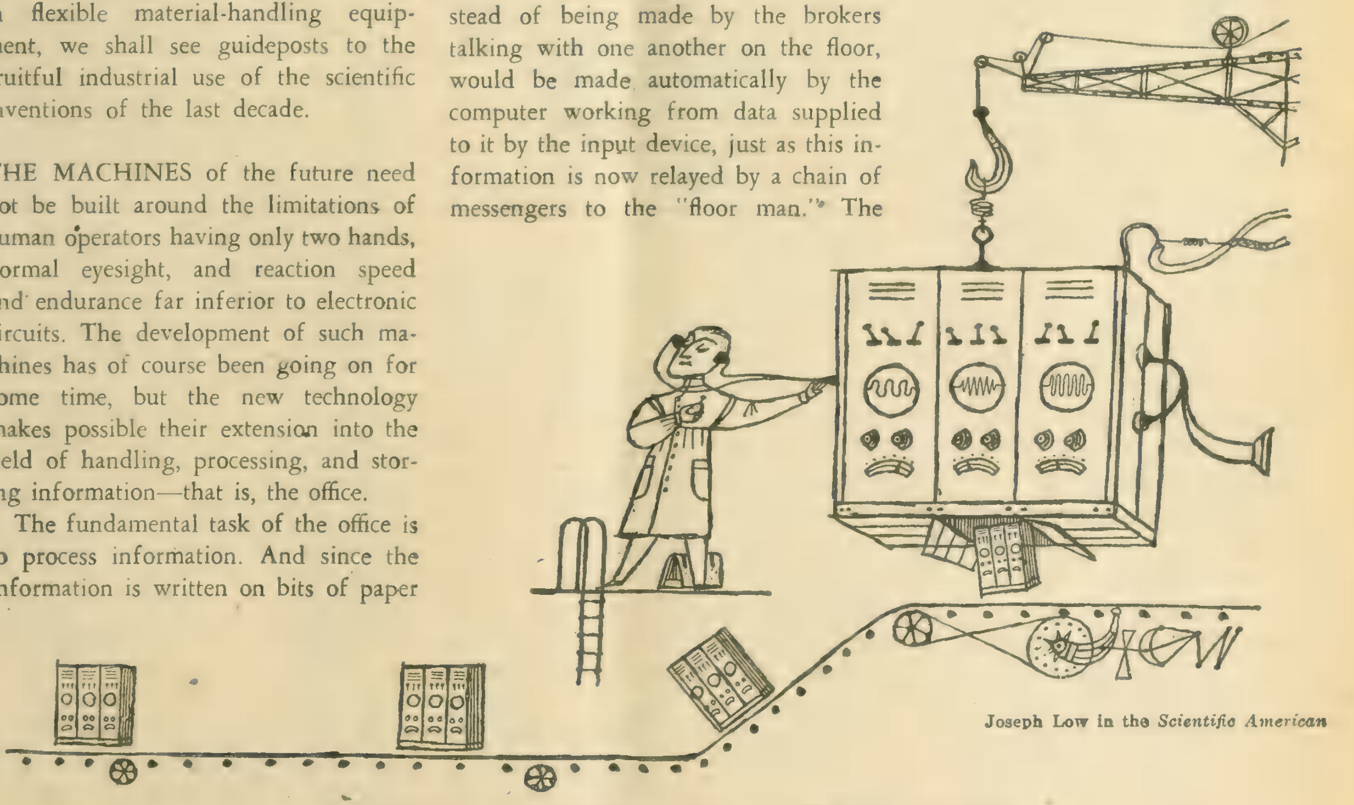
THE MACHINES of the future need not be built around the limitations of human operators having only two hands, normal eyesight, and reaction speed and endurance far inferior to electronic circuits. The development of such machines has of course been going on for some time, but the new technology makes possible their extension into the field of handling, processing, and storing information—that is, the office.

The fundamental task of the office is to process information. And since the information is written on bits of paper we usually assume that the problem of mechanizing the office is the problem of handling paper automatically. Such thinking can cause the neglect of truly fruitful applications of "automation." For example, a suitable but little discussed area for its introduction is the New York Stock Exchange, one of the most antiquated of all our businesses. The floor of the Exchange today presents the same picture as did the marketplace of ancient times. It is an anachronism on the American industrial scene. Efforts have been made to mechanize its operations, but the new technology has been used in only a peripheral manner, skirting the central problem. "Automation" has been employed successfully in the rapid price-quotation equipment provided by the Teleregister Corporation, and the magnetic-drum memory device that Teleregister has built for the Toronto Stock Exchange to give bid and asked prices automatically may be adopted. But the basic function of the Exchange is to act as a clearinghouse for information, and nothing is better suited to this task than the high-speed digital computer.

The most economical course would be to instal on the floor of the Exchange a computing machine connected with input-output devices in the offices of member firms. Stock transactions, instead of being made by the brokers talking with one another on the floor, would be made automatically by the computer working from data supplied to it by the input device, just as this information is now relayed by a chain of messengers to the "floor man." The ticker-tape and bid-and-asked service could go on as they do today. The only change from the standpoint of the customer would be increased speed in execution of orders and, possibly, lower brokerage commissions due to reduced operating costs.

Such mechanization need not wait for further advances in technology. Any one of two dozen companies could build the equipment in a year. In another year the computer would pay for itself. But it is unlikely that a computer will in fact replace the Exchange floor in the near future—not because the New York Stock Exchange is a backward organization but because two entirely different groups of people are involved, scientists and financiers, neither of which is particularly aware of the other's problems.

The Stock Exchange is not an entirely typical example of a business which could be mechanized by a computer—many business functions can be adequately performed by generally available rather than specially built computers—but a consideration of the problem of automatizing it does bring out two facts. The first is that to be of maximum service to business, the unique characteristics of computers and other instruments of "automation" must be



Joseph Low in the *Scientific American*

The Computing Machine of the Future Gives Birth to Its Kind admitted. In most cases using a new machine to do a particular job in the same way that it is now done is not using it effectively. The second is that considerably more understanding must be built up between the business man and the engineer. Although "automation" has its roots in communication theory, it would be hard to find a field in which poorer communication exists between the originators of equipment and the potential users. Computers must be designed to fill specific business needs in addition to performing high-speed general-purpose calculation.

What about the men and women who earn their living in offices? Unemployed stockbrokers can hardly be considered a serious problem, but as computers are used more generally, will the result be widespread technological unemployment? The human and social aspects of "automation" are discussed in the third and final article of this series.

WHY I SAID NO TO JOE

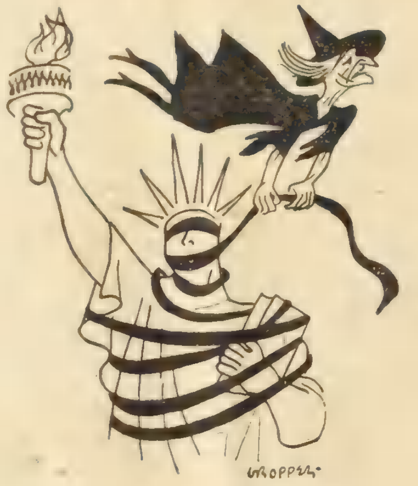
The "Age of Cringe" . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

IT IS annoying, at the best, to be hauled up before the McCarthy committee, even if you have the satisfaction of telling Joe to go peddle his papers. It is somewhat sobering, later, to receive letters from fine people commending you for doing what, after all, is only a simple and rudimentary act of citizenship. Their appreciation shows how far, in recent years, we have slipped down freedom's hill.

In olden times—at least as far back as 1910, say—it was a cardinal point of Americanism that a man's politics were his own business. Now they seem to be the business of any McCarthy, Jenner, or Velde who cares to stick his nose in. If a man's home is his castle, a man's mind is his own. Many Americans seem to have forgotten this. All the more honor to a new American, Albert Einstein, for reminding us that we have a duty not to cooperate with the book-burners.

One fine summer day a person who said he was Roy Cohn of the Senate Investigating (McCarthy) Committee, telephoned me to announce that I was summoned to appear. My crime: I had written books which, this voice said, had appeared in overseas libraries of the State Department. Later I received telegrams from a person teletyped as "Joe McCarthy" which "confirmed telephonic directions." (I hope I will be pardoned for referring to the gentleman as plain, simple "Joe." That is the way he signs himself.)

I was summoned to appear in Washington on "Tuesday, July 9." As this was an improbable date for 1953, I decided to pass it up. After Tuesday had come and gone, Joe was reported to have said that I was already "in contempt." Later he apparently revised his offhand opinion and issued the kind of subpoena which all other Congressional committees regard as the normal means for summoning witnesses.



As I was determined not to enter into a political discussion with Joe, my appearance before his committee was short and to the point. I said, in effect, "None of your business." My political affiliations, or lack of them, could be of no legitimate concern to him or his committee; that is, if our elected officials are in reality our servants and not our masters.

It is appalling that such an answer seems to be novel nowadays. Back in the 1600's in England, Catholic kings, and queens, hacked off Protestant heads, and Protestant kings, and queens, hacked off Catholic heads, because some stiff-necked people regarded their religion as their own business. Finally the English got around to agreeing that a man's religion is no business of the state. In the 1700's the agreement was extended to apply to a man's politics. This was accepted as good doctrine in the United States until a few years ago. Now it appears that we must fight to get back liberties conceded more than two centuries ago.

Of course the witch-hunters have been lurking around the corner from the earliest days. Usually the citizens had more guts than the witch-hunters. At times, however, the balance shifted, and the Joes got the upper hand. After World War I the Industrial Workers of the World put it this way: "Free speech—say anything you want to, but keep your mouth shut." Fortunately, for the wobblies this was mere irony; their free-speech fights are part of the great American tradition.

One has only to glance at labor history to see how far we have slipped. Workingmen back in the 1880's and 1890's expressed themselves with a freedom and vehemence that today, under the Smith act, would land them behind the stockades for twenty years. Gene Debs's frank speech is now astounding to a generation brought up on the desiccated pap of denatured opinion. The principles of the Declaration of Independ-

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HARVEY O'CONNOR, noted labor editor and journalist, is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Astors," and other books.

ence and of the Bill of Rights, which seemed fresh only a scant thirty years ago, today are suspect as being if not outright subversive at least soft-headed. Jefferson is accused of being a sentimentalist.

IF THIS IS the Age of Cringe and Scatter, let us so pronounce it. Let us time-life-fortune the Bill of Rights into the sickly wisdom of 1953; let "free enterprise" be boldly proclaimed as the ultimate in Americanism; let the Nevinses rewrite our history so that John D. Rockefeller may be exalted.

I for one refuse to believe that freedom must vanish. To paraphrase Lincoln, it is possible to scare some of the people all the time and all the people some of the time; but the current hysteria will pass, and people will marvel that so many hapless witches could have been burned for so little reason.

Take, for example, a current case. The State Department obtains the books of an author for its overseas libraries. The assumption is that royalties on these volumes are paid to the author. The further assumption, by McCarthy, is that a portion of these royalties is paid by the author to the "Communist conspiracy." Ergo.

It can be, as in my case, that no royalties whatsoever were received as a result of the State Department's acquisition of the author's books. It can be, as in my case, that none of the non-existent royalties were paid to the "Communist conspiracy." Nevertheless, one can be haled before the McCarthy committee to answer an idiotic line of questioning based on these assumptions and winding up with the clincher: When you wrote these books bought by "the old Acheson State Department" were you a member of the "Communist conspiracy"?—whatever that may be, as defined by McCarthy.

In other times it might have been a matter of pride to a writer that his books were selected by his country for overseas libraries, as an exhibit of the American way of life. But today, if Joe sees fit, this choice may be the author's open sesame to the federal penitentiary.

The excuse for this outrage is that Joe's committee is empowered to inspect the economy and efficiency with which the government's money is expended. With the budget running around eighty billion dollars a year, there may well be quite a bit of legitimate business awaiting a committee on government expenditures. Instead, Joe concerns himself with non-existent royalties on books and the non-existent percentage of these non-existent royalties paid to the "Communist conspiracy."

The medieval schoolmen are said to have indulged in similar feats of logic-chopping; one such debate on a pinhead involved the standing room of angels. Joe's involves human beings, and happy is Joe if the writer on *his* pinhead loses his contracts, loses his publisher, starves a while, and also spends some time in the hoosegow. That will teach him to write books and to assert his simple rights as a citizen.

McCARTHY, of course, is not too much concerned about writers, preachers, and other purveyors of opinion. He is busy fighting the future. If he can keep us occupied fighting for freedoms imbedded in the Constitution 160 years ago, he can keep us from examining the cause and cure of the crisis of our own times. Thus he can keep us from inspecting the rotting foundations of a system which acts as if it sees its perpetuation only through war—and the destruction of the human species.

McCarthy is busy at the moment befouling one of the finest periods of our history—the Roosevelt thirties, when people awoke with hope that they could do something to better their lot. The people's faith in their own capacity and in their own leaders must be rooted out. Then only the McCarthys will be left as leaders.

That is the real meaning of this calculated campaign of confounded and confounding idiocy. The people must stand bemused and paralyzed.

McCarthy will fail, as other demagogues have failed, if enough of us refuse to be bemused and paralyzed. If a wretched governmental bureaucrat of the McCarthy type presumes to ask us our politics, it is fitting and proper to tell him to mind his own business. If the penalty for contempt of such demagogues and loyalty to the Bill of Rights is one to twelve months in the penitentiary, then when was the chance to fight for freedom ever offered so cheaply?

DECADE 6

When the pass to the sun-drenched valley
 is blocked by land mines,
When the snipers sit like deities
 on the commanding hills,
Survival itself becomes the weapon
 with the longest range.

Surrounded we learn the art of breathing
 under water:
The sense of direction is hard, intact,
 and larval,
the enemy a failure as long as we exist.

Whole peoples have waited on the doorsteps
 of nations.
The Navajo thorn grows deep in the jagged heart
 of the victor.
Is the city besieged or the army of the plain
 besieged by the city?

The great bird of the future bristles
 on the metallic nest:
Feathered in our silence, words and acts
 tap on the shell,
energy is patient as a grenade.

DON GORDON

BOOKS

Black Hate—and Red

EUROPEAN COMMUNISM. By Franz Borkenau. Harper and Brothers. $6.

By R. H. S. Crossman

ONE of the difficulties which Englishmen and Americans share today is a reluctance to face the moral problems of treason and apostasy. Even ten years ago the idea that an informer could be a popular hero or that a traitor could really be a man of moral principle seemed a contradiction in terms. In our stable democratic societies patriotism was an almost unquestioned value, and we assumed far too easily that no conflict could arise between political principle and loyalty to the state.

Alger Hiss and Chambers, Fuchs and Nunn May have changed all that. We are now beginning to realize that we live in an epoch of ideological convulsion, and that our Anglo-Saxon conscience is confronted with problems with which it is completely untrained to grapple. One way of facing these problems is to reread Shakespeare and immerse ourselves in the ethics of the Elizabethan Age. Most of the talk in England about a "new Elizabethan Age" is bunkum; yet there is one resemblance between the 1550's and the 1950's. Shakespeare, like ourselves, lived in an age of treason. Then, too, an honorable man could be faced with the choice between betraying his country and his creed, and foreign powers were ready to exploit his crisis of personal conscience for imperial ends. To our grandfathers, treason was quite simply a monstrous crime; to the Elizabethans it was the central problem of politics. Whether a political conspiracy is justified, how to conspire nobly, how to face death if the conspiracy fails—these are the questions which tormented the heroes of Shakespeare's plays, and presumably the audience in Shakespeare's theater.

In this respect, at least, we are all Elizabethans once more. There is, however, one difference between our moral problems and those of Shakespeare's audience. They were heretics and revolutionaries, defying the ideas and institutions of the medieval establishment. Our role is the reverse. The Protestants of three hundred years ago have now become the upholders of the Western Establishment, fighting against the secular heresy which challenges its very existence. The millennialism, the iconoclasm, and the sense of predestined victory which inspired and often perverted the Protestant struggle for religious freedom and national independence now impel the millions of Asia and Africa to accept Communist absolutism in the hope of attaining equality, fraternity—and, when the classless society dawns, liberty as well.

THE RESPONSE which has been evoked by this protest against the West is of two kinds. The first is strictly and fanatically anti-Communist, an attempt to confute the devil by reason and to defeat his minions by force. Those who see salvation in the extirpation of communism are reactionaries in the literal sense of the word: they are reacting against the history of the last thirty years. Most Englishmen do not share this New World dogma of counter-revolution. We realize that the victories of the great heresy spring from the corruption of our own orthodoxy—every country has the Communists it deserves. So we seek to combine the defense of the Establishment with a recognition that it must be reformed if it is to be either defensible or worth defending.

The democrat, therefore, who tries to write objectively about communism has two enemies, one the Communist and the other the anti-Communist perversion of truth. He soon discovers the difficulty and the unpopularity of objectivity in an age when academics have ceased to be neutral and Clio herself has turned politician. Once again today the propagation of the faith has become entangled with the propaganda of the prince. As in the days of Shakespeare, the state employs the clerks, usually to sanctify its use of force but sometimes to find a justification for a sudden and unexpected accommodation with the enemy. Since war—fought ostensibly for the highest principle—is once again the normal state of man, patriotism demands the unqualified acceptance of the established ideology. But the link between patriotism and personal conscience may at any moment be broken by a sudden shift of alliances, which transforms a servant of Lucifer into a vessel of God, or vice versa. The clerk must be versatile in his polemics, conforming his argument to the vicissitudes of statecraft, if he is to avoid the wrath of the secular power. Only a few intellectuals will hunt down an idea without regard for the properties and fences across which the chase will lead them. We latter-day Elizabethans share Shakespeare's ambiguous respect for the trimmer whose conviction always coincides with state interests, and also his understanding that the informer and the traitor alike can be either men of the purest personal integrity or mercenary time-servers, or both at once.

Nevertheless, it is the apostate who holds the attention of the crowd. Whether he is welcomed back into the fold as a repentant sinner or shunned as a renegade, he alone can bring news from inside the enemy camp. Because he has dwelt in outer darkness, his vision of the light is incandescent. Those of us who have never strayed across the frontier of loyalty see a distracted world through a mist of perplexity; his picture is painted in glaring black and white. We are tempted to love our enemies, sometimes a little foolishly; he burns with a resentful hatred and does not understand that we cannot denounce his old convictions and friends as dogmatically as he does because they were never *our* convictions or *our* friends.

In the eyes of the apostate the corruption of the Western establishment is not the failure of the reforming spirit but the absence of a crusading hatred. The shades of gray, as he remembers from his past life, are the colors of compromise and treachery; white and black, of total victory and defeat. Disillusioned in his millennial dreams of a classless kingdom on earth, he transfers his uncritical faith and fanaticism to the Establishment, worshiping its strength, praising its understanding of statecraft,

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R. H. S. Crossman is a Labor member of Parliament and assistant editor of the New Statesman and Nation *(London).*

and advising the prince to put his trust not in the people, who can be duped, but in his soldiers, his policemen, and his spies. The apostate, in fact, becomes an anti-Communist intellectual, and wherever he has his way, the defense of the West becomes a counter-revolution, an absolutist reaction against absolutism.

THESE REFLECTIONS have arisen from a reading of Borkenau's study of European communism. Like many Vienna Jews of the professional class, Borkenau became a Communist as a young man in the 1920's. He served for some years in the International and made the acquaintance of most of its leaders before he broke away. His book, "The Communist International," has rightly become a classic. He composed it, as Arthur Koestler composed "Darkness at Noon" and Alex Weissberg "Conspiracy of Silence," before his spiritual conflict had been resolved. Like so many Communist intellectuals, he was always a good hater, but at this time his hatreds had not become ossified into habits and mental postures. He was not yet an anti-Communist *à outrance* but—like Ruth Fischer, the author of the best work on the German Communist Party—a dissident, appalled by the discovery that Stalin had deliberately stultified the German revolution and would stultify any other revolution which failed to conform to the requirements of Russian statecraft.

There is sometimes a fortunate moment in the agony of apostasy when the ex-Communist becomes more human than those securely anchored in either orthodoxy. Revolting in the name of Communist ideals against their corruption, he still retains sufficient sympathy with his past self and one-time comrades to describe them with detachment, humility, and even humor. In this phase his writing ceases to be a mere tract for the times, transcends ideological frontiers, and becomes literature. Arthur Koestler achieved this universality when he portrayed Rubashov, intellectually defeated by his interrogator and yet rebellious, despite the defeat. Now, I suspect, he would condemn the tragic ambiguity of "Darkness at Noon" and despise Ignazio Silone for refusing to depart from a similar point of no return.

Borkenau never had the creative talent to be ranked with these great Communist apostates. In "The Communist International" and "Spanish Cockpit" he combined erudition and mordant observation with an arrogant but not unattractive detachment. Now even this quality has failed him. He set out to write a history of the Communist parties of Europe, Britain, and America from 1934 until 1945. What he has actually composed is an enormously lengthy tract in support of the thesis that every change in the Communist line outside Russia can be derived from the struggle inside the Politburo. The most useful chapters in his book are those dealing with France, where he relies on Rossi's remarkable investigations into the role of the Communists in the Popular Front and under the German occupation. For the rest, though the conclusions he draws in his final chapter are sensible enough, he reaches them by a process of reasoning which at first appals the reader and then fascinates by its familiarity. He accepts any evidence which proves his theory, but a few pages later he will be attacking the veracity of the witness on whose word he was relying. He tells us, for instance, that Woodhouse and McNeill are the two best sources for the history of Greek communism, only to assert: "Our two chief authorities agree substantially on one important point: that the Greek Communists accepted the challenge on their own, without advice from Moscow. This is downright impossible, and the fact stated by both, that no Russian intervention could be observed during the war now starting, is irrelevant to their thesis. . . . To regard such a thing as possible, not in 1941 but in 1944, at the height of Stalin's power, shows a lack of understanding of the workings of the Communist machine."

Or observe his method of dealing with the Cominform. His theory is that its creation by Zhdanov was an act of rebellion against Stalin and that when the militant policy failed, the Zhdanovites were liquidated. The evidence he provides for Stalin's disapproval is a series of articles by Varga. Since these articles were censured, one might assume that Stalin disapproved of them. But no. "There was a formal official condemnation, but Varga stuck to his guns and kept his position, a thing unthinkable had he not had support in the highest quarters. . . . But Varga's articles were only a symptom that it was now possible to attack Zhdanov openly."

Was Zhdanov attacked openly? No, that would be too simple. "Here too the evidence is not so much insufficient as intentionally misleading. . . . As always in such cases Zhadanov was obliged to sign the resolution which marked his own downfall." Where has one heard such nightmare logic before? It is, of course, the method used by the fictitious interrogator in "Darkness at Noon" and the real interrogator in "Conspiracy of Silence." They too prove their case not by testing one witness against another but by selecting, rearranging, and suppressing facts to fit an a priori assumption. As an anti-Communist, Borkenau still demands that history should conform with dogma and provide the evidence required by the public prosecutor.

IT IS impossible, then, for anyone to bring us the truth from inside the enemy camp? Not impossible, but rare. Rereading "Revolution of Destruction" and "Hitler Speaks," we realize how very little has since been added to the picture given in these two masterpieces which Rauschning wrote in the early 1930's. All the essentials are there, not only the bones but the heart of National Social-

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ism. Why was Rauschning able to do this? Perhaps the reason is that he was not a Nazi but a fellow-traveler in the Third Reich, close enough to Hitler to work with him, sufficiently detached to record truthfully what he had heard. The trouble about men such as Borkenau is that their whole personalities were committed to communism. To cut away from it involved an act of self-amputation. Like a man who has cut off his own leg, he still wakes up at night and feels the ache in his Communist toes. Apostasy rarely leaves the personality unscarred. Indeed, the renegade who changes sides for money or to save his skin may well be less damaged in the process, and therefore a more truthful witness, than someone who has wrestled with his conscience and deserted with no thought of gain. For a dedicated intellectual there is nothing more self-destroying than apostasy—except a time-serving loyalty after his belief has been destroyed.

New Books in Brief

"Difficult" Heroine

KATHERINE MANSFIELD. A Biography. By Anthony Alpers. Knopf. $5.

A new version of the pathetic story of a young writer who was already mortally ill of tuberculosis when her real reputation began. The author is a fellow New Zealander who learned his letters in the house where Miss Mansfield spent her unhappy post-adolescent years. There is considerable new material based upon documents in private hands as well as upon interviews with various persons who knew her, including the first husband whom she left after the wedding night. Mr. Alpers is a devoted admirer but does not conceal the fact that his heroine seems to have been extremely "difficult" as well as talented and unhappy.

Much of the story follows a familiar pattern: a morbidly sensitive girl born into a raw society as the daughter of a successful business man who obviously felt that fate had made him responsible for a changeling. There was the early enthusiasm for Wilde and the other decadents; a flight to London reluctantly and parsimoniously financed by the father; a thirst for "experience" complicated by narcissistic timidity; and then the final flight into unreality when the rational treatment of her disease was too confining and dull. Obviously childishly demanding of others, she accused her husband of too little concern and the strange woman friend who became her slave of too much. Mr. Alpers's picture of a terribly unhappy and terribly self-centered woman is entirely convincing. As is so often the case, the portrait of the writer is less convincing or rather, despite some relation of work to biography, almost non-existent. There is little except the fact that she did write her stories to make it seem probable that she would be capable of it. Except for this perhaps inevitable fact Mr. Alpers has done an excellent job and written a very interesting book.

Puzzles for Policy-Makers

MIDDLE EAST DILEMMAS. By J. C. Hurewitz. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper. $3.75.

This meaty and perceptive volume, based on papers prepared for a Council on Foreign Relations study group, describes "the origins and growth of American responsibilities in the Middle East within the context of the region's history and the evolving pattern of European diplomatic and power rivalry in the past century and a half." Up to March, 1947, when economic weakness forced Britain partially to abdicate its long-held role as dominant power in the Middle East, the United States had been only spasmodically concerned about the problems of this sector. Since then the danger that Soviet Russia might move in to fill a power vacuum, depriving the West of both oil reserves and vital strategic positions, has compelled this country to develop active Middle Eastern policies.

These policies have not as yet proved particularly successful except perhaps in Turkey, because, as Professor Hurewitz demonstrates, American diplomats have been baffled by a series of multi-horned dilemmas. How, for instance, are we to support the British imperial system in the Middle East—still "the West's

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greatest single strategic asset"—without alienating the Arab countries? How are we to cope with the infantile nationalism of the Arab states, united only in their hostility to Israel? How can we persuade ruling oligarchies that political and social reforms, which will require them to surrender privileges, are essential for the strengthening of their countries? By what methods can we overcome "the almost morbid inertia" that frustrates all efforts to mobilize natural resources in the region and improve living standards?

Professor Hurewitz has no pat solutions for such problems, but the light he throws on them should prove helpful to policy-makers as they grope their way along the dark passages of the Middle Eastern labyrinth.

Flashing Lyricism

POEMS OF MICHAEL DRAYTON. Edited by John Buxton. Harvard. $6.

The Muses' Library, continuing its policy of making available the works of the enduring English minor poets, has added a handsome two-volume selection from the works of Michael Drayton, and those readers who know him only as the author of the anthology piece Sonnet 61 ("Since there's no helpe, come let us kisse and part") now have a happy opportunity to enlarge the acquaintance.

There can be little doubt that Drayton is at his best in the shorter pieces, in the Sonnets and the Odes, but there is more than a simply antiquarian charm in the Histories and Epics that Drayton, like so many of his contemporaries, felt compelled to write. However ungainly the narrative elements and the machinery of these literary blimps, Drayton's lyricism flashes through time and again, delighting the reader just at the moment when he had prepared for boredom. His account of Merlin, for example, in the all but interminable Poly-Olbion, is not exactly compelling story-telling, but certainly a reader must stay with a poet who can toss into the account so rich a line as: "The world shall still be full of Merlin everywhere."

Drayton, however, was not simply a poet of flashes. Above all, he was a working poet. He wrote prodigiously and revised endlessly. The problems of an editor who sets out not only to make a selection but to verify the text are, accordingly, monumental, and John Buxton has faced them with real devotion.

I only wish the notes had been more adequate. Buxton himself senses the shortage and covers himself by quoting Dr. Johnson: "I could have written longer notes, for the art of writing notes is not of difficult attainment." Nevertheless, the general reader could profit from more guidance to Drayton's many topical, classical, and early-English references.

A Flier's Musings

THE SPIRIT OF ST. LOUIS. By Charles A. Lindbergh. Scribner's. $5.

Lindbergh's flight to France in 1927 was one of the great exploits of modern times—a feat that set the world's imagination on fire. This is his story of the flight. It is also a queer kind of autobiography, as hour by hour during the long journey he muses upon the past, keeping awake by drawing up scene after scene from the well of memory. An absorbing story admirably told.

The Commandments Analyzed

MANDATE TO HUMANITY. By Edwin McNeill Poteat. Abington-Cokesbury. $3.75.

"An effort to discover the residuum of moral and religious idealism contained in the Decalogue, and to account for its persistence through nearly thirty centuries, and to ask whether . . . this ancient code can survive in our times." To do this the author analyzes the historical background of the Ten Commandments, and their meaning for the Israelites and for the people of today. In relating the Commandments to the needs of the modern world Dr. Poteat allows himself to broaden their original intent, but his interpretations, whether or not one agrees with them, are always provocative.

Nostalgia for the War

THE HONEYED PEACE. By Martha Gellhorn. Doubleday. $3.50.

These are ten stories, some long, others fragmentary, of life in the midst of or directly after the Second World War. The characters are international—

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Polish, German, Italian, English, French, and American. The tone is that of nostalgia for the pre-war period or the war itself, when people were united in a common cause and worked together in harmony, while the threat of destruction or sudden death was a moral and psychological stimulant. It should be added that Miss Gellhorn carries off her theme and her central mood very effectively, even if the medium she chooses and her central view of life are somewhat limited.

Her characters form a somewhat special group of emancipated souls who are now footloose and futile, who yearn even for the decadence of the past when their values seemed permanent if not typical. But what is new in her work is a note of underlying desperation, compared with what sometimes seemed, in her earlier books, to be merely a note of sophistication.

Insects and Men

THE SOCIAL INSECTS. By O. W. Richards. Philosophical Library. $4.75.

Like the insects themselves, popular books about them are numerous. This one by a reader in entomology at the University of London deserves special mention not only because it is up-to-date enough to have a brief, clear account of Von Frisch's staggering demonstration of how honey bees communicate but also because it is authoritative, exceptionally well organized, and pleasantly written in a typically English fashion. Without any talking down to the reader, there is crystal clarity and a perfect balance between specific illustration and broad generalization. Mr. Richards is also agreeably sensible on the subject of insect and human societies. Man has been social for perhaps a million years; insects for at least thirty million, and they have, therefore, quite a head start. It is just possible that when we have been at it for an equally long time we may be as drearily mechanical and as devoid of individuality as they are. Wells imagined something of the sort in "The Time Machine," but Mr. Richards is reassuring: "Such a course seems less likely now than it did fifty years ago."

CORRECTION: "Little Novels of Sicily" by Giovanni Verga is published by the Grove Press, not the "Grace" Press as stated in last week's issue.

Films

Manny Farber

"MARTIN LUTHER" is a nice, well-behaved little movie about a religious thunderbolt. The title role is played by an Irish actor named Niall MacGinnis. While he seldom suggests the phenomenal force of the Reformation leader, MacGinnis makes the most of a pugnacious face and a clever, if somewhat fancy, theatrical voice. Occasionally his eyes bulge too much and he tries to make his tones too clear and firm—as in that fateful speech which starts "Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Scripture"; but otherwise he seems a good modest version of Luther. The rest of the movie, a Louis de Rochemont production, is interesting, since it is possibly the first religious movie to sidestep sensational violence of any kind and concern itself with items that might be used by a debating professor. The closest De Rochemont comes to conventional movie fury are a few rocks heaved through a church window and a Wittenberg bonfire scene which must be a pale duplicate of that famous incendiary attack on the papacy.

The "plot" takes the practical reformer through his decisive years, from his unexpected entrance into a monastery at Erfurt to a happier moment when the German princes have been won over to his cause and a former Bernardine nun has wooed him into marriage—according to the film Luther was the pursued. The script, by Lothar Wolff and Allan Sloane, is constructed in the bric-a-brac manner of art films like "The Titan." On a screen that often goes in for odd-angled camera shots and dark-toned compositions you are given a cultural grab-bag of everything from an etching of St. Peter's before the dome had been built to a view of the actual castle where Luther translated the Bible. When you aren't looking at lithographs, old books, the Medici coat of arms, the film offers brief re-enactments of famous Lutherian moments. The whole thing is unfolded somewhat stiffly and in the manner of a packet of attached photographs.

An army of commentators—sounding like pupils of Laurence Olivier—supply the cement that holds these fragments together. When the pictures are generalized and close to cliché—two monks trudging in silhouette over rolling hills—the commentator fills in with information on, say, walking trips to Rome. When the camera man goes off on an arty excursion—a totally obscured view through foliage of the heads of some horsemen—the commentator lets you know that a friendly kidnapping is taking place in the Thuringian Forest.

In scenes emphasizing character Luther is shown as a brooding, melancholy figure struggling to find a "gracious rather than a punitive God," a practical reformer who finally arrives at the notion that ecclesiastical vestments, pilgrimages, mortifications, and so on are of no avail to the soul. Ex-Professor Pichel, the director, opens up Luther's arguments in a clear, entertaining way and works in nice touches having to do with the dialectical skill, unruffled temper, and phenomenal memory of good disputants. A typical bit of professorial humor makes an illiterate loafer the key figure in that famous moment when Luther nails the Thesis to the church door.

Any similarity between "Luther" and the religious works made by De Mille, Dieterle, Dreyer, or D. W. Griffith seems to be confined to the fact that the producer's name has the same first initial. While De Rochemont's film may be somewhat tepid as biography and motionless as a movie, it is unique in its class in that it makes its play more to the mind than to the eye.

"ISLAND IN THE SKY" is a heavy John Wayne drama revolving around an A. T. C. plane crash in the Labrador wastes. Aerial photography in shivery weather provides some thrills but not enough to make up for Wayne's dreary monologues addressed to himself, the faulty use of stereophonic sound, and the waste of some good actors like Lloyd Nolan and Bob Stell.

"99 River Street" is another energetic, semi-realistic gangster film by the group that made "Kansas City Confidential." The plot is routine, but the direction, which seems to dislike anything that smacks of the phrase "don't get excited," makes the picture worth seeing. Its worst feature is Evelyn Keyes overemoting; its best, the opening prize fight that exhibits the dexterity of actor John Payne.

Music

B. H. Haggin

ANOTHER statement by Virgil Thomson on criticism, which I read somewhere last year, was that criticism properly offered not opinion but information—the facts about a piece of music or a performance. I would say that what Thomson means by fact is really opinion. When he referred once to Mitropoulos's "Panzer division tactics" and said he had "taken over the Philharmonic-Symphony concerts like an occupying army" Thomson gave not fact but opinion—that the facts of tempo and dynamics added up to excessive tension and violence in the performance. Similarly when he wrote that Horowitz "never states a simple melody frankly. He teases it by accenting unimportant notes and diminishing his tonal volume on all the climactic ones. The only contrast to brio that he knows is the affetuoso style"—Thomson gave not fact but the opinion that the facts added up to something "musically false." And it is such opinion that criticism offers.

Roland Gelatt, in "Music-Makers" (Knopf, $3.75), doesn't even hear the facts sometimes. Faced with Landowska's gross distentions of tempo in Bach's "48," he writes that "a super-

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ficial hearing of a Landowska recording nets the impression of unflagging tempo" but "within the seemingly straightforward rhythmic pulse there are minute liberties." On the other hand, amplifying his statement that "at Prades Casals the conductor scarcely measured up to Casals the cellist," he cites the Casals rubato that was "for the cellist a subtle freedom" but "the conductor's fall from grace"; when in fact the recorded Prades orchestral performances exhibit the same powerful inflection as the cello performances, but without the latter's rubato.

But Gelatt's real deficiency as a critic is his opinions. He doesn't hear affetuoso teasing in Horowitz's performances of Schumann's "Kinderszenen" and the slower Scarlatti sonatas, but only Horowitz "whispering the poetry of a Scarlatti sonata" and playing the "Kinderszenen" with "his subtle comprehension." No surprise then that he doesn't hear Mitropoulos's excessive tension and violence, Munch's frenzies, Ormandy's vulgarities, Beecham's recent distortions of his earlier performances—nor, on the other hand, the qualities that make the Budapest Quartet more than just "one of many excellent ensembles." With a good critic one has to wonder how he happened to be wrong this time; with Gelatt one wonders how he happens to be right for once.

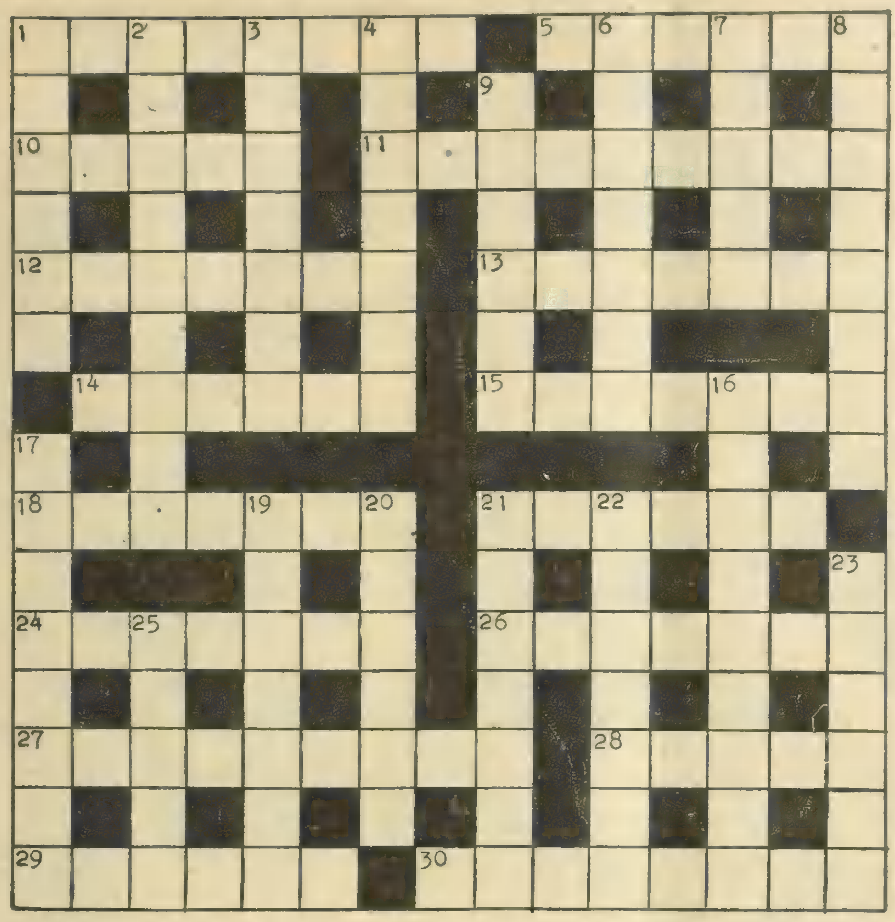
The "searching insight" of Horowitz's performances of the "Kinderszenen," a Scarlatti sonata, a Brahms Intermezzo convinces Gelatt that Horowitz is fully capable of playing the "non-acrobatic" music he doesn't play, which is assumed in Horowitz's explanation of why he doesn't play it. Early in his career, he says, when he played in small halls, he did play Bach and Mozart; but this music intended for the intimacy of a small room would bore the thousands of people he plays to in large halls today. So with Schubert's B flat Sonata: "It is too long, too introspective. You cannot keep the attention of five thousand people through four long movements of Schubert." As for Beethoven, in general the piano works are inferior to the orchestral works ("It's not that Beethoven's piano writing doesn't sound the way *I* want it to; it's because his writing doesn't sound the way *he* wanted it to"); and the last sonatas are for him like Cézanne's last paintings—gropings toward a new style, incomplete, and "not of sufficient listening-value . . . for recitals in large auditoriums."

But the assumption that Horowitz can play the music he doesn't play is incorrect; and the alternation of brio and affetuoso teasing that is the sum total of his playing would make Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert intolerable even to a few hundred of the thousands who, long before the Horowitz era, used to listen in Carnegie Hall to Josef Hofmann play one of the last Beethoven sonatas, and in recent years filled Hunter College Auditorium to hear Schnabel play these works and sonatas of Mozart and Schubert. And on the other hand Schnabel's performances of these works would bore even a few hundred of the thousands who attend Horowitz's recitals to be alternately excited by his super-charged virtuosity and titillated by his affetuoso teasing. The true Horowitz situation is that of a pianist and an audience on the same level of musical understanding—the level indicated by Horowitz's ideas about Beethoven.

And also his ideas about Musorgsky. The "Musorgsky Reader" is filled with contemporary statements about Musorgsky's powers as a pianist, especially in dramatically and pictorially imaginative invention; and I remember my amazement when, after years of the Ravel orchestration, I heard the original piano version of "Pictures at an Exhibition" and heard how completely achieved an imaginative creation it was. But Horowitz, says Gelatt, made his arrangement "on the principle (hardly to be controverted) that Musorgsky did not understand the piano's full potentialities"—Horowitz's and Gelatt's way of saying that Musorgsky, like Beethoven, was guilty of the inadequacy of not thinking in terms of the Horowitz fireworks. Horowitz changes only the piano "scoring," says Gelatt, whose own musical understanding doesn't extend to realizing that details like the reiterated off-beat F sharp inserted in the bass in the last ten bars of *Con mortuis*, with rhythmic and pedal effects unintended by Musorgsky, are substance, not "scoring." And the result—as monstrous as Stokowski's completion of Bach's Chaconne—Gelatt considers "Horowitz's interpretative masterpiece."

Crossword Puzzle No. 534

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 His dream was interpreted incorrectly? (8)
5 X's, alternatively a stretcher. (6)
10 This gets in your blood. (5)
11 If these hosts took note, they could have a party! (9)
12 Not regular membership fees! (7)
13 Responsible for early give-away programs. (7)
14 Look at the boil! (6)
15 A pet scheme of ours some time ago. (7)
18 Releases. (7)
21 See 25 down.
24 Does one, if the ball is let? (7)
26 Adduce. (7)
27 Her defeat was swift. (9)
28 Theban victim of patricide. (5)
29 Stable mate of the future, perhaps? (6)
30 These points were made by Wilson. (8)

DOWN

1 Asinine? (6)
2 You can tell me Eve's rib gets broken—I'll take note of it! (9)
3 Tire, as part of the car. (7)
4. Spite or retaliation. (7)
6. One of these might imply variations in games. (7)
7. Was in bad, but usually not with a city lover. (5)
8. Stages of formal speech. (8)
9. Get to be prevalent. (6)
16. One sometimes has to do it to different statements — including the bank's. (9)
17 Found along with Chinese junks? (But not originals!) (9)
19 Set up in high position. (7)
20 Guides a herd, perhaps. (6)
21 and 23 down One does on 8, if the point is debatable. (5, 2, 6)
22 Byron implied at least one sounded by night in Brussels. (7)
23 See 21 down
25 and 21 across. Hit by a Greyhound? (5-6)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 533

ACROSS:—10 and 1 FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM; 11 ERASERS; 12 ENDOPLASM; 13 DOGIE; 14 SOCIAL; 16 GRANDEUR; 19 STUNTING; 20 ADONIS; 22 LATHE; 23 IMMOLATED; 25 YUCATAN; 26 RAVELIN; 27 CARRIAGE TRADE.

DOWN:—2 ENDED; 3 EUROPEAN THEATER; 4 VULGAR; 5 STEAMERS; 6 STAND AND DELIVER; 7 EVERGREEN; 8 OFFENSES; 9 ESSE; 15 CRUSTACEA; 17 RESIDENT; 18 INSIGNIA; 21 EMERGE; 22 LAYS; 24 TILED.

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BRESLOW AND SMITHEMAN: IS YOUTH LIBERAL?

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THE *Nation*

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The Citizen and the Free School

by Harold Taylor

Germany's New "Drang" *Terence Prittie*

Automation and Jobs *John Diebold*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

WORD from Baltimore, expected site of a new major-league baseball franchise—and home of H. L. Mencken—is that despite his illness, and seasonal difficulties with his hay fever, Mr. Mencken is "delighted" with the special birthday bouquet bestowed on him in our September 12 issue. Apropos of that issue, we thought Stanley Glaubach did an exceptionally fine job of drawing Mencken's portrait and then superimposing it upon a cover of the old *Smart Set*.

. . . A few weeks ago we ran a back-cover ad in the form of a prescription blank urging a steady dose of *The Nation* for "tired liberal friends" of our readers. The response has been wonderful. Scores of people have sent in subscriptions for their friends. It's still a good idea and you can still get in on it: just send us your friend's name and address and your own name—plus $3 to cover a very special forty-week trial subscription for that "tired liberal."

. . . At the invitation of the recently formed National Issues Committee I had a very pleasant luncheon the other day at New York's Hotel Commodore. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, head of the committee, stressed the intended objectivity and non-partisanship of the group. A stand would be taken only on issues and not, she emphasized, on candidates. After the luncheon I asked her whether the non-partisanship embraced Republicans. She laughed and said, "We've been trying to find a Republican to serve as co-chairman with me but so far we haven't found one willing to take on the job."

The committee intends to form local chapters throughout the country; those interested in further information should write to Don Pryor, Executive Director National Issues Committee, 1832 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington.

. . . *Nation* contributor Harvey O'Connor (Why I Said No to Joe, September 26) will be in New York the night of October 22 to speak on his experiences before the McCarthy committee. The meeting, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will be held at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West Forty-eighth Street. The committee also plans to make reprints of O'Connor's *Nation* article available.

. . . "In the pages of *The Nation*," writes an Ann Arbor, Michigan, reader, "I have found answers to the many questions of today. I would like to thank you for helping to cut away some of the strong weeds of confusion, lies, deception, and failure to report on facts—all of which prevent any genuine effort to pass judgment on prevailing ideas and activities of mankind."

. . . This week I managed to get a look at some of the manuscripts slated for a second special civil-liberties issue late this fall. Judging by the material received so far, the second will be even more exciting than the first—How Free Is Free? published last year.

. . . Carey McWilliams, *Nation* editorial director, is scheduled to be the chief speaker at an important anti-discrimination conference to be held in October in Chicago, sponsored by the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers.

. . . Does Silence Mean Guilt? the definitive *Nation* article on the Fifth Amendment question, continues to be a best-seller; also The Strange Case of John T. Flynn. Copies of both are available at 10 cents apiece; $7.50 a hundred; $25 for 500; and $45 for 1,000. More than 40,000 copies of Does Silence Mean Guilt? have been distributed, and 15,000 of the article on Flynn. A noted educator who read the Flynn piece wrote us: "I chuckled gleefully when I read the article on Flynn. I don't recall the exact literary reference but I would say Mr. Flynn got his 'comeuppance.'" MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Olivier and the Beggar

Dear Sirs: In your September 12 issue your film reviewer describes "The Beggar's Opera" as "Nelson Eddy-type operetta—a dashing highwayman having fun holding up stagecoaches, escaping from jail, falling in love." Actually the work, written in 1728, is a biting satire on Italian opera, on Restoration comedy, and, most of all, on the morals of the times. A sensational dramatic success, "The Beggar's Opera" ranks with the satires of Swift as a landmark in sociological drama. It effectively exposed the corrupt political machine of Walpole and opened the way for all the many socially conscious artists to come. "The Beggar's Opera" is an important part of our cultural heritage. The music is that of ballads popular during the Restoration, set to new texts. Handel and Bach were familiar with, and used, some of these exciting tunes. The "half-intelligible lyrics" are well worth reading and can be found in the Modern Library Giant, "Famous Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century."

Berkeley, Cal. PHILIP K. DICK

Differs on Geismar

Dear Sirs: Perry Miller's review of "Rebels and Ancestors" by Maxwell Geismar [*The Nation*, September 12] makes one wonder about the assignment of a book dealing with writers *circa* 1900 to a scholar whose field of study is the seventeenth century.

And while Mr. Miller worries about trifles and fusses about dates, the opportunity to hail and promote an important and original work of the mind is lost. Reread, if you will, the two sentences on Glasgow. That is the way we used to review books in high school. And Mr. Miller disposes of the Dreiser essay in the same casual fashion. Talk about not seeing the forest for the trees! Here is one of the most brilliant and acute literary essays of the age, and the best Mr. Miller can find in it is "exciting evidence that Dreiser did indeed have a craft"—is the professor of American literature at Harvard just discovering this?—and the obvious fact that Dreiser clearly understood the fundamental change in the social and economic bases of American society in this century.

Mr. Miller's work in his own field is respected everywhere, but the piece he did for you on "Rebels and Ancestors" is mostly baloney.

Chicago, Ill. JACK POTTER

Generous Offer

Dear Sirs: We have been subscribing to *The Nation* for many years and have a great many back numbers of which we should like to dispose. Individuals or organizations interested can reach me at 531 East Lincoln Avenue, Mt. Vernon.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y. MRS. A. ISAAK

Volume 177, Number 14
New York, Saturday, October 3, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Our Ally Franco

Our Paris correspondent writes: The signing of the Washington-Madrid treaty, though long expected, aroused profound resentment almost everywhere in Europe. The French press quoted widely the New York *Times* editorial which pointed out that Dictator Franco and the United States are now allies. The Moscow reaction, likely to be elaborated at the U. N., is that the treaty represents not only another obstacle to East-West understanding but a positive "war factor." Spanish Republicans, meeting in Bordeaux, attacked the agreement as a "betrayal of democracy" and vowed to continue their own fight against Franco to the end. There is no doubt that these freedom-loving Spaniards spoke the thoughts of the overwhelming majority of Europeans, West as well as East.

Victory for Whom?

Adenauer's victory has been hailed in Washington as a triumph for the "European idea." But in this issue Terence Prittie tells how the West Germans, through a mixture of hard work, modern merchandising, American aid, and sharp trading practices, are beginning to push their West European neighbors out of various world markets. Is *this* the "European idea"? Ludwig Erhard, Adenauer's Minister of Economics, recently explained to the *Wall Street Journal* why he believes in free enterprise and the abandonment of international controls: "It is perfectly true that there are considerable differences [in wages, social conditions, taxation, etc.] between nations, and for some God himself is responsible. . . . It is therefore impossible to try to level everything." Is *this* the "European idea"? Or is it simply a German diplomat's way of saying that, so long as his country is ahead, why shouldn't the devil take the hindmost?

"Quietly and methodically," writes Edwin Hartrich in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "trade and industry in West Germany are returning to their traditional pre-war patterns of cartel and trust." Even Germany's aircraft manufacturers, who are not yet permitted to produce aircraft, have formed a cartel in preparation for *der Tag.* And in an especially astute commentary a New York *Times* correspondent recently pointed out that the more successfully the German trade drive develops, the more hopelessly behind will France be left, drained as Germany is not by armaments costs and the Indo-China war.

Are these the "European idea"? Or are they the inevitable and dangerous consequences of the American idea that only a strong Germany can save Europe? World War II was brought on by an alliance among Germany's industrial barons, the German army, and Hitler. The barons are already back; the army is coming; and who knows but that tomorrow's Hitler is already screaming against the Potsdam *Diktat* in some Bavarian beer cellar?

With Ham, an Egg

Martin P. Durkin's flat statement to the A. F. of L. delegates in St. Louis that President Eisenhower had personally reneged on his promise to back the Durkin-sponsored amendments to the Taft-Hartley act and the prompt White House denial that followed constitute a formal mutual severance of political relations. After Mr. Durkin's unhappy experience it is most unlikely that the Administration could now, even if it wished, obtain token labor representation. And any notion it may have entertained of maintaining liaison with labor through a "third" federation has been jettisoned by the Carpenters' reentry into the A. F. of L. after a brief exit.

But there is much evidence to support the view that the Administration does not want to be embarrassed by the slightest tie with labor. Vice-President Nixon was certainly a strange emissary to send to St. Louis if the President had really wanted to placate the unions. "With ham," one Republican delegate told reporters for the *Wall Street Journal,* "you got to have an egg. He laid it." The President's message, moreover, was not conciliatory; it was intended to announce a shift in his position on Taft-Hartley, which he indorsed in the strongest language he has yet used.

Motion in the Labor Movement

The St. Louis convention was remarkable also for the new sense of vigor and independence conveyed by Mr. Meany's keynote speech. The Eisenhower Administration was charged with running the government in the interests of "the greedy few," and the cosy intimacy of its

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relations with the N. A. M. was sharply criticized. The corrupt and racket-ridden I. L. A. was ousted by the nearly unanimous vote of 72,362 to 765—the first international union to be expelled for corruption in the history of the federation. Even more important was Mr. Meany's blunt criticism of Chancellor Adenauer's plan for a new labor "front" in West Germany. It has been a long time since an official spokesman for the federation has denounced a consequence of American foreign policy in such terms. Clearly, the labor movement is now in motion, but has it started to move in time? The latest Gallup Poll indicates that three of every four voters—in a sampling which obviously includes many members of the A. F. of L.—feel that the Eisenhower Administration cannot be charged with favoring one group more than any other!

Incidentally other readers of the New York *Times* must have been puzzled, as we were, to read in A. H. Raskin's account of the convention that the delegates "roared their appreciation" of Mr. Meany's jibes at the N. A. M., and then to learn from an editorial in the same issue that this applause greeted his reference to the federation's internal problems. Query: do *Times* editorial writers read what their reporters are saying in the news columns?

How to Stop the Demagogues

The struggle to determine the limits of the Congressional power of inquiry is being edged along, slowly and painfully but with remarkable persistence and courage. In the last few years the relevance of the Fifth Amendment has been established in the courts. But those who invoke its protection are by this fact precluded from testing such limits, nor does the amendment protect the individual against the savage reprisals of private groups. Now, for the first time since 1947, the struggle is centering on the meaning of the guaranties embodied in the First Amendment. Harvey O'Connor and Leo Huberman tendered the first clear-cut challenge on this score. More recently Corliss Lamont has carried the fight a step farther by maintaining, first that the committees cannot inquire into the personal affairs of private citizens and, second, that the committees are usurping the judicial power. This is essentially the position outlined by Philip Wittenberg, who appeared as counsel for Mr. Lamont, in an article in *The Nation* of May 9 (How to Stop the Demagogues). By not invoking the Fifth Amendment these men have challenged the power of the committees in a manner that makes court tests possible. This is the way to proceed. The power of inquiry must continue to be challenged from as many different standpoints as possible until the courts are finally forced to reassert the supremacy of the Constitution over the whims and biases of committee chairmen.

The "Grave" Italian Strike

Though only a demonstration and a warning, last week's strike in Italy was considered by the Italian government a "grave event." Its gravity lay in the fact that the three great labor federations formed a common front. The C. G. I. L., closely connected with the Communist Party and Nenni's left Socialists, the C. I. S. L. of Christian Democratic inspiration, and the U. I. L., backed by the right-wing Socialists and Republicans, united in the demand for higher wages and greater respect for the labor movement.

Impressed by these facts and by the overwhelming response of the workers, Prime Minister Pella tried to mediate, sounding the note of "neutrality" as between the employers and workers. Since the movement was not openly "political," the government could, without losing face, appeal to both sides in behalf of the national interest. But nobody is deceived by such subtleties. What is happening in Europe is that the workers no longer react to the slogans that have kept them passive during the cold-war years. When Catholic Action tried to tell the Christian Democratic workers that by marching with the Communist and Socialist unions they were making themselves tools of Moscow, they replied: "Please convince the employers that by refusing us a decent living they are doing the same thing."

Diplomacy on the Turn

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE United States has become adept at winning diplomatic successes that turn sour before they can be swallowed and digested. The past week brought new support for this theory both in and out of the United Nations, although the big press continued to talk as if American diplomacy were rich in political vitamins even if foreigners continued to gag it down with difficulty. The most unpalatable of all our recent victories—the exclusion of India and other Asian nations from the Korean political conference—still stalemates the General Assembly, and it begins to look as if the conference might not take place at all. If this should happen, it would doubtless be popularly blamed on the Russians, but sober witnesses would agree that the original cause lay in the American-made restrictions on the conference. True enough, our Western friends who opposed the formula of exclusion until opposition seemed likely to demolish the U. N. front have resisted Vishinsky's demand during the present Assembly that the issue be re-debated and that India, Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia be invited—along with the Soviet Union—to join the conference as "neutrals." This has been represented as a sign that American dominance is firmly established. But several other developments, beginning with Mr. Dulles's opening speech, indicate a rather different state of affairs.

Why did Mr. Dulles assume the role of conciliator, suddenly and in sharp contrast with his speech a few days earlier, urging politeness and moderation? Why did the usually belligerent Mr. Lodge, though opposing the Vishinsky resolution, suggest that if the other side desired the excluded neutrals might be invited to join the political conference by the conference itself when it met—a concession that seemed to rob the original American stand of meaning? Why did the British delegate, Selwyn Lloyd, and Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister of External Affairs, propose the unification of Korea, neutralized under strict international guaranties? The answer to these questions is not that we have a Washington "peace offensive" aimed at the East but rather a recognition that our Allies would have to be appeased if the Western alliance was not to crumble. Mr. Dulles and Mr. Lodge were talking to London and Paris and Ottawa, and the other Western diplomats were publicly fixing the limits of their acquiescence in American "toughness."

HAD Mr. Vishinsky exploited this series of revealing maneuvers with more skill and flexibility he might have forced the United States either to offer concessions far beyond anything contemplated in August or to expose its conciliatory gestures as empty of meaning. That he stuck so close to his own unacceptable proposal to reopen debate on the composition of the conference was Washington's good fortune. But it is likely to be a temporary reprieve. The Administration is being edged inexorably toward decisions which affect most sensitive political areas. For example, the idea of a unified Korea neutralized by international agreement has already been turned down by our intransigent ally, Syngman Rhee, who not unnaturally preferred the alternative we offered him—an indefinite commitment by the United States to defend the South Korean Republic in case Korea remains divided. Nor is the idea likely to appeal to President Rhee's supporters in the Republican Party. In fact, there is so much political dynamite in this proposal that Moscow and Peking, little as they might like it themselves, would be wise if they held their fire and let the Asia-firsters and Mr. Rhee do the shooting for them. This opening, together with the continued ill-feeling over American disregard of Asia's role in an Asia settlement, offer Moscow new chances to regain whatever degree of initiative it has lost during the Assembly. For Washington is caught in a very genuine and awkward dilemma. It must yield some of the ground gained through its diplomatic victories in order to placate and reassure our most valued Allies. But it cannot make any basic concessions to Moscow and Peking unless it is ready to invite the full fury of its own right wing, in Congress and in the country. And of such inclination we see no sign whatsoever.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Indo-China and the E. D. C.

Paris

ON MY return to Paris from Geneva I discovered that people were more disturbed by the results of the German elections than the early statements of politicians and press and radio commentators had indicated. Even the members of the Cabinet are worried by the prospect of having to deal with a Germany which besides being supported by Washington is so strong in its own right. There was a stormy debate when the Cabinet met to draw up instructions for the French delegates to the conference of the European Defense Community, which opened at Rome on September 22. Advocates of the E. D. C. argued that unless the new German divisions were integrated with the troops of other nations in the European army, where they could offer no threat to Western Europe, they would form the nucleus of a revived Wehrmacht no different from the old German army which had three times invaded France. They therefore favored speedy ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements by the French Parliament. Opponents of the agreements contended that the European community should be a political reality before an army was authorized.

The position of the first group was weakened by the overwhelming extent of Dr. Adenauer's victory, which gives the German Chancellor such dominance in Europe that the difference between a European army containing German divisions and a German army is almost erased. Since September 6 no one attempts to deny that "Little" Europe will be directed by Germany. And of course the advantage that the elections gave Adenauer will be vigorously pushed by the United States.

Germany's dominance in all fields—political, industrial, military, and diplomatic—is now indisputable. With 337 of the 487 deputies in the new Bundestag supporting him, Adenauer is politically in an infinitely better position than any M. Laniel or Signor Pella, who every time an important issue comes up must consider how he can gather enough votes to avoid being turned out of office. Industrially Germany is expanding at a fantastic rate. The new German divisions are not yet officially in existence, but such thorough preparations for recruiting and equipping them have been made by former German officers in collaboration with American officers—little has been said about these activities—that other members of the Defense Community will find it difficult to contribute troops of comparable effectiveness. Finally, Germany is supreme in the diplomatic sphere because Bonn's point of view coincides more closely with Washington's than does that of any other Western government. On the day after his victory Dr. Adenauer used Secretary Dulles's very words when he spoke of "liberating" the Germans now under Soviet rule. Of course he insisted that liberation must be accomplished by peaceful means, but this diplomatic restraint seemed unconvincing in the present international situation; we have reached a point where what matters is the substance, not the form.

Observers at the United Nations session in New York may have been relieved to hear Mr. Dulles adopt a moderate tone in his speech of September 18, but in Paris the contrast with the belligerence of his speech before the American Legion was less perceptible, and it is doubted here that the conditions he laid down can serve as the basis for any negotiating with the Russians. He again demanded that Moscow prove its desire for peace by accepting the American position on every major issue—on Germany and on Austria, on Korea and on Southeast Asia. Dr. Adenauer was equally unrealistic. In saying that only moral force must be used to recover Germany's lost eastern provinces, he was taking care not to let his attitude be confused with that of the neo-Nazis, but his policy would lead just as fatally to war with Russia if Germany were a member of the Atlantic coalition and its divisions were the core of the European army.

That is the chief reason why so many people in France are against the European Defense Community. They want neither to see the Germany of Bismarck revived nor to be tied to an anti-Russian policy on which Washington and Bonn would have the final say and which might eventuate in war.

THE FRENCH believe that time is on their side. They have managed to put off the debate on the ratification of the Bonn and Paris treaties until after the presidential election, that is, until 1954. By that time, they hope, a meeting of the Big Four will have provided an alternative. Washington insists, however, that there must be no more delay about the European army. It is enabled to exert pressure on France by the critical situation in Indo-China and the shakiness of the successive rightist governments in France as revealed by the strikes of last August. Aid for Indo-China is the ideal piece to exchange for ratification of the treaties. The aid was pledged in advance so that the bargain would not be too obvious. The connection between the $385,000,000 for the Indo-Chinese war and the pressure on France to ratify the treaties creating a European army has been recognized by others than the French opponents of the E. D. C. The well-informed *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* declared bluntly that the dollars for Indo-China were the "price of ratification."

But though Laniel and his Cabinet have been won over, there is still considerable opposition to the European army in the French Assembly. The group formerly organized as Gaullists are against it, as is the Socialist group led by Jules Moch. And at the recent congress of the Radical Socialist Party at Aix-les-Bains former Premier Daladier denounced it with a vehemence he seldom displays except in defense of a popular cause. But it was Edouard Herriot himself, at the same conference, who voiced the feelings of most Frenchmen. "I do not want," he said, "to see the Gestapo and the S. S. again."

CITIZEN AND SCHOOL

Freedom for Teachers . . *by Harold Taylor*

THERE are many of us in this country who are honestly, and with good reason, disturbed by the attacks on freedom in education. We are disturbed by our government's exercise of its authority to restrict the intellectual life of private citizens and public officials. I am not referring to the legal and practical inhibitions placed on the activities of the Communist Party and its present members. That is a separate question. We are disturbed by evidence of a failure in the democratic process, the process by which ideas are given a free chance to circulate and be judged on their merits and citizens are given a free chance to say what they think and to associate with whom they wish without losing their public reputation and their jobs.

Dozens of writers, government employees, and teachers in the most distinguished colleges and universities of the country are called before Congressional investigating committees to answer questions about their political beliefs, opinions, and affiliations. Here are not simply threats to freedom. Here are acts committed against freedom by a government which is dedicated to the protection of the rights of the individual. There is no use in explaining away these acts as merely those of timid government officials and a few irresponsible Representatives and Senators. They are authoritarian acts, carried out under the auspices of the United States government. Nor are such acts to be excused by saying that in Communist and fascist countries things are very much worse.

Elmer Davis, in a speech delivered at Vassar College earlier in the year, said this about the investigating committees: "The excuse of these gentlemen—or at least their pretext—is that they are fighting communism. Some of them, no doubt sincere, are pretty foggy as to what communism is; but others know exactly what they are doing, and they are not after Communists at all; they spice their investigations with a real Communist now and then to disguise the flavor of an attack on—well, 'liberal' and 'progressive' are both words that have been discredited by some of the people who claim those titles, but we know what they used to mean, and that is what some of these inquisitors are after. They are after people who think, and whose thinking does not always agree with theirs, if what they do can be called thinking."

WHAT ARE the rights of the scholar and teacher in a free society? What protection for his freedom does the teacher have a right to expect from his government and his society? In my experience, no good teacher has ever claimed the right to engage in subversive activities, although he has reserved the right to define carefully the meaning of subversion. I do not think that a teacher has any more rights than any other citizen, and the general public agrees with me. Everybody tells us that we who are teachers and educators have no more rights than anyone else. But they are very heavy on our obligations, which include answering when spoken to, minding our own business, expressing admiration for all Senators and Representatives, staying out of politics, working cheerfully for low pay, condemning communism, being brave and outspoken, arousing the moral enthusiasm of American youth, providing them with spiritual values, teaching them to love their country and their parents, all under the happy stimulation of the sneers, threats, insults, and attacks of assorted bullies, politicians, neurotics, the intellectually deprived, and the common scolds.

The danger in the current attitude of the public toward teachers and investigations is that the contribution of the intellectual may be lost to our society. When the Congressional committees call witnesses before them, people think that a person who has nothing to conceal cannot possibly be damaged. But only those who have said something or written something or done something, or have a point of view about politics or life itself, can provide anything for the investigators to investigate. Again I am referring not to Communist Party members active in conspiracy, subversion, or espionage; I am referring to teachers, scholars, and writers who have engaged in legitimate political activity in legal organizations of their choice.

No person has a *right* to belong to a college faculty unless (a) there is a need for his particular services in a particular college; (b) he is a good teacher who can communicate to his students what he knows without damaging the knowledge in the process; and (c) he commands the respect and confidence of duly accredited faculty bodies and college administrators whose business it is to judge merit and integrity in teachers. But the most important thing about faculty members is that they are human beings who are expected to be a little better than the ordinary human being, especially in the matter of moral virtue and in sustaining two or more ideas in their heads simultaneously without losing track of any of them. Like everyone else they are sometimes wrong. They may mistake a partial truth for a whole truth, a political theory for a political fact, but they are subject to the corrections of self-criticism, one of the basic skills of their profession. I believe that they have a right to be treated not with suspicion but with respect and public affection.

WHETHER or not teachers should be forced to tell Congressional committees if they have ever been members of the Communist Party, and whether or not an individual should seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination are complicated legal and moral questions on which there is a great deal of honest disagreement. The Fifth Amendment was added to the Constitution in order to protect the innocent and

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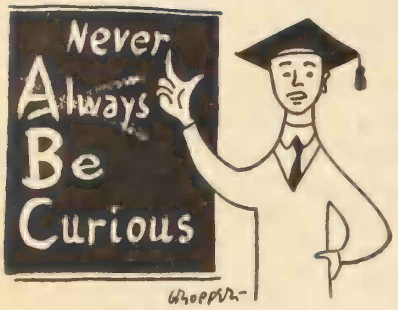
HAROLD TAYLOR is president of Sarah Lawrence College.

not to encourage the guilty. No doubt a few of those who plead the Fifth Amendment are members of the Communist Party. But while it may be possible for some Communists to hide behind it this does not mean that everyone who pleads it is a Communist.



The real confusion is caused by the fact that the committees never state what guilt is charged to the witness. Instead, they imply political crime and subversion by their questions. The witness with a political past which has involved association with Communists or the Communist Party is likely to be damaged in his present career if this is publicized. He would prefer to be misunderstood by his silence than by his answers to loaded questions.

One fact, however, is very clear. Boards of trustees and educational administrators must make up their own minds in judging the qualifications of those whom they have appointed to teach, and must apply the standards of honesty, sincerity, and probity which are applicable to all scholars, regardless of the publicity given to their testimony before Congressional committees. If a school or college finds that any individual on its faculty has allowed political motives or affiliations to corrupt his conduct as a scholar and a teacher, it has the responsibility of dismissing or otherwise disciplining the offending person.

In this matter I cannot help being concerned over the faint support that has been given to unfriendly witnesses by their government agencies or colleges these past few months—even witnesses not accused of being Communists. In some cases the colleges have ordered the teachers beforehand to heed the committee's commands or face immediate dismissal. What effect can this have, not merely on the teachers summoned for public hearings, but on the rest of the college community—that body of scholars who are being exhorted by their presidents to be fearless, to think freely, to speak out, and that generation of college students criticized daily as the silent generation who care more for security than for the risks of intellectual adventure? Why shouldn't they care for security? They are taught to be silent by the example of those responsible for their educational development. Is education in this democratic country designed to teach the young to obey authority? I think not. That is what deprived the German youth of their independence and gave them Nazism. American education is designed to teach the young to be free, to accept no authority except that which is founded on reason, respect for the human mind, constitutional law, justice, and the ideals of liberalism.

Without the lusty independence of teachers who have self-confidence enough to defy orthodoxies and to condemn any abuse of government authority, there is no center for the democratic defense of democracy. If we find uncertainty and anxiety at the core of our intellectual life, in our colleges and universities, we look in vain for other centers of creative thought and energy. Education itself is a protest against the invasion of the mind by political power. It is the cutting edge of reason against the chains of political control. It does and should furnish a threat to authoritarian minds. This is the very reason why authoritarian societies control their artists and their educators by investigations and political reprisals.

AT AN EASTERN university during the present year two members of a college faculty were dismissed because they refused to answer questions of the Un-American Activities Committee. They had reported to their president and faculty colleagues that they had never belonged to the Communist Party. They satisfied the president and a special committee of the faculty that their loyalty was sound, their teaching ability good. The president said plainly that these were good men; one of them he recommended in glowing terms for a post on the faculty of another college and for a post with a major educational foundation. Yet they were dismissed. The university's action was not only a breach of faith with two of its teachers and a blow to the independence of the rest of the faculty; it diminished the quality of the education provided to students. Over three hundred of them in one part of the university signed petitions asking the trustees and president to reconsider their decision. But many more students refused to sign because "they did not want to get into trouble . . . and they could not be sure of who would see their names." A student wrote in a student magazine: "The most revealing aspects of the affair was not the large group which was strongly against the dismissal action but the many others who were afraid to take a stand with which they privately agreed. . . . The potential leaders of society have been silenced."

I do not underestimate the size and danger of our international conflict with the Soviet Union. Nor do I underestimate the potential or actual power of the Communist movement to subvert democratic institutions. But in the United States in 1953 I would like to remind Americans that of the 60,000,000 votes cast in the last election barely 200,000 were for any candidates or parties that could properly be labeled left-wing. I would point out that according to the latest F. B. I. estimates there are approximately 30,000 members of the Communist Party in a population of 160,000,000 and that the political influence of the party is such as to handicap any candidate or any issue to which it gives public or private support. Any person working in the movies, radio, or television who has breathed a hint of approval of the Communist Party or the Soviet Union at any time during the past twenty-five years is either dismissed from his job or suspected of subversion.

The entire range of public officials, labor leaders, educators, business men, and state legislators are actively opposing communism. A teacher who argues in favor of Soviet policies or indicates a sympathy for communism to his students, his colleagues, or the general public is vividly outlined against the academic sky as a target for attack. With the whole country so prepared and so on guard through every part of its institutional life, and with educators, parents, and students so acutely sensitive to the danger of Communist indoctrination, I do not believe that, short of closing down the colleges altogether, very much more can be done in a negative way to prevent the indoctrination of college students with communism.

The most recent survey we have of the politics of college graduates covered those who were in college when there was much less anti-Communist sentiment in the country than now. The largest group, 38 per cent, were Republicans; 35 per cent were independents; 26 per cent were Democrats, and one-half of 1 per cent were in all the other parties combined, including the Communist, Farmer Labor, Socialist, Prohibition, Liberal, and others. It is a fact that when college students have a chance to learn, to listen, to think and talk freely, they will come across ideas which are more daring than those of their parents and the general public. But the possibility of students being corrupted or rendered disloyal to their country by such freedom is remote. As the student council of a college put it recently, "It is only when the freedom to express beliefs is limited that the danger of indoctrination is present."

THE CONSTANT fear that the political integrity of students will be corrupted seems to me to indicate a faithless attitude toward the American student. Are our students and their teachers so naive, so unsure of their belief in democracy and in America, so ignorant, so easily persuaded, so likely to be fooled that we must protect them from all contact with the real issues and controversies of contemporary life, from the ideas and values of an opposing philosophy? The moral tone of the American student body is sound. It is capable of mature political behavior. The present anxiety reveals ignorance of the facts.

What is the antidote to all this? I believe I will be forgiven if I say, more education and more support of education. The attacks on freedom in education can only succeed when false statements and false principles are believed by the public, and when those responsible for education yield to pressure. McCarthyism would disintegrate tomorrow if people looked at the facts.

But there are at least three kinds of attack. Perhaps the least damaging kind is that from journalists and commentators with a rigid view of life who argue that education should be controlled by political authority and should teach religious, political, social, and economic doctrines prescribed by the church and state or by themselves. The reason this is not particularly damaging is that the tradition of the country is so thoroughly against the imposition of a single doctrine, and the argument breaks down when confronted with the question of which church or state doctrine should be imposed. The defense is to support with strength the educational program of one's choice and let the dogmatists wrestle with each other.

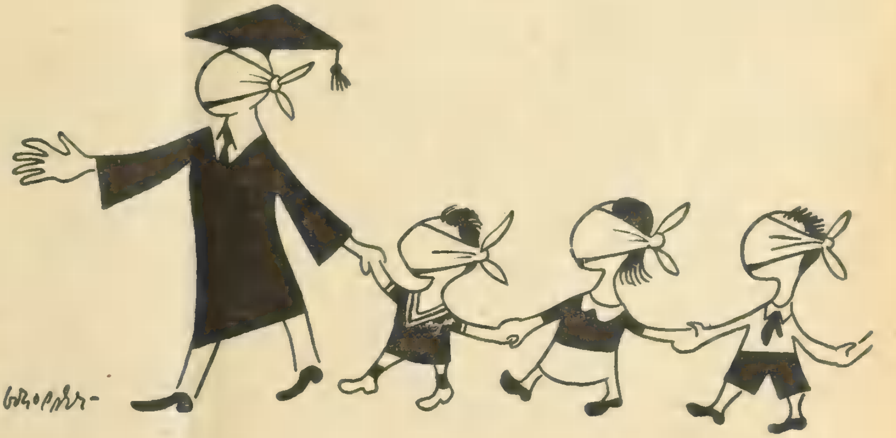
The second kind is much more dangerous because it works by publicity and distortion to undermine public confidence in teachers and students. Its standard technique is to accuse school principals, teachers, and institutions of subversion in public charges unsupported by fact. The antidote is a healthy relationship between the school or college and its surrounding community, with full knowledge on the part of trustees, alumni, parents, and neighbors of the nature of the charges and the actual situation inside the colleges.

The third attack is the most serious. It has to do with the Constitution and our belief in it. The American educational system is protected from political control by the existence of boards of education and boards of trustees or regents. Their function is to insure that democratic means of deciding educational policies are in full operation. We are coming dangerously close to direct political control of the schools and colleges when state legislatures or federal bodies can secure the dismissal of individual teachers on political grounds by dealing, not with the authorities responsible for appointment and dismissal, but with the teachers themselves, the books they write, and the ideas they profess.

Who, then, has the authority to control the principles and everyday practices of the American educational system? There is no single authority. The authority rests, in varying degree, in the hands of teachers, boards of education, principals, school superintendents, college presidents, parents, alumni, boards of trustees, and the voting population. It is centered in the membership of boards of trustees and boards of education, which are chartered by the state. These appoint the administrative officers, who in turn appoint the teachers. As soon as the state or federal government has authority to decide who should teach, what should be taught, and what should be read, the state controls the politics of American youth.

We need no explanation or defense of the arts; all we need do is practice them and enjoy their benefits. The process of creating a poem, a play, a painting, a book, or a mature and independent college student is a discipline imposed not from without but from within, and it need answer to no one for its final form. The art of teaching draws upon the finest human qualities there are—sensitivity, sympathy, imagination, understanding—and it raises the level of human consciousness by its presence in our culture.

There is a community responsibility. When the censors come, drive them away; when the dead weight of convention sits on new work and ideas, push it off; when good teachers, writers, and books are accused of causing harm, speak out for the freedom they need. In protecting and cherishing the arts, the artists, and the teachers, the citizen is protecting his country and the welfare of mankind.



IS YOUTH LIBERAL?

[The young generation, often referred to as the "silent generation," sometimes does speak. Here are accounts of three recent youth meetings. Mr. Breslow, who covered those at Ohio State and Ann Arbor, is a student at the University of Chicago. Mr. Smitheman, who describes the Philadelphia meeting, is a former instructor at Iowa State University.]

BY PAUL E. BRESLOW

Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE Middle West has been the scene of two important national youth assemblies during the last few weeks. The first was at Ohio State University at Columbus, where students from 300 colleges and universities convened during the last week in August for the sixth annual National Student Congress, policy-making body of the United States National Students Association, the largest and probably the most representative student organization in the country.

In a provocative keynote speech William Birenbaum, director of student activities at the University of Chicago and chairman of the N. S. A.'s National Advisory Council, challenged the organization to live up to its slogan "strengthening the Forces of Freedom"—forces which "the American Legion, the Association of American Universities, President Eisenhower, and Gene Autry together have been unable to strengthen enough."

In the ensuing discussion the agenda items which aroused greatest interest were discrimination, academic freedom, and international affairs. Unanimous approval was given a resolution which stated that "all citizens of the United States are entitled to attend any institution of higher education in any of the forty-eight states." Another resolution called for the elimination of discrimination in all campus organizations. The most eloquent supporter of the anti-discrimination resolutions was the president of student government at the University of Missouri, a border-state institution.

Academic freedom proved a more vexing problem. For one thing, the N. S. A. delegates had to face the fact that their own organization, despite the presence of Harold Stassen on their National Advisory Council, has been attacked as "leftist." Most active among N. S. A.'s accusers has been the Students for America, a small McCarthy-like group known formerly as Students for MacArthur. Some delegates felt that only the adoption of a more aggressively anti-Communist stand and a more "cautious" approach to minority causes could disarm the attackers. But Richard Murphy, N. S. A.'s president for 1952-53, probably expressed the feelings of most delegates when, citing Representative Velde's "clearance" of their organization, he said: "We have people in the association who believe in freedom. To some this makes them subversive. We are glad to have them."

A number of students described violations of academic freedom on their own campuses: a Californian discussed the "spy system" and the operation of the loyalty oath in his state; a University of Minnesota student told of the Wiggins case; a Temple student told of Barrows Dunham and the Jenner committee. Harvard, Chicago, and Temple delegates described student protests of varying magnitude occasioned by the visits of Congressional committees.

The reaction to these stories was mixed. Some assumed that no one was victimized except Communists. A Fordham delegate asked: Since schools owe allegiance to the state, the church, and the family, should we not root out of the educational system those whose dissent threatens our basic institutions? Delegates from Wisconsin and California, in sharp rejoinder, suggested that the adoption of such a view would be more disastrous to the American educational system than the existence of a few "subversives" in the schools.

In the end no action was taken, which meant that the N. S. A. retained a policy on academic freedom identical with that of the American Association of University Professors.

A resolution for a student-exchange program with Eastern Europe and China was defeated by only five votes. Reaction to speeches on foreign problems by Ben C. Limb, South Korean ambassador, and Stringfellow Barr revealed a lack of information and sometimes of concern. But the McCarran immigration act and State Department passport restrictions were condemned by the plenary session.

"The World We Want" was the subject of the United States Assembly of Youth which met at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor from September 3 to 8 under the sponsorship of the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly. More than 300 young men and women, recruited through community groups, unions, and member organizations of the Young Adult Council, participated as individuals rather than as organizational representatives. Debate was informal, and there were no resolutions. Among the invited speakers were Governor Williams, Walter Reuther, Mordecai Johnson, and Henry Steele Commager.

As at the N. S. A. conference McCarthyism was subjected to repeated attack. Commissions on foreign policy, human rights, and the American heritage, acting separately, found it necessary to deal with what one report called "the deadly pressure toward thought-control and conformity." The leadership of the Young Adult Council was criticized by members of the human-rights commission and by others for having refused to admit to the assembly representatives of Communist and fascist groups. "Why," a participant asked, "do we assume that these people will convince us, rather than vice versa?"

With the aid of specialists from such organizations as the N. A. A. C. P. and the Anti-Defamation League, the assembly discussed practical methods for combating discrimination. Government protection of civil rights and liberties was considered essential. One commission reported that "everyone has the right to work, and private industry and government have the responsibility to see that jobs are available." The foreign-policy commission stated: "War is not inevitable . . . a more flexible attitude regarding negotiation [would be] a step toward the solution of international tension."

While older liberal groups have said these things before, few gatherings in recent years have so emphatically declared their faith in the attainment of peace and a better future through political organization and community action.

BY KENT A. SMITHEMAN

Philadelphia

ON SEPTEMBER 12 more than 125 delegates to the Sixth Annual Convention of Students for Democratic Action gathered in the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall. The convention took a strong stand against Congressional witch-hunting, supported the New Deal–Fair Deal welfare-state policies, favored a strong civil-rights program, and tried to reconcile total diplomacy and collective security with negotiation and disarmament. To this observer, however, the real importance of the convention was that it presented, in microcosm, a picture of the three greatest weaknesses of post-war American liberalism.

The first is sectarianism, by which I mean the tendency of liberals to divide, right or left, on all issues, even very minor ones. Worse still, liberals tend to divide further on the basis of personalities and associations; so that we have liberals who will work with Communists, liberals who will not work with Communists but will work with those who work with Communists, liberals who will not work with Communists or with those who work with Communists but will work with those who work with those who work with Communists.

The second is negativism. Liberalism has provided no new ideas to capture the imagination and channel the constructive energies of the "silent generation." Having grown to maturity in the New Deal era, students are enamored of the idea of liberalism but have only the vaguest notion what it is. They fight for the New Deal all over again, seeking inspiration in songs and slogans appropriate to 1933 but not to 1953.

The third is the lack of inspiring leadership. The liberal leaders of the '30's have grown old and tired, and none have risen up to replace them.

GERMANY'S NEW "DRANG"

The War for Markets . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

THE Adenauer regime has naturally interpreted its recent resounding victory at the polls as an indorsement of both its economic and its political policies. Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics, journeys through the Federal Republic and beyond to international trade gatherings at Geneva and elsewhere, calling for more of what Bonn has long been promoting—"free enterprise," currency convertibility, reduction of tariffs and other trade blocks, and a government-aided export drive. The portly Erhard, with his red cheeks and outsize cigars, is just what the Germans need to give them back their self-confidence. He talks about the Adenauer government's past successes and great future plans; he praises industrialists and workers for the tremendous role they have played in the country's rejuvenation and tells them what remains to be done.

Erhard can draw upon a great quantity of encouraging statistics. For the first time since the war West Germany was able to declare a foreign-trade surplus in 1952, which was possibly the most remarkable feature of the post-war economic recovery. The surplus was the modest one of $180,000,000 on a total foreign-trade turn-over of around $8,200,000,000, but it was accompanied by other symptoms of economic health. Germany had become chief creditor in the European Payments Union, a device for "loosening" intra-European trade. Its dollar gap was being rapidly closed by the very considerable spending of the 130,000 American troops and civilian personnel stationed on German soil and would be entirely closed in 1953 when German firms got their fair share of orders under the American "offshore" purchasing program.

In 1952, moreover, the German gross national product rose 10 per cent; savings have increased 20 per cent in the past two years. The index of industrial production, which in 1948 was 63 per cent of the pre-war average, rose above 140 last year. West German currency has become one of the "hardest" in Europe; the D-mark was immediately quoted at a premium against the pound sterling when exchange rates were mildly "liberalized" a few months ago. The rise in the cost of living has been kept down to 6 per cent spread over the last three years.

The West Germans, however, have begun to raise questions which show that they are not entirely easy about their economic future. The *Deutsche Messe-Zeitung,* which covers the many trade fairs, recently called attention to the fact that the Federal Republic's share of world export trade in 1938 was 7.5 per cent, whereas in 1952 it was only 5.5 per cent. Finance Minister Dr. Schaeffer has asked the people to realize that the republic must now pay around $150,000,000 a year to service its foreign debt and almost as much to meet reparations to the state of Israel and to individual "victims of Nazism." A correspondent of the *Neue Zeitung* has warned that Germany's export trade is showing signs of weakness. The German share of world exports of machinery he said, was 27.5 per cent in 1938 but only 16 per cent last year, and the value of such exports was expected to drop from $900,000,000 in 1952 to less than $750,000,000 this year. Importers who had been "stocking up"—no doubt with an eye on the Korean war, the

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TERENCE PRITTIE is the Manchester Guardian's *correspondent at Bonn.*

troubles in Southeast Asia, and the uncertain world situation—were not doing so to the same extent, and in the first months of 1953 orders for German goods began to lag behind production.

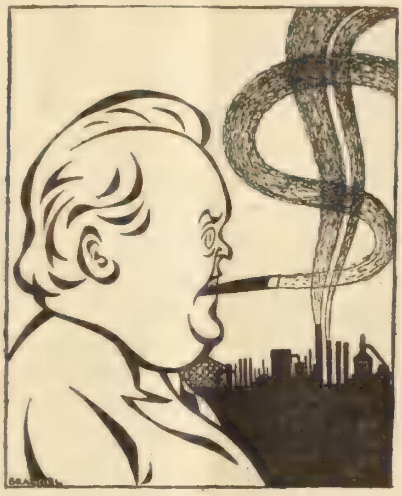
WHAT Germans fear is a reversal of the present world trend toward higher production and consumption. They do not expect the termination of the Korean war to lead to a world slump, but they believe that it may cause a sensible slackening of world rearmament and thus a period of economic disorganization. Germany in that case, they believe, would be especially hard hit. It would not get the United States' offshore orders, and it might lose some of its dollar income from American spending in Germany. Moreover, in any period of economic reorientation, capital tends to move less freely, and the prospect of attracting American and other foreign capital into the country would be at least temporarily lessened.

German insistence on the need to boost exports is therefore understandable. In their eagerness large West German firms are willing to fill comparatively small orders from abroad. They are catering, for example, to the market for artificial teeth in Portugal, for musical instruments in the Antipodes, for cuff links in Belgium, for accordions in Cyprus, for metal buckles for dresses in Switzerland.

Of course German exporters are making every effort to offer more attractive terms than their competitors—lower prices, quicker delivery, and easier credit. They appear to have been remarkably successful, owing largely, Erhard declares, to the government's economic policies and the German workers' industry and skill. "Other people work in order to live; the German lives in order to work" is an old saying. In Germany today even the unions have done nothing to discourage overtime. Building goes on every night by floodlight, and the average German business man is in his office by eight o'clock every morning and stays until seven at night.

The German government, for its part, has organized the provision of long-term and medium-term credit through the Reconstruction Credit Corporation. In addition, the Export Credit Institute has a fund of some $350,000,000 which it uses for the same purpose. German exporters who trade with the dollar area receive preferential allocation of raw materials, a bonus for export sales, and tax concessions. They may also import fixed amounts from the dollar area and even transfer this "right" to another company. A percentage of their profits, moreover, can be used for the purchase of an American car or radio set or a trip to the United States.

West Germany recently concluded a trade pact with Indonesia which is expected to result in an over-all trade turnover for 1953 of around $220,000,000. German firms have picked up some useful contracts in Spain and Egypt—German technicians are active in Egypt—and have put out feelers for development projects in Persia, Mexico, Brazil, Pakistan, and Turkey. It is clear that German firms are concentrating on the most worth-while markets while their foreign competitors are wasting much of their time maintaining old and possibly outworn connections. Britain, for instance, is still clinging to textile contracts, though they have brought lamentably lower returns during the last year, while German exporters, with their eyes on undeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and South America, prefer to handle metal and engineering products.



Ludwig Erhard

In places the German export effort has been so successful that serious payments problems have arisen. The Brazilians have bought so many German automobiles that they have a trade deficit of more than $250,000,000 and cannot provide the goods to pay it off. This is not an isolated case. Germany has had similar difficulties with half a dozen other South American countries and with Turkey.

The diversion of German effort into the countries which, generally, pay the best dividends must be credited at least in part to one man—Hitler's former Minister of Finance, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. It is no coincidence that Dr. Schacht has visited Indonesia, Persia, Egypt, and Spain since the war. This year he launched a new bank in Düsseldorf, that most profitable preserve of big business, where he has been able to cash in on his good-will trips to undeveloped areas. The last big task he has set himself as a patriotic German is to find the best export markets for his country. The reports which he has furnished to the governments of Syria, Persia, Arabia, Indonesia, and Egypt are today part of West Germany's credit balance abroad.

AS MANY Germans realize, however, it is not enough that motor-car production last June was 14 per cent above the figure for June of the year before or that the government intends to build up the mercantile fleet to 3,500,000 tons by 1955. Sooner or later fundamental economic problems will have to be faced. Recently I asked a prominent citizen of Hamburg what the chief economic problem of his city was. He said it was a very simple one: Hamburg had been cut off from its trade with the countries of Central Europe and would not really prosper until at least part of this trade was reestablished. This man was a respected member of the executive of the Free Democratic Party and had no interest in developing friendship with the East through trade.

But Germans know that Eastern Europe was always the steadiest source of profits and have already organized an "Eastern Committee" for the purpose of increasing trade with the Soviet Union up to a minimum of $140,000,000 a year—last year's total was less than half a million dollars. The committee will also work for the resumption of trade relations with the satellite states. It wants to obtain oil, wheat, and basic minerals in exchange for the machinery and steel goods which Germany is finding more and more difficult to sell. The Eastern Committee is still only in its infancy, but it is destined to become a force in Central European politics, not because the Germans intend to "go behind" the provisions of the American

Battle act but because they are convinced that the markets of the Western world must be supplemented.

Restoration of trade with Eastern Europe would cushion the effects of an economic recession. It would enable Germany to avoid the possible political consequences of competing too fiercely for traditional British or French export markets. It would further the delayed recovery of Berlin and after eventual reunification—in which every German believes—make it easier for the new Germany to recapture its old economic position in the heart of Europe.

AUTOMATION AND JOBS

The Effect on the Worker . . *by John Diebold*

IF "AUTOMATION" is fruitfully pursued, our industrial processes will be fundamentally changed. This much has been apparent for some time. The economic and social effects of building a wide variety of self-regulating machines to perform the tasks of both office and factory have yet to be examined.

By emphasizing the similarity between automatic-control systems, particularly computing machines, and the nervous systems of human beings and animals many writers have made the world of science fiction seem to be upon us and a race of man-like robots already in the making. No interpretation of the facts could be more distorted. Robots—machines which look and act like human beings—have long been the subject of speculation. Mary Shelley wrote "Frankenstein" in 1818; Paul Wagener made the film "Der Golem" in 1915; Karel Capek's play "R. U. R." (Rossum's Universal Robots) was first produced in Prague in 1921. At present the subject is enormously popular and is given an aura of reality by the pseudo-scientific language in which the tales are told.

But let us look at the facts. The solution of mathematical problems and other feats performed by computers do resemble the processes of human thought. But such resemblance does not warrant the conclusion that these machines think or are in any essential way human.

Our language has not yet developed words that correspond accurately with the new concepts. Even the word "computer" is hopelessly inadequate to describe what the machine is. Using the word "think" in the broadest sense, it can safely be asserted that we have no machine that "thinks." What a computer does is to count and to carry out logical processes through the basic process of counting. To call this thinking is as incorrect as to say that a typewriter has human characteristics because it can "write" this article.

DESCRIPTIONS of the new machines in human terms neglect one important fact. None of them have free will, one of the essential qualities of a human being, nor is there any indication that any machine with this quality could be developed. Pascal, who built one of the first calculating machines, recognized this fact and wrote in 1660: "The arithmetical machine produces effects which approach nearer to thought than all that animals do; but it does nothing which can cause it to be said that, like animals, it has will." None of the developments since his day modify that statement.

Building a machine that will correct its own errors in accordance with criteria predetermined and built in by human beings is very different from building an all-purpose robot. The new technology permits the development of more automatic machines than any we now possess, but such machines will perform only certain groups of industrial functions and will vary according to the work demanded of them. Automatic machines that take over functions now being performed by people will not be any more human than the electric eye that opens the door in Pennsylvania Station or the regulators monitoring the output of a continuous-flow plant.

Many of the scientists who have participated in the development of the new technology have emphasized its social meaning. But some of them have not recognized its place in the longer continuum of mechanization and have painted grim pictures of jobless and debased workers roaming the streets of a fully mechanized society, even receiving their relief checks from machines. This is because the use of the new technology in industry has not been made clear. It is meaningless to discuss the economic and social effects of "automation" without first determining how far and in what direction it will progress.

That fully automatic factories will not be workerless factories is shown by the few examples which already exist. There are atomic plants at Oak Ridge that are run by twenty or thirty girls, but these same plants require the services of hundreds of maintenance men. Design, engineering, sales, service, and management functions will all require people. These industrial functions will be enormously aided by automatic equipment but will not dispense with human labor. The same will be true of agriculture, mining, retailing, finance, publishing, which together employ by far the largest portion of the work force.

"Automation" must be viewed in proper historical perspective as a new chapter in the continuing story of man's conquest and organization of the forces of nature. While it raises new problems, it solves some of those raised by earlier phases of mechanization. We have a considerable body of experience to guide us in determining the most probable

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JOHN DIEBOLD is the author of "Automation—the Advent of the Automatic Factory." This is the last of three articles on the "new industrial revolution."

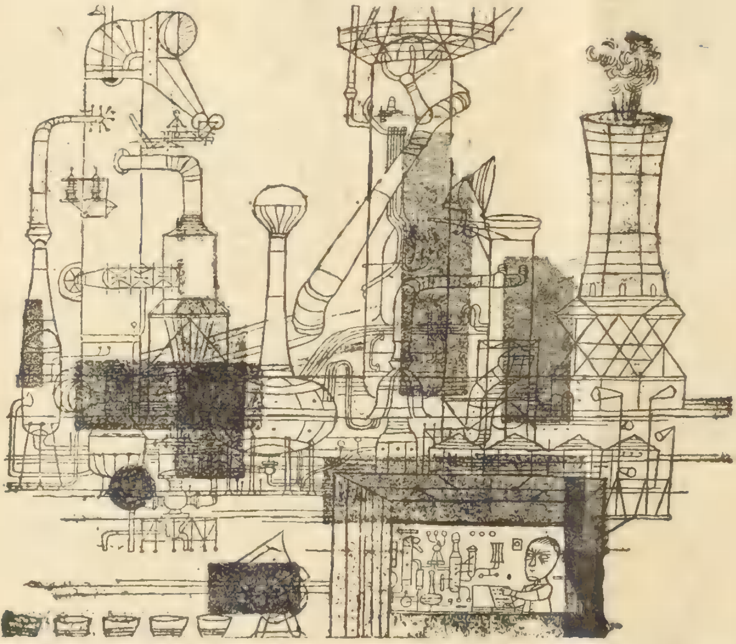
economic and social effects of "automation." To be sure, "automation" has special characteristics that will effect unique changes, but it is not a departure from all that has gone before.

PERHAPS the most vehement objection to any form of mechanization is the charge that it debases the worker, that the craftsman's skills which give stability and meaning to his life are superseded by machinery that deprives him of the opportunity to make his own creative contribution. The protests of the Luddites that the steam age would be the end of our civilization continue in varying form today. But when the condition of labor in today's mechanized plants is contrasted with the condition of labor in the past, the burden of proof is surely thrown upon those who decry modern industrial development. In "Work and Wealth" the English economist J. A. Hobson wrote in 1933: "There has never been an age or a country where the great bulk of labor was not toilsome, painful, monotonous, and uninteresting, often degrading in its conditions. Bad as things are when regarded from the standpoint of the human ideal, they are better for the majority of workers in this and in other advanced industrial countries than ever in the past, so far as we can reconstruct and understand the past." Hobson's statement should serve as a benchmark from which realistic discussion can proceed.

Yet although the Luddites and their modern counterparts have been proved wrong, there is some truth in the assertion that the way we organize production in our factories often subordinates the human being to the machine. The tendency of the age is to mechanize, systematize, and regiment factory work and factory workers—this situation was satirized by René Clair in "A Nous la Liberté" (1931) and by Charlie Chaplin in "Modern Times" (1936). Many of man's problems today are the result of the attempt to adjust the worker to the machine that paces him and, in a broader way, of the mechanistic concepts of the function of workers in mass production.

It is not necessary to look any farther than the role of a machine operator in a factory. To a large extent, although this differs markedly from industry to industry and from plant to plant, the work of the laborer is subordinate to that of the machine. Operators start and stop the machine; they put work into it and remove the product; they watch for breakdowns. In other words, they tend the machines while the machines perform the vital fabricating function. In addition, and particularly on the assembly line, even where the machines are set slower than the average worker, the operators are likely to *feel* paced by them. At best this is not desirable.

But to the vital question: will "automation" aggravate this situation? the answer is no. Although "automation" will assuredly bring its own problems, it promises to eliminate the subordination of the worker to the machine.



Joseph Low in the *Scientific American*

In the factory of the future, control mechanisms will monitor the operation; automatic material-handling devices will load the work into the machine and remove it when completed; instruments more acute than our own sense organs will warn the control system of trouble, and the machine will correct trouble that arises in routine operation. What this means is that to a great extent the jobs in which the worker is tied to and paced by the machine will be taken over by other machines. The worker will be released for tasks permitting the exercise of his human capacities.

AS LESS HUMAN effort must be expended upon production, the function of leisure in our lives will become of greater importance. It will then be necessary for us to face the question: Are we capable of developing a culture that does not depend upon work to give meaning to our lives? The urgency of the question will depend upon the rate at which the new industrial technology advances, upon whether we have an all-out war, and upon the extent and duration of the cold-war armament program. The greater the proportion of production for military rather than civilian uses, the less pressing will be the problem of leisure. In any case it is not likely to become acute very soon. The change will be gradual and will permit time for adjustment.

The arguments advanced for a shorter work week have usually been that the worker becomes more efficient when he works fewer hours. This is undoubtedly true, and many of the changes of the last fifty years have been no more than the provision of adequate rest periods. Even as late as 1923 certain jobs in the steel industry required twelve hours a day, seven days a week. A change from this to a forty-hour week is primarily a change which makes for more effective performance on the job. But is further shortening of the work week necessary for effective performance?

More and more the question is raised: Can we as a people learn to utilize leisure as something more than a respite during which we overcome the effects of work and prepare ourselves for additional work? This is one of the basic problems of our day. It is one which "automation" accentuates but did not create.

BOOKS

Narayan of India

By Roland E. Wolseley

R. K. NARAYAN, one of India's English-language novelists and short-story writers of consequence, who has just been introduced to American readers, has won admiration and respect in Europe but comparatively little attention in his own country.

Just before going to Mysore City in southern India to see Narayan, I stopped at one of the largest English-language bookstores in Bangalore, a city of 750,000, about sixty miles from Mysore in the same province. I asked for some of Narayan's novels, in preparation for an interview with him. His new book "The Financial Expert," recently issued in the United States, had just been published in England and put on sale in India, but there was not a Narayan book in the shop, one of a chain.

"All sold out?"

"No," the manager said; "we have so few calls we do not stock his books."

"But Mr. Narayan is one of India's own novelists. He lives nearby in Mysore City. You display all these new British and American novels, why not his new one?"

The manager was indifferent. "Yes, I know, but we do not read much fiction here in India," he said.

From what the bookstores, railway stalls, and curbstone displays show the public, it is evident that he is right only in part, for the Indians buy American and British novels and short stories as readily as any other people. But it is true that India's own writers are neglected. Mulk Raj Anand, Babani Bhattacharya, whose "Music for Mohini" appeared in the United States last year, and Narayan are the leading Indian writers in English but they must depend upon Europe for recognition equal to their talent.

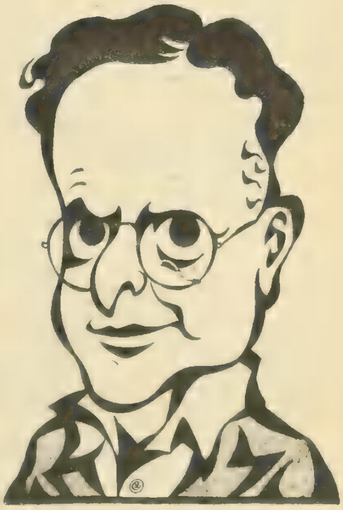
I asked Narayan for his explanation of this situation. "Frankly," he replied, "there is no publishing business worth mentioning in India. A few enterprising publishers started with hope but have received little material support, public or private. Writing has to be a part-time job in most cases; so a publisher cannot expect steady industry on the part of his writers." He could have added that not more than 15 per cent of the people of India are literate and that only 2 per cent of these are capable of using English.

Narayan is resigned to his relative obscurity in his own country, in part because he has been received so warmly in England, where all his novels and collections of short stories have been published and widely praised. Graham Greene has been one of the most enthusiastic admirers of his work. "I owe my literary career to Graham Greene's interest in my work," he told me. "He has encouraged me for nearly twenty years now, although we have never met. I consider Graham not only the finest writer but also the finest and most perfect friend a man can have in this world."

Narayan inspires friendship. I met him at the new house overlooking Mysore City that he rented to Dr. Henry Hart, a visiting Fulbright professor from the University of Wisconsin serving on the faculty of the University of Mysore during 1952-53. He came to Professor and Mrs. Hart's home in a gray jacket, a short version of the dignified Indian *sherwani* worn by men of position, gray trousers, and black shoes. His gentleness impressed the Americans who had assembled to meet him but was belied by his lively brown eyes. He is a slight, trim man of forty-five with aquiline features, gracious, modest, and professorial in manner. He drew on his experience as a teacher in his somewhat tragic novel, "The English Teacher," his favorite because it is more personal than the others.

Born in Madras, Narayan attended a Mysore high school of which his father was headmaster, and then went to the University of Mysore. His wife is dead, and he is devoted to his sixteen-year-old daughter, Hema; they live with his mother and brothers in the joint family arrangement so common in India still.

His first book, "Swami and Friends," was published in 1935 in England by Hamish Hamilton. Like most of the five novels and three collections of short stories that followed, it is about the lives of typical South Indian people: there is not a snake-charmer prominent in the lot. Eyre and Spottiswoode of London published "The Bachelor of Arts" two years later; it was reprinted in 1949 and became a British Pocket Book in 1951; next year it is to be published in the United States. "The Dark Room" followed from Macmillan in 1938; "The English Teacher" appeared in 1945, "Mr. Sampath" in 1949, "The Financial Expert" last year, and in between came three collections of short stories. Most of the tales, which have wide variety of subject and method, appeared first in the *Hindu*, India's outstanding English-language daily. A few of these books were published in India also by a small Mysore firm. Reviews there have been enthusiastic but not uncritical. A new novel, now in progress, is about a dissolute character who is influenced by the life of Gandhi, a subject which possibly will bring him for the first time into close touch with India's national problems. Narayan is



R. K. Narayan

ROLAND E. WOLSELEY, professor of journalism at Syracuse University, has just returned from fourteen months in India. He was a Fulbright lecturer at Nagpur University and set up a department of journalism for one of the affiliated colleges.

known for his interest in personal rather than social problems.

What can American readers expect when Narayan's books appear? The novels will be issued regularly now, since the Michigan State University Press, which on October 15 is bringing out "The English Teacher" under the title "Grateful to Life and Death," plans to publish one old and one new Narayan work each year. Readers will find the writing artistic, quiet in tone and with a flowing rhythm. The plots are slender, based on middle-class Indian life in a mythical community near Madras. Both setting and characters, Narayan said, started from real places and persons but developed characteristics of their own. His subjects are the difficulties and pleasures of life under Indian marriage customs, business methods, and the educational system. "Mr. Sampath" is almost a pure satire on Indian journalism and the film industry.

"The most recurring theme," Narayan said in answer to a question about the favorite themes of India's novelists, "has been the suffering of the individual under social and political injustices. Some have chosen romantic-historical subjects, and a few have reminisced charmingly about their community or village."

Which themes have been neglected? "I fear that the rich subjective life of an individual against the background of that unique institution, the joint family system, is a subject that has not been properly tackled," he replied. "There is wonderful material here, whether the setting be the earlier political struggle or the present-day political achievement." He admitted, however, that he had not yet read Bhattacharya's "Music for Mohini," which deals with this theme.

I ASKED Narayan about his writing methods. His answer applied only to his fiction, his weekly personal essay for the Sunday edition of the *Hindu* being produced more casually. "I can write best when I do not plan the subject too elaborately," he explained. "All my novels have been written in this manner. All I can settle for myself is my protagonist's general type of personality—my focus is all on character. If his personality comes alive, the rest is easy for me: background and minor characters develop as I progress." He elaborated later in a letter: "Each day I sit down to write, I feel curious about what may be coming out; only when the pen is actually running on am I able to think with precision. It probably means that I have to give my subconscious self a lot of freedom to work itself out. I try never to strain myself or force the pace."

Interest in method is strong among Indian writers, who have none of the aids of American authors—coaches, writers' conferences, textbooks, courses. That interest may explain at least in part Narayan's standing and the limited output of other talented men, like Raja Rao and Subhin Ghose, who have published only two books each. Although he tries to avoid all literary influences, Narayan's concentration on technique has led him in his time to study closely five authors, two of them Americans: Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, François Mauriac, Sinclair Lewis, and John Steinbeck. He was especially impressed, he says, with "The Grapes of Wrath" and "Tortilla Flat," which he calls "desirable patterns."

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New Books in Brief

Lost "Horizons"

IDEAS AND PLACES. By Cyril Connolly. Harper. $3.50.

Few places and even fewer ideas are represented in this collection of *Horizon* editorials and articles, but those few are tenaciously held to and most eloquently affirmed. The places are chiefly Paris and selected parts of France; the ideas revolve around the autonomy and desperate importance of art and the artist. Connolly's gamut runs from an ingratiating humility, as when he offers *Horizon's* support in a cause "with all the force of its rubber dagger," through vituperation of those "sphincter-mouthed pinheads" the reviewers, to apocalyptic visions of atomic death, with everyone exploded into brown dust "like a rotten puffball."

He is sometimes over simple, assigning the Germans a "mass inferiority complex," and sometimes naive, suggesting that "even the general public can send fruit and eggs" to writers, but he is always interesting and, with his defiance increasing in proportion as prospects for his cultural values appear more bleak, rather admirable. Three of the best things in the book represent Connolly as editor rather than writer and will probably be remembered from *Horizon*—the chilling symposium on the income of contemporary British writers, the Alice in Wonderland documents of the Zhdanov controversy, and Stendhal's outrageous wish-fulfilment fantasy, "The Privileges of 10 April, 1840." If Connolly had had even a few of the magical privileges Stendhal impudently claimed for himself, the *Horizon* this volume memorializes would still be thriving today.

Two Good Men

TWO STUDIES IN VIRTUE. By Christopher Sykes. Knopf. $4.

The Victorians continue to fascinate English writers although Lytton Stracheyism has gone out of style. The aim now is not to debunk but to understand an age that in retrospect shows a surface calm and security but was in fact troubled by deep spiritual conflicts. Thus in the first of these studies Christopher Sykes, a writer of great ability who brings sympathetic imagination to bear on scholarship, illuminates the fierce controversies within the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and between them, that loomed so large in English life a century ago. His protagonist, Richard Sipthorp, was both symbol and victim of these doctrinal disputes. Ordained in the Church of England, in the course of a sincere search for the true faith he was converted to Roman Catholicism, reconverted, and converted again.

Mr. Sykes's second study is of his father, Sir Mark Sykes, one of the small but stalwart band of "Gentile Zionists" who as a minor British minister played an important part in the negotiations leading up to the Balfour Declaration. Here we have an objective but vivid account of the origins of Zionism and of the way in which its leaders seized their opportunity during World War I. However, as a study in personality this essay does not altogether succeed. Amid a wealth of historical detail the portrait of Sir Mark, a charming and unusual man, never gets into sharp focus.

Quite a Soldier

SHERIDAN THE INEVITABLE. By Richard O'Connor. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50.

General Phil Sheridan has had his ups and his downs since the Civil War ended. He was originally hailed as one of the two or three great military geniuses which the Union cause had brought forth, and every schoolboy had to read and on occasion declaim the doggerel which celebrated his ride to the Battle of Winchester. Then, as years passed, Sheridan went into an eclipse, until at last the tendency was to dismiss him as a hard slugger who succeeded only because he had every advantage of numbers and equipment.

The real truth apparently lies halfway between, and Mr. O'Connor takes a new look at the man in this engaging biography. He finds in Sheridan what anyone can see, once the froth of contemporary adulation is brushed away—a simple and uncomplicated man possessed of a driv-

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ing combativeness and some very definite qualities of leadership.

In addition, he sees what is often overlooked—a young Irishman who came to the top at a time when the nation suffered from a great over-dose of the essential spirit of Ku Kluxism. The war not only started the colored man out from under the bottom of the heap; it also broadened the horizon for a great many other folk who in the democracy of the old days were badly underprivileged. Sheridan may have been no great thinker, but he saw that certain deep human values were bound up in the war he was fighting.

And of course he was quite a soldier. If he does not exactly belong on the pinnacle where the enthusiasm of 1865 placed him, he was a genuine top-notcher, and Mr. O'Connor has given his story a good retelling.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE end of summer brings recollections of shows seen in pleasant villages, of juries hopeful of accord, and of local versus imported opinion. Having served a tour of jury duty and having witnessed public reaction, temperate and intemperate, to the choices of an astonishingly unanimous panel, I take this opportunity to develop a few thoughts on these and related matters.

People seriously interested in painting are caught in a crossfire of opposing propagandists. They should realize this and prepare for the worst, for an honest expression of opinion will too seldom be considered on its own grounds. We are told both that representational art is outmoded and that nothing else is valid, that abstract art is the only contemporary art and that it is subversive, that abstract art is academic now and that a new humanism is or ought to be aborning. We are told that democracy in art means equality of opportunity to all artists, and also that it means that everybody can paint and that everyone's opinion is of equal value. We witness juries of compromise whose decisions record few of the decisions of the individual jurors. We witness double juries, each selected to represent a certain point of view. Public-opinion polls are held at exhibitions, and more attention is paid to them than to the decisions of supposedly informed juries.

Rarely, however, do we encounter acceptance of the idea that all contemporary painting should and can be judged according to the single standard of its power to move us and to enrich our lives. To this standard three corollary conditions may be attached. First, has the spectator looked at the painting or merely used it as he would a mirror? Second, has he had a sufficiently wide exposure to the history of painting to be reasonably certain that the given expression is unique and that it has not been projected more forcefully elsewhere? Third, does the experience communicated by the painting have its roots deep in contemporary life? If it were possible to eliminate or at least to minimize certain widely prevalent notions a moderate degree of accord could be reached and opinion would become less a matter of psychology and more a matter of validity and relevance. These notions might be described as the belief that painting aims to evoke agreeable, or painful, memories, that painting does not need to be original, and that it makes no difference when or where the picture was painted.

WHILE it is easy to criticize the bigotry of reaction, one should be equally ready to criticize the bigotry of counter-reaction. Two articles in recent issues of the *Partisan Review* provide interesting cases in point, particularly if one adds to them the statement published last spring by forty-eight well-assorted artists in a journal called, with a show of sublime assurance, *Reality*. This statement is, I think, a reactionary exposé of samples of counter-reactionary bigotry. Those who care about keeping contemporary issues unclouded should ponder well the cumulative effect of unintelligibility presented in *Reality* by the selected examples of propaganda for non-objective painting. I do not regard any of the forty-eight signers of this document as a major artist, but there are some good painters among them, and, more important, they make their point.

One should be clear, however, that the point they make is about bad contemporary criticism, and that they make

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no point whatever about the art they are attacking. Herein lies the value of Leo Steinberg's article, The Eye Is a Part of the Mind, in the *Partisan Review* for March-April. Brilliantly reasoned and richly documented, it argues that "modern art has not, after all, abandoned the imitation of nature, and that, in its most powerful expressions, representation is still an essential condition, not an expendable freight." Steinberg's essay is the most concise, intelligible, and profound description I have yet read of the kind of reality which the most advanced non-objective painting transforms into content. It is the best answer I know to the charges against such art made in the name of reality.

TO TURN from this analysis to Hilton Kramer's The New American Painting, in the July-August issue of the same magazine, is to descend once again to the level of propaganda, this time reactionary. I should have thought that the editors would have considered Kramer's attack already demolished by Steinberg's article. I find his charges of immodesty on the part of Hans Hofmann altogether unwarranted. Three years ago Hofmann published a small book, "Search for the Real," in connection with a large retrospective exhibition of his work at the Addison Gallery in Andover. One or two excerpts may be cited as typical of Hofmann's point of view. "Artistic intuition is the basis for confidence of the spirit. Art is a reflection of the spirit, a result of introspection, which finds expression in the art medium." And "artistic expression and appreciation is necessary to complete, balanced life, and must be an integral part of any enduring national or racial culture."

It is possible to disagree on the value of Hofmann as an artist—and I do most emphatically disagree with Kramer on this point—but it is hardly useful to disagree on the value of Hofmann as a man. For it is clear that in his view, as in Steinberg's, the eye is a part of the mind.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE points of interest on the stage at the moment are on the geographical periphery rather than in the thick of the theatrical district. Even "Oklahoma" is now "off Broadway" (at the City Center), and though its present production lacks freshness—it suffers particularly for want of top-grade dance personalities—the tunes and lyrics hold up remarkably well.

But for originality and spark one must turn or travel to the Barbizon-Plaza Theater to see "The World of Sholom Aleichem" or to the Théâtre de Lys on Christopher Street to see "End as a Man," a dramatization by Calder Willingham of his own similarly titled novel. Both provide worth-while evenings in the theater, though for purposes of review one is bound to think of them in terms of sharp contrast. The first is all gentle smiles and kindness; the second, harsh laughter and brutality.

"The World of Sholom Aleichem" is well named even though one of the pieces on the program is a stage version of a famous tale by another illustrious Jewish writer, I. L. Peretz. For what these brief theater narrations reflect is indeed a world—the colorful, savory, sad, enchanting, and meaningful world of the Russo-Polish ghetto in the late nineteenth century. It was a world that bred poverty, fear, sorrow, faith, and talent. It was a world of innocent fools along with men and women shrewd in the ways of life, not to mention inspired and humble saints. It was the native soil of a great literary birth—the amazingly gifted men whose language was Yiddish—and the source of creative genius for many painters, musicians, scholars, and leaders the world over.

What is most striking about the work of Sholom Aleichem and Peretz is the comprehensiveness of their feeling and the simplicity of their expression. None of the stories that the adapter, Arnold Perl, and the actors and producers have chosen to recount in "The World of Sholom Aleichem" are "great" in any idiotic university sense; they are almost

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The production is in tune with the material. The musical score bathes the evening in an unoppressively nostalgic mood; the costumes, lighting, and whole plan of the proceedings reflect credit on the intelligence of the director, Howard da Silva. The acting is more than satisfactory. Jack Gilford's silent mask in Peretz's story of the mutely suffering village derelict, Will Lee's darling imbecile, teacher in the Community of Fools (those who were impressed with Barrault's pantomime in "The Trial" will probably fail to notice Will Lee's more imaginative as well as more appropriate pantomime here), Morris Carnovsky's henpecked, harassed, and charming middle-class father are themselves enough to make the evening rewarding.

"END AS A MAN" is a picture of a military academy in the South. Some people will complain that it goes to pieces in the second act, even though it seems to pull itself together in the third. This is only true if you expect or desire that everything produced in the theater conform to certain conventional dramatic patterns. The first act introduces the central figure, the academy's chief bully, together with his victims and sundry other fauna of the school. The second presents them in the detail of their behavior. The third act discloses the punishment that is meted out to the most culpable and states what may be the moral of the piece.

But the play can hardly be said to have a moral; it is chiefly characterization and a feeling. The feeling is probably one of resentment; it is undeniably bitter. This is both the virtue and the defect of the play. Its best scene is the one in which the sharp-witted school demon guys and baits an oafish companion—a scene which leads to an episode of cheating, torment, and beating. All this has a violence that is not easy to take—but the essence of the play is here. It is not psychological, for we are never clear—nor does the author attempt to suggest—why his perverse protagonist is what he is; the scene is descriptive. It is fact. It happens, has happened. It is significant as a recognizable ingredient of our life.

I do not believe the play is an indictment of the military mind or of military schools. One cannot generalize from the given data. One can only say that the data are convincing though depressing. It is the ending that is perfunctory as story and morally disturbing. When the head of the school, a general of the United States army, tells the student council that for all its faults the academy does provide a training that makes the recruit "end as a man," we are not at all certain whether the author is clearing his play of any subversive implications or is being ironic and hopes subtly to suggest that the training ends the recruit as a man.

There is something sadistic in the essence as well as in the material of this play. It is not wilfully so: one gets sadism in writing when unmotivated evil is presented, divorced from other more universally congenial attributes. The fine writer makes even the most villainous action arise from facets of social and personal psychology in which all of us share. The malefactor and the hero in art are equally part of every member of the audience. Yet there is truth in this play: a certain savage humor and, most welcome, a response to experience.

The acting helps enormously. There are three brilliant debuts or near debuts—by Ben Gazzara as the bad 'un, by Paul Richards as a somewhat homosexual and quite engagingly bright boy, and by Albert Salmi in perhaps the best-written part of the play, the oafish victim of his comrades' ferocity. The director, Jack Garfein, has shaped an excellent ensemble.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA'S celebration of Bruno Walter's seventy-seventh birthday is the release of three records—one with Mozart's G minor and "Haffner" Symphonies, in which he conducts the New York Philharmonic; one with soprano arias from Mozart's operas, in which he conducts a recording orchestra for Eleanor Steber; and one with baritone and bass arias from "The Marriage of Figaro" and three Mozart concert arias, in which he conducts a recording orchestra for George London. Steber's voice, phrasing, and style again add up to some of the greatest singing there is to be heard today; and I will have to wait until I get back to New York to find out whether an occasional shrillness in high notes is her voice or my summer phonograph. London's singing is very fine—its one deficiency being the lack of the anger and irony that should be heard in *Se vuol ballare*. And the orchestral frameworks and comments make it clear that Walter is at his best nowadays when he conducts Mozart opera. Further evidence of this is the performances of the symphonies, which recall Toscanini's remark years ago that when Walter comes to something beautiful he melts; and in addition to the melting in the slow movements there is an occasional rhetorical expansion—for example, in measure 210 of the first movement of the G minor—that is not to my taste.

In his performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony with the Royal Philharmonic (Columbia) Beecham takes the scherzo movement in one of his excessively slow tempos that only the Beecham cultists will find acceptable; and the other movements have for me none of the continuity of shape, tension, and force that his performances used to have (and still have when I listen to the old recordings again to find out whether it is he who has changed or I). And I don't like the tone of his solo oboe.

As for Mengelberg—whose performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion in the Amsterdam Concertgebouw on Palm Sunday, 1939, recorded at the time, has been issued by Columbia—it is unquestionably I who have changed; and I blush to think that this inability to let a phrase of a chorus, an aria, or even a simple chorale take its course without a distention of tempo and sonority once seemed to me the highest musicianship. Now it seems to me to achieve sheer absurdity. The singers, chorus, and orchestra that are misused in this absurd way are excellent; and on my summer machine the performance is reproduced clearly and agreeably.

Copland's engaging suite from his score for Martha Graham's "Appalachian Spring" is on a Urania record with Piston's suite from his score for "The Invisible Flutist." This is the first time I have heard the Piston music; and it is the first music of his that I have enjoyed. The performances of the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother seem good.

In the remaining space let me say something about an older recording. I had an opportunity for the first time to listen to Berlioz's Requiem with the full score, which enabled me to become aware of details that hadn't come through clearly from the recorded sound or my ear hadn't caught. The result was a new revelation of the extraordinary qualities of the music, and the extraordinary artistic powers—of musical invention, imagination, and taste—that one hears operating in the contriving of the Offertorium, the Lacrymosa, the Quaerens me, among others. I can mention only one example: one reads always about the four additional brass bands in the Tuba mirum, never about their use—with such discretion and taste that I hadn't known of it until the score revealed it this time—in the Lacrymosa, when the opening section with its wonderful melody in nine-eighth time returns, and in each measure the third group of three eighths is punctuated by a note or chord from one after another of the four brass bands—the effect of these cries of the brass being indescribable. With the successive repetitions of the melody the punctuating chords are fuller and reinforced with drum-rolls; and at the climax the brass join in a tremendous unison proclamation of the melody by the chorus and orchestra.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.) 32,352.

FREDA KIRCHWEY,
Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1953.
[Seal]

GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public.

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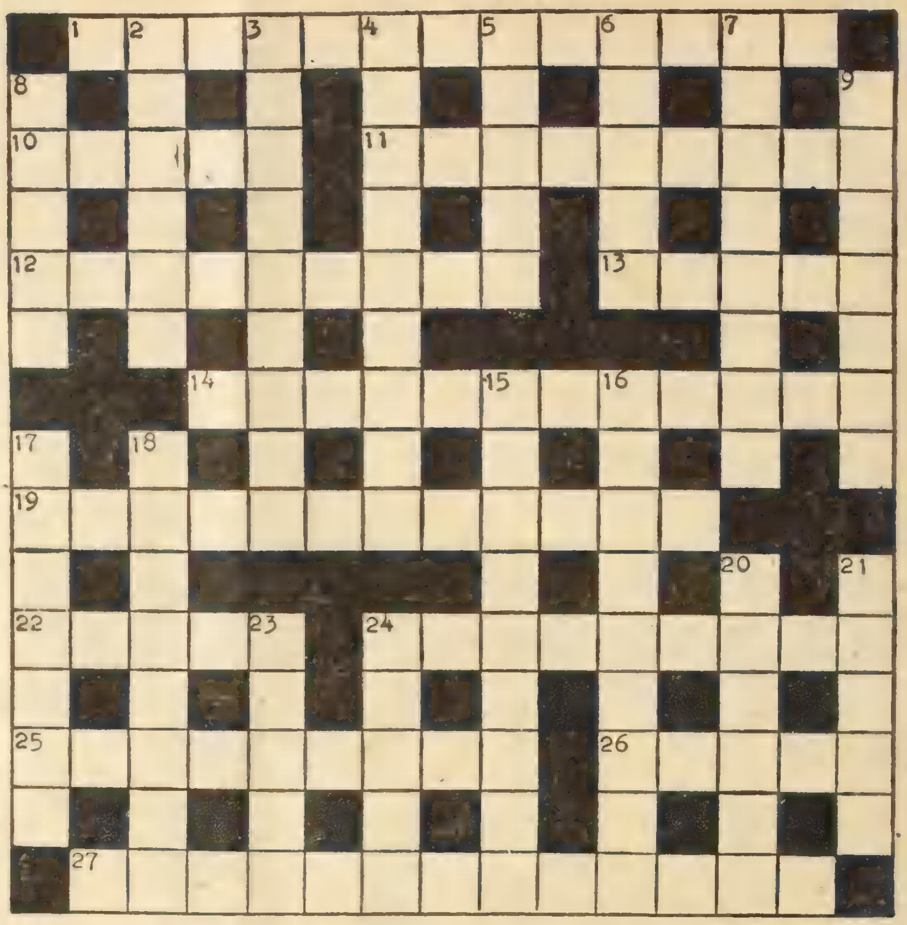
Crossword Puzzle No. 535

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Randell's ghost might be responsible for a certain lack of inspiration. (8, 5)
10 This, with civilian clothing, should fit an Arab head. (5)
11 One can't miss this geographical area if one's in another country. (9)
12 Hack work. (9)
13 Current writing subject to revision. (5)
14 Music sounds like Der Fuehrer! (6, 6)
19 Such affection shouldn't be limited to women! (12)
22 Check! (It's made of crushed rock.) (5)
24 White rose, or else this. (9)
25 Lincoln said there is none that is a fit object of redress by mob law. (9)
26 Nothing new to the burglar, bookmaker, and bookkeeper. (5)
27. One of these might be a little Irish, but not very important. (5, 8)

DOWN

2 One might say its art has certain characteristics. (6)
3 Invariably shown by an Arabian dromedary. (9)
4 This bird suggests somewhat less than guile with the word of a Frenchman. (9)
5 Obviously a "down" clue! (5)
6 Possessed by the wrong English heathen god? (5)
7 Are they dismissed when they get out of hand? (8)
8 See 20 down
9 Charged, probably, with unlawful attack? (7)
15 This territory was organized in 1787. (9)
16 Rather egostistical statement made when tense? (9)
17 A poor specimen or substitute. (7)
18 Is it largely elemental? (8)
20 and 8 Was she responsible for the Exposition being a somewhat shaky enterprise? (6, 5)
21 Emerald or aquamarine. (5)
23 It's mean, if you've heaved over a pound. (5)
24 At least one admission implied, if someone does. (3, 2)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 534

ACROSS:—1 MISHEARD; 5 TENSOR; 10 LYMPH; 11 PUBLICANS; 12 SUBDUES; 13 ALMONER; 14 SEETHE; 15 NOSTRUM; 18 EXEMPTS; 24 RESERVE; 26 ADVANCE; 27 FEATHERED; 28 LAIUS; 29 STEADY; 30 FOURTEEN.

DOWN:—1 MULISH; 2 SEMIBREVE; 3 EXHAUST; 4 RIPOSTE; 6 ENIGMAS; 7 SWAIN; 8 ROSTRUMS; [illegible] OBTAIN; 16 RECONCILE; 17 REDRAFTS; 19 PERCHED; 20 STEERS; 21 and 23 STAND TO REASON; 22 REVELER; 25 and 21 ACROSS STAGE-STRUCK.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

Dear Independent Voter:

Let me say frankly at the outset of this long but vitally important letter that our candidate Clifford T. McAvoy, will not win the 1953 New York City election.

WHY THEN SHOULD YOU VOTE FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CANDIDATE?

The history of American politics shows that *every* advance in the people's behalf was put forward first by independent minority political groups who organized to win these advances. This was true of the abolition of slavery, of our free public schools, of our social security laws, of public housing, of anti-discrimination legislation.

A recent example of the way in which a strong minority fight for decency and equality forced the major parties to recognize the people's demands is the fact that **this year every party finally nominated a Negro candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. This was the direct consequence of the American Labor Party's nomination of a Negro leader for that position in 1949—the first such nomination in the history of New York State.**

Everyone admits that our city is in an appalling situation both morally and financially.

Morally what can be expected of Dewey's candidate Mr. Riegelman, of Carmine de Sapio's candidate Mr. Wagner, or of a pseudo-independent candidate like Mr. Halley who pretends to have fought against the Transit Authority steal while the chairman of his own party, A. A. Berle, publicly says: "Halley would have gone along with it if his vote had been necessary. I talked it over with him and we agreed that if his vote was needed, if it was that or having the whole thing go into a tailspin, he would vote for it but he would not vote for it unless he had do. What he was saying is that this was a bad job and since his vote was not needed to pass it, he could afford to vote against it and did."

Financially Mr. Halley proposes a 50-million-dollar budget cut in hospitals, welfare, and other essential city services. Mr. Wagner proposes a payroll tax to pick the pocket of every New Yorker who works for a living. Mr. Riegelman offers the alternative of a 70-million-dollar budget cut. Only Mr. McAvoy, candidate of the American Labor Party, has a realistic, progressive solution to offer.

Our proposal is a stock transfer tax, an equitable return to the city of tax money collected here by the state and, most important of all, an honest assessment of big commercial and industrial real estate.

New York City is being cheated out of OVER A HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY by the openly dishonest assessment of big real estate at LESS than the depression values of 1932. For example, the *New York Stock Exchange Building* was assessed at $22,750,000 in 1932 and today it pays taxes on an assessment of only $17,000,000. 40 *Wall Street* had a 1932 assessment of $26,250,000 and has a $19,000,000 assessment today. *R. H. Macy* was reduced from an assessment of $27,250,000 in 1932 to one of $23,500,000 in 1953.

The newspapers and radio networks which are dominated by the big realty interests, as are the candidates of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal Parties, never mention this simple means of raising enough additional revenue to cancel the so-called subway operating deficit and to add greatly needed health, welfare and educational services. You yourself must have noted the total blackout of our program in the entire press. Only *The National Guardian* has consistently and honestly reported Mr. McAvoy's specific proposals and the concrete accomplishments of the American Labor Party in its fight for democratic representation.

We have no money for television or radio programs or ads in the big city dailies. But we know that there are tens of thousands of independent voters in New York City who would vote for the American Labor Party if they knew our program and had an opportunity to examine the facts about Halley's and Wagner's duplicity in their pretense of opposition to the Transit Authority Steal and the fare increase.

We are therefore appealing to you—the teachers, the professional men and women, the serious independent people who read *The Nation*—to examine the issues, to make up your own minds with a full knowledge of the facts, and then to assume the responsibility of convincing your friends and associates to vote for our practical, honest and progressive program by voting for Clifford T. McAvoy on Row D. **We hope you will write or call our office—17 Murray Street, WOrth 4-8153—for facts sheets with the specific official figures of the present real estate underassessments, for the full text of A. A. Berle's public admission of Mr. Halley's hypocrisy, for the detailed account of Mr. Wagner's anti-labor record.**

This year no false issue of a lesser evil stands between the progressive voter and his real choice. We are convinced that you can secure the additional 100,000 votes which will force the incoming New York City administration a step nearer to decent government.

VITO MARCANTONIO,
State Chairman American Labor Party

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A SHORT STORY BY RAY BRADBURY

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Peace Terms for the Far East

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Sex Without Love — *Hadley Cantril*
A Review of The Kinsey Report

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Around

the U.S.A.

Whitecaps on San Diego's Air Waves

San Diego, Cal.

FOR San Diego, Paul W. White is distinctly unique. He is the executive news editor of Station KFMB-TV-AM; conducts a nightly radio program, "KFMB's Editorial Page"; speaks his mind on local issues; wages editorial campaigns; and wins more often than he loses.

Unique? In San Diego, yes. For this city, with a population of more than 500,000, is on an editorial diet supplied by the San Diego *Morning Union* and *Evening Tribune*, both owned by the Copley Press. Both newspapers are Republican and conservative. Rarely are the people treated to anything "on the other side."

The local radio stations for the most part use news programs lifted or rewritten from the daily papers. White and his station, however, have taken advantage of rulings by the Federal Communications Commission which permit bold and factual broadcasts on matters of significance. If a subject needs visual presentation, White uses TV; he sometimes adopts a town-meeting approach on a special telecast.

Good radio news coverage is not a new activity of White's. In 1930 he established the C. B. S. news bureau, which rapidly became and is still a model of network excellence. It was under White's supervision that Elmer Davis, Edward R. Murrow, Bob Trout, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, John Daly, and others brought the finest kind of radio journalism to the American home.

In 1946 White left C. B. S. to write a book, "News on the Air," which has become a classic of its kind. After finishing the book he delivered a lecture course at Iowa University and made an exhaustive survey of its radio news service for the Associated Press. He joined the San Diego *Daily Journal* in 1948, going to KFMB in 1950 after the newspaper was sold and suspended.

■ Recently White took on the navy. An obscure sixty-two-year-old flute player, charged with having belonged to a subversive organization, was turned down for a job as a musical-instrument repair man. The navy refused to identify the accuser or the organization. The flute player went to the daily papers, which did not find the story worth editorial comment. White forced an investigation, and the flute player was cleared.

Restoration of rent controls to San Diego in 1951 was one of White's biggest victories. Under the pressure of real-estate interests the City Council had taken off controls two months after the outbreak of war in Korea. The action was not warranted by the economic facts. Under the war's impetus San Diego's aircraft industry was booming; new workers were flocking to the city; rents were spiraling. The City Council and the daily press took an ostrich-like stance—even though in several columns of classified advertising people pleaded for a place to live.

White rode to a radio rescue. Week after week he pounded home the story of rent-gouging. Washington acted. Tighe Woods, then director of rent stabilization, in a letter to White gave him and his station credit for a return to controls.

White doesn't win them all. He is always attracted to a lively scrap, likes to take a lost cause and give it a whirl. Passage of a new regulatory dog ordinance was virtually assured. Many of its features were commendable, but White likes dogs and was determined that no one should infringe upon canine rights. He lost the day, but he and his listeners had a lot of fun.

White is a liberal but does not always agree with other liberals. Take the case of Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, a psychology teacher at San Diego State College, who for some twenty years had been the town radical. There was no shred of evidence that Dr. Steinmetz was or ever had been a Communist, but the reactionary forces took pot shots at him for his extra-curricular activities. White presented the teacher and his accusers on TV. Then he campaigned vigorously to get Governor Warren to kill a bill aimed solely at Dr. Steinmetz. The Governor did so, and Dr. Steinmetz still teaches here. Did White agree with Steinmetz? Not at all. And White made this clear even while he was defending him.

A Chinese-American war hero had his home saved for him by White. This veteran, an aircraft-company employee, was ordered evicted from his apartment in an otherwise all-Caucasian neighborhood. White put on a radio and TV campaign and scored again. Oakland-born Bee Gee and his family still live at the old address.

Through his radio editorials White resolved a dispute between the medical society and the Red Cross which had threatened to wreck the blood-bank program here. He won another victory when the Professional Golfers' Association refused to permit Joe Louis to play in a golf tournament here two years ago. White entered the ring and delivered a one-two radio punch. Louis played in the tourney, and progress was made toward racial equality on the links. At present White is pitching for an old protégé, Commentator Chet Huntley, who is embroiled in a fight with the Los Angeles Board of Education and the *Herald-Express*, a Hearst paper.

For San Diego, White is a refreshing editorial radio breeze—a breeze that might become a hurricane.

WILLIAM SOMMERS

WILLIAM SOMMERS is a California newspaperman.

Did We Double-cross the British on Atomic Energy?

Read the brilliant account of Anglo-American relations with respect to the development of atomic energy by Richie Calder, science editor of the London *News Chronicle*, to appear in

NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

Volume 177, Number 15
New York, Saturday, October 10, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Hooray for Decontrols!

Recently the *Wall Street Journal,* in an editorial review of the eight-month record of the Eisenhower Administration, expressed gratified surprise "that so much had been done so soon." Eight months ago, it declared, "this country still lived in fear of further inflation," while "there were government controls upon almost every action a man could take in his work. . . . Today the controls are gone and in very fact forgotten. We are beset no more by the fear of rampant inflation."

The editorialist who stuck out his chin in this fashion deserved the jolt received from the monthly report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics published only twenty-four hours later. This showed that between mid-July and mid-August the consumers' price index rose for the sixth successive month to reach a new high of 115 (1947-49=100). Decontrol of rents last spring in the face of continued housing shortage explains why shelter costs accounted for a significant fraction of the rise. Less understandable, in view of the general decline in farm prices, is the higher cost of food. But recent reports of food processing and retailing concerns indicate that in many cases profit margins have widened since price controls ended.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether the average housewife shares the *Wall Street Journal's* joy at the disappearance of controls. As far as her domestic budget is concerned, inflation is still here. Paradoxically her husband, if engaged in one of the numerous industries now laying off workers, may be beset by fear of *deflation,* just as are numerous investors judging by the trend of the stock market. Unhappily there are historic precedents for this contradiction, and it may be well to recall that in the past retail prices have sometimes held firm long after production and employment indices started to crumble.

Rules for "Brainwashing"

South Korean officials have angrily protested against the shooting of several anti-Communist prisoners who tried to attack their Indian guards and start a mass jailbreak. These objections are natural enough, though one wonders if the protesters were equally disturbed last year when pro-Communist rioters were shot down by American and South Korean guards. We suspect not.

In defense of the Indians, however, and of the neutral commission in charge of repatriation, it should be said that they are carrying out a difficult task with great courage. The Indian troops must keep order among men admittedly whipped into a state of total defiance by their own leaders and by Syngman Rhee's press and ministers. Moreover, the commission must withstand constant attacks on the rules it has laid down governing the persuasion of captives unwilling to go home. American officers have flatly condemned these rules as a surrender to the Communists. They object particularly to the provisions that prisoners must attend explanation sessions, that the Communists may speak to the prisoners separately as well as in groups, and that sessions may be conducted eight hours a day six days a week.

These protests come easily from the side that has only about 360 prisoners to persuade and seems in no hurry about doing so. But the Communists must cope with 22,600 recalcitrants within a ninety-day period of which three weeks have already gone. Any plans for individual pressure or "brainwashing" will be severely limited by the time available. The danger of intimidation will be further reduced by the presence at explanation sessions of representatives of all the nations on the commission, any one of whom may suspend a session if he feels the explainer is using improper methods. All in all the objections of the U. N. command seem to us without substance, calculated not to improve procedure but to encourage resistance among the captives and increase the difficulties of the neutral nations—especially India—in carrying out their important and thankless assignment.

More Give-Away

The Administration has now begun to spell out the real meaning of its new public-power policy. Speaking in Fargo, North Dakota, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Fred G. Aandahl broke the bad news that the electric-power rates of public agencies will be increased. The purpose is clear. As public-power rates go up the private utilities will be in a better position to compete—at the consumer's expense. In five years, Mr. Aandahl predicts, the differential will be largely eliminated—by simply

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hiking the rates of public power. To justify the increase, two factors are cited: the inflated costs of recent projects and the necessity of allocating a larger portion of power revenue to irrigation costs. In this way, of course, the Administration hopes to win farm support for its new power policy. It is also clear that the Administration intends to undercut the legal preference accorded public agencies in the sale and distribution of publicly-produced power by delimiting the "reasonable market areas" within which the preference prevails as well as by reducing the spread between public and private rates. The effect will be to discourage the formation of additional local public distributing and consumer units. In analyzing the new power policy for our readers in the issue of September 12, Barrow Lyons pointed out that it would result in a prompt increase in rates. Mr. Lyons was a fine prophet.

Foreign Minister Bevan?

Our London correspondent writes: The extraordinary unity shown by the Labor Party at its recent Margate meeting can be explained only partly by Labor's conviction, bolstered by the British Gallop poll, that victory is virtually assured them in the next election. Under such circumstances it was natural for compromises to be quickly and easily effected: the Bevanites yielded on domestic issues, the moderates on foreign affairs. But few of the party leaders and almost none of the delegates knew of another and perhaps more important element which enabled the two wings to get together. According to this correspondent's understanding, the moderates really sealed Bevan's support at the congress by pledging him the foreign ministry when and if Labor is returned to power.

The New Chief Justice

THE new Chief Justice will take office to the accompaniment of a chorus of acclaim, and his confirmation may be assumed. Unfortunately we cannot join in this chorus, for while it is quite possible that Mr. Warren may measure up to the responsibilities of the office—in a Republican era New Dealers cannot be choosers—there are certain forgotten facts about his career which arouse our misgivings.

ITEM ONE. No one person had more to do with bringing about the removal of the West Coast Japanese during World War II—citizens and aliens alike; men, women, and children—than Mr. Warren, who was then Attorney General of California. In urging the removal of the Japanese, a measure which has been characterized as a constitutional disaster, Mr. Warren proceeded from indefensible premises. For example, he contended that the Nisei—the American-born and -educated generation—were more "dangerous" and suspect than the Issei, their

Japanese-born parents. A more cynical appraisal of the effects of public-school education and of American cultural influences has seldom been voiced; he could only have had racial or biological implications in mind. Indeed, he made this quite clear when he told the Tolan committee: "We believe that when we are dealing with *the Caucasian race* we have methods that will test the loyalty of them" (p. 11015, italics added).

Pointing to the clusters of Japanese settlements near industrial plants and areas leased from private utility companies, narrow fenced strips running beneath high-tension transmission lines, he told the Tolan committee that the Japanese had selected these sites *because* they were well located for sabotage acts. As Attorney General, Mr. Warren was fully aware, since it was his responsibility to enforce the Alien Land Act, that the Japanese had been driven into the "crevices" and marginal areas to which he attached such sinister importance. It should be noted, moreover, that he was by this time—1942—a candidate for governor. But beneath this politically opportune use of a popular race-baiting theme was a clear personal bias. For example, in his first speech before the Conference of Governors in 1943 he expressed unalterable opposition to the return of the Japanese Americans to the West Coast and later warned the federal authorities that another Pearl Harbor disaster might result if the ban against their return were lifted. When the state Board of Agriculture, on the motion of Dr. Paul S. Taylor, adopted a resolution urging fair play, he promptly replaced Dr. Taylor. It may be that Governor Warren has outgrown these parochial views, but there can be no dispute that they were once his favorite themes. Not only was the removal of the Japanese a constitutional disaster, resulting in the dangerous precedent of *Korematsu* vs. *United States,* in which the Supreme Court upheld the removal, but it meant that the Japanese were strong-armed out of the West Coast produce industry—their creation incidentally—at a loss of more than $600,000,000. Nor have they ever regained their former position.

ITEM TWO. Those who want to learn something about the Governor's social philosophy should, in addition to exploring his views on the tidelands oil issue, read the brief that he filed as Attorney General in the case of *Edwards* vs. *California* (314 U. S. 160, decided in 1941). In this case Mr. Warren tried unsuccessfully to sustain the constitutionality of a section of the Welfare and Institutions Code which made it a misdemeanor for anyone to bring into the state of California an indigent person, knowing that person to be indigent. The case was a direct outgrowth of the nativistic agitation against Okies and Arkies and other dust-bowl migrants. Even Justice Byrnes of South Carolina, who wrote the opinion, could not accept the nonsensical sociology which Mr. Warren was spouting in this argument and brief.

The major pressure group in the decade-long agitation to keep dust-bowl migrants out of California—and to oust the Japanese—was, of course, the Associated Farmers of California. On October 21, 1939, a thousand or more Okies were holding a strike meeting in the County Park in Madera. The idea was that if the meeting was held there, in town, in full view of the authorities, it would not be broken up. Suddenly two hundred or more cars and trucks loaded with ranchers armed with rubber hoses, automobile cranks, fan belts, and baseball bats converged on the park and broke up the meeting. The scene was witnessed by: Colonel Charles Henderson of the National Guard, the local sheriff, and Captain Tores of the state highway patrol and fourteen of his officers. No effort whatever was made to protect the meeting or arrest the vigilantes. When a delegation from the American Civil Liberties Union visited Mr. Warren to ask him, as Attorney General, to prosecute the rioters, he gave them "a courteous hearing but did not commit himself." Nor was any action initiated against those who had broken up the meeting.

ITEM THREE. Governor Warren fought a bitter behind-the-scenes battle to block the pardon which Governor Culbert L. Olson granted to Tom Mooney in 1939 and as a member of the State Advisory Prison Board voted against recommending a pardon for Warren Billings. These actions were taken, it should be noted, in the last phases of the case. By then the facts were fully established, and the distinguished jurists and legal scholars who had recommended a pardon would constitute a fairly good sample of the best legal talent in this country.

The blunt fact is that until he became governor, Warren was strongly anti-labor. Subsequently his anti-labor bias softened and he became a skilful manipulator of certain leaders in the State Federation of Labor.

ITEM FOUR. When Governor Olson named Max Radin, for years a distinguished member of the faculty of the University of California's Law School, to the state Supreme Court, the conservative San Francisco *Chronicle* acclaimed Radin as "a distinguished liberal . . . with a high degree of judicial temperament and a passion for justice," adding that he should be confirmed "with no more of the scurrilous attack that arises from inability to distinguish between liberal faith and subversive character." Mr. Warren was the spearhead of this attack. It was his vote as a member of the Qualifications Commission that blocked confirmation. Pressed for an explanation, Warren told the press that Radin had once written a letter to the city attorney of Stockton urging clemency for eighteen state relief-administration employees who had refused to answer questions before the Yorty committee (which later became the Tenney committee). During his many years in office Warren has maintained a wholly remarkable silence about the Tenney committee, easily the most inept and vicious of the various state un-American committees.

What of his attitude on the loyalty oath? As an ex officio member of the Board of Regents, Warren opposed the oath but for reasons which reflect little credit on him. It was the Governor's great friend, President Robert Gordon Sproul—he had placed Warren's name in nomination at the 1948 convention—who originally *proposed* the loyalty oath. Warren did not oppose its adoption. To be sure, Sproul thought that the regents might head off the Tenney committee and safeguard the university's budget by adopting such an oath; but the responsibility for the oath was his or his subordinates. Later, when the faculty revolted, he reversed his position and tried to undo the damage he had done. Warren then had no alternative but to support Sproul, which he did, not on the broad issue of academic freedom but on a narrow technical point. And Walter Gellhorn notes that when the tide which the faculty revolt had set in motion in 1949 began to recede with the outbreak of the Korean war, the Governor's enthusiasm for academic freedom ebbed with the tide. He found it quite consistent, indeed, to sign a measure imposing a loyalty oath on all state employees, including faculty members (see "The States and Subversion," by Walter Gellhorn, 1952). Incidentally, *after* the fight on the Regent's oath, Raymond B. Allen was appointed to head the University of California at Los Angeles. It is a fair inference that both Sproul and Warren concurred in the appointment. As President of the University of Washington, Allen had set the post-war campus witch hunt in motion in 1948 by taking disciplinary action against certain faculty members.

WHAT the public does not understand is that the Warren who emerged after 1942 is quite unlike the earlier Warren. On its face, this might indicate that he had grown or changed, or, again, it could mean that he was impressed by the Democratic registration which outnumbered the Republican in California three to two. Whatever the reason, the transformation was indisputably the handiwork of Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, the well-known public relations team which managed Warren's campaign. After 1942 Warren was regularly photographed splashing around in the Pacific with his numerous brood during the annual grunion run in Southern California. He was never photographed unless he was smiling. He began to hobnob with popular "celebrities" and to show up at Toots Shor's on visits to New York. The six children, notably the three girls and particularly "Honeybear," became well known nationally; the Governor seldom traveled without them. This new Warren is clearly one of the great public-relations triumphs of Whitaker and Baxter, but they did not approve of the mild liberalism which the Governor adopted as part of his new ensemble and it was not long before they broke with him.

The problem which the new Chief Justice's fascinating career presents is this: which is the real Warren? Does he himself know which of the two faces is really his? What values would sustain him in a moment of great crisis? His three basic values would seem to be the sanctity of private property, the importance of social conformity, and a great respect for the law. Warren liked being district attorney and attorney general; he always cooperated closely with the various bar associations; and his prestige among California lawyers is high, for he has appointed many of the state's judges.

Although the new Chief Justice comes from a working-class immigrant background, his sympathies have never been with labor or the underprivileged. He has always identified his interests with the upper middle class. Contrary to popular belief, he formerly belonged to the Knowland-Cameron-Chandler right wing of the Republican Party in California; it was only after 1942 that he began to act like Hiram Johnson. He lacks intellectual distinction. His speeches, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, are lectures on good government "studded, with homilies from Abe Lincoln and Edwin Markham." He is neither a great lawyer nor a legal scholar. Nor does he have a well thought-out social philosophy. He is diligent, honest, patient; always cautious, he is a middle-of-the-roader less by temperament than by calculation.

These are not bad qualities, surely, but are they the qualities of a great Chief Justice? Has Warren really discarded the biased racial views he held as recently as 1943? Has he outgrown the immature and parochial philosophy he expounded so clumsily in *Edwards* vs. *California?* His reputation as an economic "liberal" stems almost entirely from his advocacy of a compulsory-health-insurance plan which a leading California historian has pointed out never had any likelihood of enactment, given the composition of the legislature. Not one major social reform was enacted in California during his three terms as Governor.

If one had to describe Warren in a sentence it would be that he is, and throughout his entire career has been, an expert professional politician, just this and nothing more. And the qualities that make a man an expert professional politician are not those most needed in a Chief Justice. Moreover, those who know the Governor will find it difficult to discard the belief that he will remain the professional politician on the court. Will he, like his predecessor, attempt to use the Chief Justiceship as a stepping-stone to the Presidency, on which he has had his eye since 1936? Reports persist of the President's ill health, and the Republicans might find it difficult to accept Richard Nixon as their leader. In such an emergency might not the genial Chief Justice be able to achieve his ultimate ambition?

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Little Europe and Big Germany

Paris

THE Rome conference on the proposed European Political Community had very modest results. It was agreed that the Parliament of a unified Europe should be chosen by direct popular vote and that its flag should be fifteen gold stars on a blue ground. More important political problems will be decided by the foreign ministers when they meet at The Hague on October 20.

But the Rome conference did indicate the great obstacles that must be surmounted before the idea of a united Europe can become a reality. Since it is a goal that in the next few years will increasingly dominate European and Atlantic policy, we may well examine its multiple aspects and review the progress that has been made toward its attainment.

Before World War II the project was linked with the name of one of the most imaginative of French statesmen, Aristide Briand, of whom the witty permanent secretary of the Quai d'Orsay, Philippe Berthelot, once said, "He knows nothing about anything but he understands everything." But it was the suffering of a Europe which had been divided and conquered by Hitler, country by country, that breathed life into Briand's concept and led people to dream of renouncing national rivalries and pooling the resources of the devastated Continent. Another man of imagination, Winston Churchill, took up the idea, and ever since he proposed it as a solution for Europe's ills in 1946 it has ceased to be regarded as a vague and romantic notion and has attracted steadily increasing support. The battle between the partisans and the opponents of unification will reach an acute stage in France in the coming weeks when the question of a European army comes up in the National Assembly.

Already a number of political and economic bodies have been created or planned to implement the idea: in the political sphere, the Council of Europe, consisting of a Committee of Ministers and a Consultative Assembly; in the economic sphere, the Schuman Plan, or Coal and Steel Agreement; in the military, the projected European Defense Community incorporating the European army. All these are the product of what became known in 1948 as the *mouvement Européen,* a carefully articulated international organization which in the following year chose Churchill, Blum, and Spaak as joint presidents. At the same time a *Conseil National* was formed in each country, and a *Conseil International* was set up. A *Comité Exécutif* was made up of representatives of all the participating countries and of the various groups working for unification. The pact of Brussels was signed in February, 1949; a conference in April of the same year was dedicated to economic questions; another dealt with education.

SINCE THEN the proponents of a united Europe have held meeting after meeting. The most ardent of them, men like Spaak, Sforza, and Bidault, have concentrated their efforts on making the Council of Europe a political "authority" —a body "with limited functions but real powers." At the annual meetings of the Council and Consultative Assembly at Strasbourg, which has become the symbolic capital of the future Europe, national interests have frequently clashed with the "European" point of view. As private individuals European politicians may eloquently defend the principle of unification, but when they speak in the name of their governments, they must be more cautious. This necessity has given rise to long and bitter debates between the Assembly and the Committee of Ministers.

One source of controversy is the attitude of Great Britain. In spite of Churchill's sponsorship of the original proposal in 1946, the unity which the British desire for Europe is of a much looser kind than that widely favored on the Continent. It amounts to hardly more than voluntary cooperation among governments, whereas many Europeans advocate a federation exercising real power over its member states. Foreign Secretary Eden, before his illness, tried to reconcile these opposed views by proposing that the Council of Europe should have the right to bring into being and control such institutions as the Schuman Plan and the European army. And the session of the Assembly which has just ended perceived a ray of hope in the statement of Mr. Nutting, British Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that "Great Britain was disposed to associate itself more closely with the European army than with the coal-and-steel pool." In London, however, the remark aroused violent protests, even from Conservative papers—the *Daily Express* went so far as to demand Mr. Nutting's resignation; so apparently his enthusiasm for the E. D. C. is not shared by the rank and file of his party. The Labor Party of course made its position clear at the Margate Congress.

While the efforts of the past seven years to bring about the unification of Europe have not had the great success claimed by the leaders of the movement, they have not failed as completely as its enemies pretend. The stage of theoretical discussion has been passed, and progress has been marked by a number of concrete accomplishments. The coal-and-steel agreement began to function in August, 1952; the Council of Europe and the Consultative Assembly meet regularly. The complicated question of how a country could hold elections for a European Parliament without violating its own constitution was tackled at the recent Rome conference, and a plan was worked out for presentation to the foreign ministers of the six E. D. C. countries when they meet next month at The Hague.

The issue on which the European community is at present most sharply divided is that of the European army. The split has been deepened by the last

Soviet note. As *Le Monde* put it: "Despite hypocritical regrets expressed here and there, no one really had hope that the Big Four conference could come to anything. Since Adenauer's victory, Washington is less inclined to compromise than ever. In the U. N. last week, Schuman committed French support to Mr. Dulles. And England must find it premature to reveal its weapons on the unproved assumption that the Conservative cabinet is in accord on Big Two policy." The present situation is one of complete deadlock. Russia will not agree to the Western proposals. As *Le Monde* notes, the Soviet Union could nevertheless have accepted the proposed conference not in hopes of reaching an agreement—"inconceivable so long as the United States demands concessions without yielding any"—but to play upon the latent differences between Washington and its European allies. This, according to *Le Monde*, the Russians did not want to do.

Among the Westerners, only Churchill is determined to try anything to avoid war, whether it be by conference of four or five or seven. But at least many Frenchmen are hesitating about further antagonizing the Russians by putting before them the *fait accompli* of the European army and the rearmament of Western Germany.

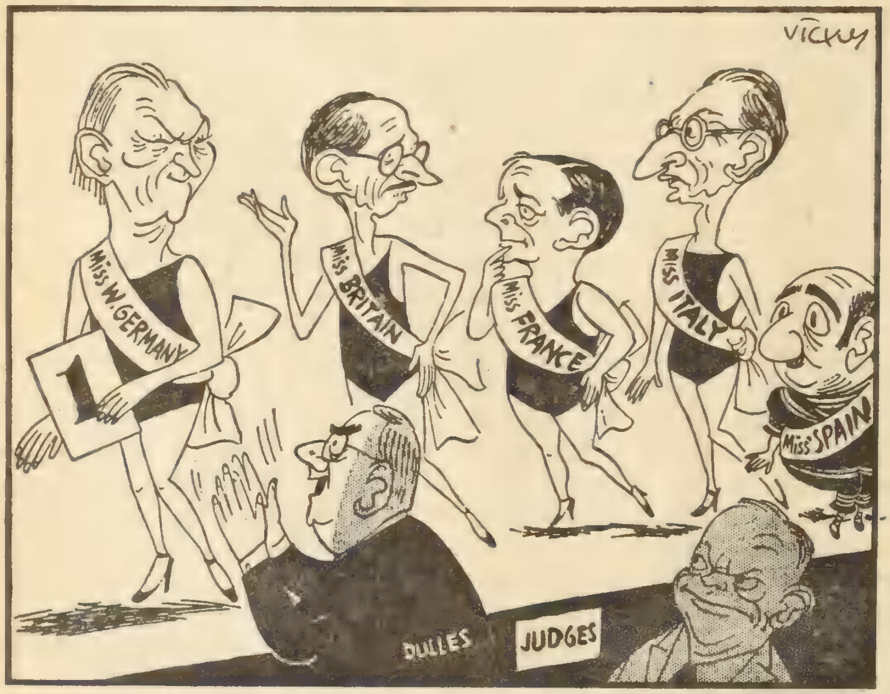
At one point Guy Mollet, secretary general of the French Socialist Party, said he and his party would vote for ratification of the E. D. C. treaty by the French Assembly. His statement was published with big headlines in the whole Western press, but almost immediately Mollet himself pointed out that it had been given a false emphasis. He explained that what he had really said was that in view of the closer cooperation between Great Britain and the E. D. C. foreshadowed by Mr. Nutting his followers would vote for ratification provided a political community of limited powers was established. Apparently Mr. Nutting's remarks had convinced him that British troops would be stationed in France and that France therefore would have nothing to fear from a European army. It is very doubtful, however, that this expectation will materialize. As for the political community, it is only in the making and cannot be the basis of any immediate decision. In any case M. Mollet could not commit the French Socialist Party.

Among the Radical Socialists the veteran statesman Edouard Herriot, president of the Assembly, is now taking the offensive against the European army. In an interview granted to the *Journal de Genève* he declared that while he did not reject the idea of the E. D. C. he was unalterably opposed to the treaty which the Assembly is asked to approve.

The followers of General de Gaulle are exploiting his hostility to the treaty as a means of restoring him to popular favor. Gaston Palewski, vice-president of the National Assembly, has asked publicly whether the French government at the Hague meeting will "let France become part of a supra-national entity dominated by a Germany twice as strong economically and with a much larger population." Other Gaullists have insisted that a united Europe will be a "Germanized Europe." While Adenauer may use a moderate tone at present, they are convinced that in two to five years he will be pushed by forces within his own party to try to extend Germany's present boundaries. They think that Russia's increasing strength in aviation and atomic weapons will deter Bonn from a sally toward the East, to recover the lost provinces, and cause it to look westward for compensation. Germany's desire for revenge, they fear, will lead it to cross not the Oder-Neisse but the Rhine. It will give up Upper Silesia and East Prussia and seek to regain Alsace-Lorraine.

THE ENEMIES of "Little Europe" are beginning to do some figuring. If the election procedure proposed by the Rome conference is accepted at The Hague, France will have only 70 of the 208 deputies in the "European Chamber," or lower house, and only 21 of 87 senators. The decisions of the European Executive will be imposed on France.

The problem cannot be considered in the abstract, nor emotionally—many noble spirits are fired by the thought that a united Europe might be the first step toward a world government. The French are fearful because in seven years a prostrate Germany has risen to be the most influential power in Western Europe. They admit that Germany conducted itself very discreetly at the Rome conference—though with the self-assurance of the real winner—and they expect it to do likewise at The Hague. But even today, when Germany is only half a country, when it is occupied by foreign armies, when it is not a member of the United Nations, it is beginning to direct European politics: everybody waits to hear what Adenauer has to say; Adenauer receives Secretary Dulles's highest compliments. What, then, will limit Germany's dominance in "Little Europe" when it is in full possession of its powers? If this question is not kept in mind, the meaning of the present controversy will be completely missed.



Courtesy London *News-Chronicle*

Miss Europe, 1953

PEACE TERMS

For the Far East . . *by C. P. Fitzgerald*

Canberra, Australia

ALTHOUGH many intractable problems in Central Europe still divide the Communist and democratic worlds, it is only in the Far East that the cold war has been blown hot and the two sides have met in open conflict. Three wars, in origin quite distinct, have raged along the coasts and frontiers of China; the attempts now being made to settle the most important of them, the war in Korea, raises the question whether any such settlement can endure unless the other two conflicts can be brought to an end. The Chinese civil war is now reduced to skirmishes along the coast, the passive defense of Formosa, and the somewhat unreal expectation that at a future date Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces may invade the mainland. The war in Indo-China, in origin a rebellion against French colonial rule, has gradually assumed the character of a war between China and the West waged at second hand, through the agency of the Associated States and their French allies on the one hand and the Viet Minh supplied by China and Russia on the other.

In all these struggles the parties opposed to Communist China would have succumbed long ago had they not received the increasing support of the West. All the wars have become wars against "communism." But communism is not a country; in terms of political reality all these wars are wars against China, and ideology apart, their objectives are to sustain Western political influence in the Far East. The problem to be solved if a lasting peace is to be established in East Asia is how Western political and military power can coexist in that region with the phenomenon often called "Communist aggression" but more realistically conceived as the might of resurgent China.

The West cannot find in East Asia reliable allies who will sustain the cause of democracy, because to many Asians the defense of democracy seems to be only a cover slogan for the maintenance of Western domination. Nationalism should be the main antidote to communism, but in East Asia the two forces tend to join hands in common opposition to Western influence. The West is thus faced with a dilemma: if armed force is used to oppose the power of China, which is equated with Communist aggression, Asian nationalism reacts against Western intervention and grows sympathetic to the Communist side; if the West leaves "Asians to fight Asians," there is no certainty that they will carry on the fight at all, or that if they do, it will be for ends which suit the purposes of the West.

Peace in Korea, if achieved by the talks to be held at Geneva or elsewhere, will be based on what amounts to the partition of Korea, a prospect which the South Koreans can only be constrained to accept by the presence of United States forces in Korea. If South Koreans were left to fight North Korean and Chinese Asians they would not accept any such settlement. Similarly it is certain that Chiang Kai-shek would not freely renounce his hopes of returning to China and accept the establishment of Formosa as an independent republic. This solution could be imposed by the U. N. if it were regarded as a necessary part of a general settlement, but it could not be insured by leaving the Chinese Nationalist Asians free to fight their Communist brothers. In Indo-China, conversely, it is apparent that if the Associated States were left without French support to resist the Viet Minh they would speedily enter into negotiations for a settlement, which would be achieved at the expense of the French.

Yet there is no support in the West, outside a small circle of fellow-travelers, for the third alternative, which is retreat. If the West disinterested itself in the fate of Indo-China, Korea, and Formosa, all three would soon be under Communist control, and even if the actual rulers in Korea and Indo-China were natives the ultimate authority would in fact be Chinese. Chinese power would menace Japan, Malaya, and Siam. The neutralist states of Burma and Indonesia would gravitate to the same orbit; the West would be excluded from East Asia and cut off from its resources of tin, rubber, and rice. This would be a further displacement of power comparable to the Communist triumph in China. The statesmen of the West and the peoples they represent are united in their determination to prevent such a solution, which they rightly fear would produce further war rather than lasting peace. But on what steps to take and what policy to adopt in order to achieve in the Far East stability without surrender there is much less agreement.

THE REAL LINE of division is between those who, although in no sense Communists, would agree with Litvinov that "peace is not divisible" and argue that a settlement in Korea must be only the first step toward a general conference to settle all the outstanding questions in the Far East, and those who wish to confine the matters under discussion to Korea and its future and will not admit the necessity of considering the status of the Chinese government, the question of U. N. representation for China, or the future of Formosa, still less that of Indo-China. Although it would not be true to say that the nations of the Western bloc are divided along this line, it is evident that the two major political parties in Great Britain share the first view and that an influential section of American opinion holds steadfastly to the second.

Before any conference can hope to be successful the Western nations must make up their minds about what they are prepared to concede and at what

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C. P. FITZGERALD, author of "Revolution in China," is on the staff of the Australian National University.

point they are determined to stand fast. It is of the essence of our system that such decisions are taken not by the heads of governments alone but with the consent of the governed. Yet so far we do not see any coordinated effort to educate the people of the Western nations to accept one or the other of the rival approaches. The obvious danger of this situation is that it gives the Communist side ample scope for maneuver and for sowing dissension. If the Western powers enter a conference while their views are still at variance, the Communists have only to propose terms which are acceptable to one group but unwelcome to the other to create major differences among their adversaries. With these considerations in mind it is as well to look at the implications of a cease-fire in Korea from the two points of view.

Once the Korean war has been brought to an end, the United Nations will have fulfilled its task of repelling aggression and will not be involved in the further problems of the Far Eastern scene. The Formosan problem is an aftermath of the Chinese civil war, with which the U. N. was in no way concerned. The Indo-Chinese war is a rebellion against the rule of the French, with which neither France nor other member nations wished the U. N. to be concerned. The defense of Formosa against Communist China was undertaken by the United States, not by the U. N. If this issue is to be excluded from the conference on the ground that it has no connection with the Korean war, other member nations may hold that they are thereby freed to enter into such relations with Communist China as they choose. A limited conference dealing only with Korea would have the effect of disengaging the U. N. from the Far Eastern question without freeing the United States from its burdens there or bringing other nations in to share them.

PEACE in Korea alone would also leave the Chinese free to increase their aid to Viet Minh and thus achieve outright victory in Indo-China. If the West reacted by coming to the assistance of France with armed expeditions, the war in Korea would merely be transferred to a new scene, and one where Asian sentiment would be much more openly opposed to the West. The invasion of South Korea gave the U. N. a clear-cut case of aggression against which to rally the member states. Viet Minh's internal uprising cannot under any legal definition be described as aggression, and it is certain that the free nations of Asia would solidly oppose any attempt to invoke U. N. action against those whom they regard as fighting for freedom. U. N. intervention would thus be difficult to organize, and there is no certainty that it would be more effective in crushing Viet Minh than it has been in reuniting Korea. In each case the real opponent who must be overcome is China, and China can only be adequately coerced by action against its own territory. The arguments against such action are twofold: first, that the risks of thereby causing a third world war are very great, and second, that the coercion of China would be an unlimited liability.

The Core of Mr. Fitzgerald's Proposals

Korea. Reunification through a Korean Conciliation Commission under neutral chairmanship or, if this fails, acceptance by both sides of partition.

Formosa. Status quo, with possible ultimate plebiscite to determine the island's future allegiance.

Indo-China. Division into wholly independent Communist and non-Communist states or, as an alternative, a fusion of existing regimes, with France's role in the area greatly reduced.

Communist China. Diplomatic recognition and admission to the U. N.

A peace limited to an armistice in Korea thus offers no prospect of stability but might well lead to further troubles which the West would find difficult to counter with the same solidarity as has been achieved in Korea. The alternative, an attempt to arrive at a general settlement in the Far East, is also fraught with difficulty and holds forth no certain promise of success. In the first place the West must make one large assumption for which there is no satisfactory evidence either for or against: that the Communist powers are really willing to negotiate such a settlement and not merely ready to waste time—or gain time—by long and fruitless conferences. But unless we are going to abandon any hope of a peaceful settlement, which means resigning ourselves to the certainty of an ultimate war, we must be prepared to test the sincerity of the Communist side by consenting to a conference, and the armistice in Korea is the best opportunity so far offered.

Assuming that the terms of the armistice in Korea safeguard the territory of South Korea, we might strive to achieve the reunification of the country by means of a Korean Conciliation Commission under neutral chairmanship, but we would have to be ready to accept the actual fact of partition if such a commission failed in its purpose. In respect of China we could grant recognition and a seat in the United Nations in order to win Peking's acceptance of the status quo in Formosa. We should have to make it plain to the Nationalist regime that in return for such a guaranty of its existence it must renounce its guerrilla attacks upon the coast and abandon any hope of invading the mainland. The possibility of holding, at a future date, a plebiscite in Formosa under U. N. auspices to determine the future of the regime there should not be ruled out as a maximum concession. We should naturally, as a condition of peace, lift all embargo measures against trade with Communist China, including Japanese trade.

THE FACT that Chinese troops have not overtly taken part in the Indo-Chinese war makes a settlement there somewhat easier. China recognizes Viet Minh, as does Russia, and it would be clearly hopeless to expect the Communist powers to withdraw their moral support from their protégé. The Asian neutral states do not recognize the Associated States, since they do not accept them as truly independent powers. The lines of a compromise which would either divide Indo-China into Communist and non-Communist wholly independent states or arrange a fusion of the opposed regimes might be worked out. It is fairly clear that the role of France would be much reduced, perhaps until it resembled that of Holland in Indonesia today. If the states of Indo-China then became members of the U. N., upon which we should insist as a quid pro quo for Communist China's admission, they would be safeguarded against aggression, or would at least be assured of Western aid if threatened.

Some of these proposals would be very unpalatable to Western opinion both in France and in America, but it cannot be said that they are terms of surrender. They would at least assure a breathing space in the Far East during which the realities of power in that region would become clear. Japan is gaining strength as its recovery progresses, and before long it will be once more a potent factor. Once China is no longer engaged in a war which it has taught itself to think of as one of self-defense it might take up its vast program of industrialization, and if this were to some extent dependent on Western imports and on Japanese industry its incentives to keep the peace would be much stronger. Communist theorists may still look forward to the "liberation" of Southeast Asia, but the Chinese people, reassured by a stable settlement on their frontiers and freed from the threat of renewed civil war from Formosa, will not be so easily induced to support military adventures in distant countries.

Should the basic assumption, that the Communist side is willing to negotiate a settlement, prove false, the West will be no worse off than it is today, will indeed be in a much stronger moral position to face the cataclysm that may be in store. Whatever may be said of the wisdom or folly of the Munich agreements, it is at least certain that in 1938 the British people were in no way morally prepared to fight Hitler; they had not yet been convinced that peace was impossible. In 1939, after Chamberlain had gone to the limits of concession, and farther, the British people had no hesitation and no remorse. Hitler's mistake in believing that appeasement meant surrender led him through triumph to complete disaster; we need not assume that the Communist leaders cannot read recent history.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Symbol of a New South . . *by Alfred Maund*

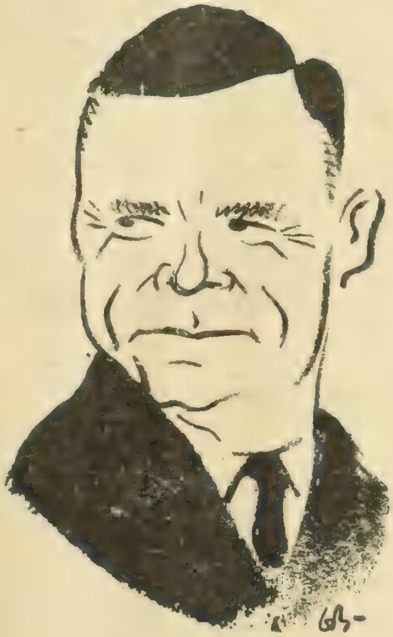
Montgomery, Ala.

WE WERE seated around a table in a garden, the remains of a picnic supper before us. Our host, Aubrey Williams, told an anecdote about Senator McKellar. The truculent Tennesseean had been unhappy about the size of the staff of the National Youth Administration, of which Williams was administrator in 1935-39. "'How many lawyers do you have?' he asked me at this budget hearing, and I said, 'Fourteen.' 'How many words are there in the law setting up the N. Y. A.?' he asked. I said I didn't know. The showy old so-and-so made the clerk count them. He came up with some total—fifteen hundred words, maybe. McKellar made him divide that by fourteen. Then he said to me, 'It seems, Mr. Williams, that you have a lawyer for every 100 words of the law. I find it hard to believe that the law is that complex.'"

Everyone laughed. Then a professor of some social science or other at the University of Alabama asked, "When was this?"

"Oh, about '38 or '39."

"Toward the end, then," the professor murmured and seemed to jot down, mentally, some sort of note. I was angered—perhaps wrongly. I could not help feeling that Williams was being regarded as a relic from the theoretically interesting New Deal era.



Aubrey Williams

I have heard it said that "Aubrey Williams never got over his taste of power in the New Deal, or his sudden descent from Presidential favor." I know little about his government career—I was a beneficiary of the N. Y. A. at the time. I have been told, also, that a Presbyterian minister from Montgomery led a delegation to Washington to protest his nomination as N. Y. A. administrator on the ground that he was "too socialistic."

I first met Aubrey Williams last year in Columbia, South Carolina, at an interracial youth conference arranged by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which he is president. Tall, gaunt, in a loose black overcoat, slow and laconic in speech, he made one think of Abraham Lincoln—the more so in the way he wittily tormented and awed the very intense newspaper reporter who could not understand how a decent Southerner could speak harshly of Governor Byrnes.

Aubrey Williams, I learned, is not a fossil but a very living figure. As publisher and editor of the *Southern Farm and Home*, with a circulation of nearly a million, he puts out the only farm magazine that challenges the fertilizer and implement trusts, that mentions the Negro and his problems, that espouses the United Nations. For such impiety he is deprived of the national advertising that is the reward of better house-broken editors, but by vigorous effort he survives.

In other business enterprises he has

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been as daring. No one in Birmingham would build housing for Negroes because they were "poor credit risks." Williams obtained some Northern capital and built. The success of the undertaking was so outstanding that local real-estate interests rushed into similar ventures.

Williams was president of the Alabama Farmers' Union until its charter was rescinded in 1951 by the National Farmers' Union because membership had fallen below the constitutionally set minimum. "It was a hard time to organize farmers," he has said. "We'd try to set up a co-op to guarantee $2.40 a bushel for potatoes, but potatoes were bringing $3.60 on the open market." He traveled all over the deep South in behalf of the N. F. U. When he named some of the towns in Louisiana, my home state, in which he made organizing speeches, I shuddered.

Against the Dixiecrat surge that stole Alabama's electoral votes in 1948 Williams stood fast, making radio and stump speeches damning the movement. As president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund he heads the only South-wide organization of whites and Negroes which categorically condemns racial segregation. In 1951 the Alabama branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gave him a citation for his contribution to race relations. At the Democratic convention in Chicago last year he testified in favor of a strong Fair Employment Practices plank, saying that he was unable to hire skilled Negro labor because of the opposition of the typographical union in his plant.

Montgomery, "Cradle of the Confederacy," is a locale inhospitable to sanguine liberalism. "The average Negro's life here is worth less than a dog's," Williams said bitterly. Only a few days before a Negro tenant farmer had come to him with this story: The farmer had gone to the registrar's office to sign up to vote. The registrar told him he better forget the whole idea if he knew what was good for him. The farmer left. The next day he went fishing. Two white men carrying rifles appeared. He started running through the woods toward his home. They followed at an angle, as if to cut him off. He outran them, but as he crossed the last hundred yards of clearing to his house they fired a threatening farewell shot past his head.

Williams sharply criticized Negro leadership in the area. No Negro college president in Alabama, he said, will permit speakers on the campus to attack segregation. Most Negro educators and other professional men refuse to join any movement working to eliminate it. Although Williams enjoys many friends in the Negro community, he is considered a "dangerous man" by as many more.

"If the Supreme Court outlaws segregation in the school system I expect the people around here will burn our house down for lack of anything else to do," he said. "Only yesterday I had to go ten blocks out of my way to get a haircut. Don't tell my family this, but when I walked into the biggest barbershop in town, every barber in the place turned his back—they didn't want my business."

He accepts this hostility as the natural consequence of his opposition to a morally bankrupt status quo. Out of a sober optimism that cannot envisage a South where the social views he holds do not have at least a fighting chance, he believes they will eventually prevail.

# GARBAGE COLLECTOR

A Short Story . . *by Ray Bradbury*

THIS is how his work was: he got up at five in the cold dark morning and washed his face with warm water if the heater was working and cold water if the heater was not working. He shaved carefully, talking out to his wife in the kitchen, who was fixing ham and eggs or pancakes or whatever it was that morning. By six o'clock he was driving on his way to work alone, and parking his car in the big yard where all the other men parked their cars as the sun was coming up. The colors of the sky that time of morning were orange and blue and violet and sometimes very red and sometimes yellow or a clear color like water on white rock. Some mornings he could see his breath on the air and some mornings he could not. But as the sun was still rising he knocked his fist on the side of the green truck, and his driver, smiling and saying hello, would climb in the other side of the truck and they would drive out into the great city and go down all the streets until they came to the place where they started work.

Sometimes, on the way, they stopped for black coffee and then went on, the warmness in them. And they began to work, which meant that he jumped off in front of each house and picked up the garbage cans and brought them back and took off their lids and knocked them against the bin edge, which made the orange peels and cantaloupe rinds and coffee grounds fall out and thump down and begin to fill the empty truck. There were always steak bones and the heads of fish and pieces of green onion and stale celery. If the garbage was new it wasn't so bad, but if it was very old it was bad. He was not sure if he liked the job or not, but it was a job and he did it well, talking about it a lot at some times and sometimes not thinking of it in any way at all. Some days the job was wonderful, for you

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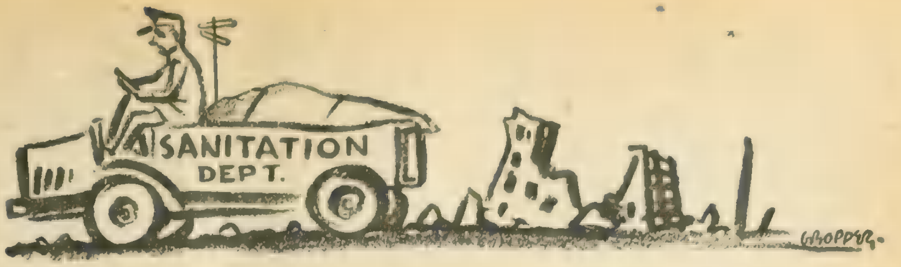
Copyright, 1953, by Ray Bradbury. The author's latest book is "Golden Apples of the Sun," published by Doubleday.

were out early and the air was cool and fresh until you had worked too long and the sun got hot and the garbage steamed early. But mostly it was a job significant enough to keep him busy and calm and looking at the houses and cut lawns he passed by and seeing how everybody lived. And once or twice a month he was surprised to find that he loved the job and that it was the finest job in the world.

It went on just that way for many years. And then suddenly the job changed for him. It changed in a single day. Later he often wondered how a job could change so much in such a few short hours.

HE WALKED into the apartment and did not see his wife or hear her voice, but she was there, and he walked to a chair and let her stand away from him, watching him as he touched the chair and sat down in it without saying a word. He sat there for a long time. "What's wrong?" At last her voice came through to him. She must have said it three or four times. "Wrong?" He looked at this woman and, yes, it was his wife all right, it was someone he knew, and this was their apartment with the tall ceilings and the worn carpeting. "Something happened at work today," he said. She waited for him. "On my garbage truck, something happened." His tongue moved dryly on his lips, and his eyes shut over his seeing until there was all blackness and no light of any sort and it was like standing alone in a room when you got out of bed in the middle of a dark night. "I think I'm going to quit my job. Try to understand." "Understand!" she cried. "It can't be helped. This is all the strangest damned thing that ever happened to me in my life."

He opened his eyes and sat there, his hands feeling cold when he rubbed his thumbs and forefingers together, "The thing that happened was strange." "Well, don't just sit there!" He took part of a newspaper from the pocket of his leather jacket. "This is today's paper," he said. "December 10, 1951. Los Angeles *Times* Civil Defense Bulletin. It says they're building radios for our garbage trucks." "Well, what's so bad about a little music?" "No music, you don't understand. No music." He opened his rough hand and drew with one clean fingernail, slowly, trying to put everything there where he could see it and she could see it. "In this article the mayor says they'll put sending and receiving apparatus on every garbage truck in town." He squinted at his hand. "After the atom bombs hit our city, those radios will talk to us. And then our garbage trucks will go pick up the bodies." "Well, that seems practical. When—" "The garbage trucks," he said, "go out and pick up all the bodies." "You can't just leave bodies around, can you? You've got to take them and—" His wife shut her mouth very slowly. She blinked, one time only, and she did this very slowly also. He watched that one slow blink of her eyes. Then, with a turn of her body, as if someone else had turned it for her, she walked to a chair, paused, thought how to do it, and sat down, very straight and still. She said nothing. He listened to his wrist watch ticking, but with only a small part of his attention.



At last she laughed. "They were joking!" He shook his head. He felt his head moving from left to right and from right to left, as slowly as everything else had happened. "No. They put a receiver on my truck today. They said, at the alert, if you're working, dump your garbage anywhere. When we radio you, get in there and haul out the dead." Some water in the kitchen boiled over loudly. She let it boil for five seconds and then held the arm of the chair with one hand and got up and found the door and went out. The boiling sound stopped. She stood in the door and then walked back to where he still sat, not moving, his head in one position only.

"It's all blueprinted out. They have squads, sergeants, captains, corporals, everything," he said. "We even know where to bring the bodies." "So you've been thinking about it all day," she said. "All day since this morning. I thought: Maybe now I don't want to be a garbage collector any more. It used to be Tom and me had fun with a kind of game. You got to do that. Garbage is bad. But if you work at it you can make a game. Tom and me did that. We watched people's garbage. We saw what kind they had. Steak bones in rich houses, lettuce and orange peel in poor ones. Sure it's silly, but a guy's got to make his work as good as he can and worth while or why in hell do it? And you're your own boss, in a way, on a truck. You get out early in the morning and it's an outdoor job, anyway; you see the sun come up and you see the town get up, and that's not bad at all. But now, today, all of a sudden it's not the kind of job for me any more."

HIS WIFE started to talk swiftly. She named a lot of things and she talked about a lot more, but before she got very far he cut gently across her talking. "I know, I know, the kids and school, our car, I know," he said. "And bills, and money and credit. But what about that farm Dad left us? Why can't we move there, away from cities? I know a little about farming. We could stock up, hole in, have enough to live on for months if anything happened." She said nothing. "Sure, all of our friends are here in town," he went on reasonably. "And movies and shows and the kids' friends, and—" She took a deep breath. "Can't we think it over a few more days?" "I don't know. I'm afraid of that. I'm afraid if I think it over, about my truck and my new work, I'll get used to it. And, O Christ, it just doesn't seem right a man, a human being, should ever let himself get used to any idea like that." She shook her head slowly, looking at the windows, the gray walls, the dark pictures on the walls. She tightened her hands. She started to open her mouth. "I'll think tonight," he said. "I'll stay up awhile. By morning I'll know what to do." "Be careful with the children. It wouldn't be good, their knowing all this."

"I'll be careful." "Let's not talk any more, then I'll finish dinner!" She jumped up and put her hands to her face and then looked at her hands and at the sunlight in the windows. "Why, the kids'll be home any minute." "I'm not very hungry." "You got to eat, you just got to keep on going." She hurried off, leaving him alone in the middle of a room where not a breeze stirred the curtains, and only the gray ceiling hung over him with a lonely bulb unlit in it. He massaged his face with both hands. He got up and stood alone in the dining-room door and walked forward and felt himself sit down and remain seated in a dining-room chair. He saw his hands spread on the white tablecloth, open and empty. "All afternoon," he said, "I've thought." She moved through the kitchen, rattling silverware, crashing pans against the silence that was everywhere. "Wondering," he said, "if you put the bodies in the trucks lengthwise or endwise, with the heads on the right, or the feet on the right. Men and women together, or separated? Children in one truck, or mixed with men and women? Dogs in special trucks, or just let them lay? Wondering how many bodies one garbage truck can hold. And wondering if you stack them on top of each other and finally knowing you must just have to. I can't figure it. I can't work it out. I try, but there's no guessing, no guessing at all how many you could stack in one single truck."

He sat thinking of how it was late in the day at his work, with the truck full and the canvas pulled over the great bulk of garbage so the bulk shaped the canvas in an uneven mound. And how it was if you suddenly pulled the canvas back and looked in. And for a few seconds you saw the white things like macaroni or noodles, only the white things were alive and boiling up, millions of them. And when the white things felt the hot sun on them they simmered down and burrowed and were gone in the lettuce and the old ground beer and the coffee grounds and the heads of white fish.

After ten seconds of sunlight the white things that looked like noodles or macaroni were gone and the great bulk of garbage silent and not moving, and you drew the canvas over the bulk and looked at how the canvas folded unevenly over the hidden collection, and underneath you knew it was dark again, and things beginning to move as they must always move when things got dark.

He was still sitting there in the empty room when the front door of the apartment burst wide. His son and daughter rushed in, laughing, and saw him sitting there, and stopped.

Their mother ran to the kitchen door, held to the edge of it quickly, and stared at her family. They saw her face and they heard her voice:

"Sit down, children, sit down!" She lifted one hand and pushed it toward them. "You're just in time."

MAN OF DISTINCTION

The Distillers Like Velde . . *by Richard S. Lewis*

Peoria, Ill.

THERE is hardly a more substantial Republican redoubt in the Middle West than the Eighteenth Congressional District of Illinois, a prosperous industrial region in the valley of the Illinois River. The district has been sending an unbroken line of Republicans to Congress for forty years. Its present representative is Harold Himmel Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Velde occupies the House seat vacated five years ago by Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Velde and Dirksen have become commanding figures in the post-war resurgence of the G. O. P.'s right wing. Both reflect the economic point of view and political purpose of the district's Republican organization, which independents and liberal Republicans believe is as reactionary a district machine as one can find in Illinois. Both come from the city of Pekin, a market place and manufacturing center of 22,000. Pekin is part of the district's industrial hub, which is dominated by Peoria a dozen miles away. The manufacturing and liquor interests of this hub have ruled the district for half a century with the support of the upland farmers, who constitute a dependable Republican majority.

But in spite of their common political environment, Velde and Dirksen have strikingly dissimilar political techniques. Dirksen is of the old school with its tradition of defending the status quo. He is a spellbinder, and his oratory is old-fashioned political evangelism. This appeals to the farmers but has little effect on the factory workers, most of whom don't vote for him. He performs most successfully on a wooden platform on a warm night, with the perspiration glistening on his face under the floodlights, his hair disheveled and his arms raised in supplication, exultation, or despair. While it is frequently difficult to remember just what he said, the emotion a Dirksen speech generates stays with the listeners long after they have gone home.

Compared to the Golden Throat of Illinois Republicanism, Velde is tongue-tied. His platform attitude is somewhat like that of a country sheriff explaining a charge against a chicken thief. He is a perfunctory handshaker, and his personal campaigning tends to be drab. But district leaders say that while Dirksen talks Velde acts.

Velde's aggressive crusade against political heresy is something new in the district, which has usually been satisfied if its representatives promised a reasonable amount of federal patronage and pork-barrel legislation. Velde's committee hearings have attracted much more attention than Dirksen's declamations, the valley voters have noted. Some have watched him widen his attack on teachers and churchmen with growing

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apprehension. Now and then one of his fellow-townsmen speaks out in protest. Such a one was Velde's pastor, the Reverend Joseph H. Albrecht of Pekin's First Methodist Church, who characterized the Congressman's promise to hunt for subversives in the churches as a threat to democratic institutions.

Velde's rise to the chairmanship of the Un-American Activities Committee does not appear to have strengthened his position in the district; instead it has provided a focus for the opposition of members of his own party. Independent Republicans have been supporting Velde's Democratic opponents in the last two Congressional elections, but this anti-Velde united front has not made much headway against the dominant habit of voting a straight party ticket. The independent Republicans are determined to bench him in the 1954 primary, the only practical way of retiring a Republican from elective office in the Eighteenth Congressional District.

VELDE IS forty-three years old, tall, handsome, and usually unsmiling. He was born in Springlake Township near Pekin, of German ancestry. After graduating from Northwestern University and later studying law, he joined an uncle in the Pekin law firm of Prettyman and Velde.

In World War II Velde enlisted in the Signal Corps but was called from the ranks to join the sabotage and counter-espionage section of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with which he remained through the war. When he left the F. B. I. he returned to Pekin, where as a veteran and lawyer with substantial family background he found it easy to enter politics. Elected county judge in 1946, he presided over probate and insanity hearings until Dirksen's decision to retire, temporarily, from Congress in 1948 left Pekin Republicans without a candidate to run in the primary.

As a matter of civic pride and practical foresight Pekin politicians compete vigorously with Peoria for the district's representative in Congress. A group of Pekin men, including F. F. McNaughton, publisher of the Pekin *Daily Times,* and Dirksen, decided to back Velde as Dirksen's successor. Four other candidates filed, and Velde found himself in the middle of a five-man Republican primary which so split up the vote that anything could happen. His strongest opponents were two religious leaders who had the "church vote"—the support of those who wage unceasing battle against liquor, vice, and gambling in Peoria and Pekin.

Representative Velde

At first not many Republicans considered Velde a serious contender. Then organization support appeared behind him, and his campaign blossomed out with all the trimmings. Adopting the slogan, "Get the Reds out of Washington and Washington out of the red," he toured the district and discoursed on the evils of communism, socialism, and the Fair Deal.

It was during this campaign that one of Velde's backers launched an attack on the clergy in the candidate's behalf. A letter issued from Velde's campaign headquarters and signed by the late W. H. De Garis, then chairman of the board of the Illinois Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, warned the liquor industry that it had better support Velde or the district might send a "preacher" to Congress. Since the Peoria-Pekin area contains one of the largest concentrations of liquor manufacturing in the world, the warning had force. The letter exhorted "all tavern keepers, distributors, distilleries, and everyone connected with the liquor industry" to "wake up" and prevent a dry from going to Congress. "We know that Judge Velde will protect our interests," it added.

There is dispute as to De Garis's actual role in the campaign. Some Republicans say he was Velde's campaign manager, but others say he acted on his own in lining up the liquor industry to back Velde, who was supported by other valley industries from steel products to punch boards. Organized labor, independents, and "church people" opposed him. This alignment still continues.

The two clergymen split the independents in the primary and Velde squeaked through to win the nomination. In the election Velde carried the district by a plurality of 4,964 votes out of 118,340 cast for major party candidates. He lost in his own county of Tazewell and in his home town of Pekin.

In the Eighty-first Congress, Velde opposed economic aid to Korea, extension of the E. C. A., extension of rent control and public housing. He voted for cuts in federal spending, additional farm-price supports, reduction of commodity-speculation controls, and cuts in arms to Europe. In the Eighty-second Congress his voting followed the same pattern—for cuts in economic aid to Europe, ending consumer price controls, use of the Taft-Hartley act to end the steel strike, overriding President Truman's veto of the omnibus immigration act, and farm-price supports at 90 per cent of parity.

The Un-American Activities Committee now takes up all of his time. People in the district were amused when he confused Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the chairman of the board of the Washington *Post,* with a Mrs. Mayer in British Columbia, and when he proposed that the Librarian of Congress compile a list of subversive material in the library's millions of volumes. But his attack on non-conforming clergymen struck a sour note back home.

It is evident now that some of Velde's backers are dropping away, especially the group headed by McNaughton. The publisher's son, John T. McNaughton, ran as Velde's Democratic opponent last fall and was swamped in the Eisenhower landslide. Velde's supporters believe that he will become politically invincible if he can prevent future slips. But they are also aware that he will never control the district organization as long as Dirksen is around as senior partner.

The movement in Pekin and Peoria to retire Velde from Congress is growing. If he runs for reelection, his opponents are prepared to meet him in the primary with a weapon he has forged for them himself—his record as chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

BOOKS

Sex without Love

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN FEMALE. By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, Paul H. Gebhard, Research Associates; and Others on the Staff of the Institute for Sex Research, Indiana University. W. B. Saunders Company. $8.

By Hadley Cantril

AS NEARLY every reader of newspapers and magazines knows by now, the second Kinsey report is out. That the publication of a huge scientific tome of 842 pages makes news indicates the vast ignorance of most of us concerning the sexual behavior of our fellow human beings and our natural curiosity to check our own behavior against that of others in a world of experience which has remained guarded and private. How private this world is and how overlaid with both culturally and personally erected barriers of communication is reflected by the fact that there appears to be no common word in the English language, in the form of either a noun or a verb, that is used in polite conversation to describe the act of sexual intercourse. The word "coitus" found in the dictionary and used by Dr. Kinsey has a rather animalistic and scientific ring.

The book is another daring exploit by four dedicated scientists, who give us in this volume a summary of the answers of 5,940 white females to a battery of some three hundred questions. All the interviewing was done by the four co-authors; two of them completed over 80 per cent of the interviews, certainly a staggering piece of labor by anyone's standards. It is also not without significance that the work of Dr. Kinsey's Institute for Sex Research received financial aid from the Medical Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, which contributed its grants through a special committee set up by the National Research Council. To have two such august bodies lending guidance and support to studies of sex behavior is itself an event—an indication of how our norms have changed concerning areas of legitimate research.

The significance of Dr. Kinsey's report can only be truly evaluated after the passing of years. Some of the prepublication reviews in slick-paper magazines seemed to me grossly misleading. One reviewer concluded that women were not interested in sex; other reviewers said they knew all along what Dr. Kinsey and his co-workers meticulously had to discover for themselves; others have concentrated on the mass of minute statistical data provided. A review of the reviews may sometime make an interesting survey.

In spite of its bold title the book is restricted to a straightforward quantitative study—rather typical of current "behavioral research"—of the sexual behavior and practices of a sample of certain groups of women in the United States. The "sexual behavior" of females is described in the limited sense of the word, with such units of measurement as "erotic response," "coitus," "orgasm," and so on. As the authors themselves are careful to point out, the sample is definitely biased on what we might call the "sophisticated" side. However, readers of the book will also represent the more sophisticated sample of the population, and as the authors state, "the generalizations drawn for the sample may not be too far from the actuality for those segments of the American population."

As a social scientist I feel that the chief value of Kinsey's report is in giving us some insight into the role sexual behavior plays in the life of an individual human being. Dr. Kinsey and his co-authors are dealing here with one of the great and basic rhythms of life, a rhythm which is common to all normal human beings, male and female, but which each of us must cope with in his or her particular unique way.

Too often both the social scientist and the layman are apt to think in terms of an "average" man or woman. There is, of course, no such creature. The authors repeatedly warn us on this score:

> The record will have misled the reader if he fails to note this emphasis on the range of variation, and fails to realize that he or she probably does not fit any calculated medium or mean, and may in actuality depart to a considerable degree from all of the averages which have been presented. The difficulty lies in the fact that one has to deal with averages in order to compare the most characteristic aspects of two different groups, but such averages do not adequately emphasize the individual variation which is the most persistent reality in human sexual behavior.

PERHAPS we can better evaluate the larger meaning of Dr. Kinsey's figures if we think of sexual behavior as one of the normal transactions of life rather than as an isolated behavioral act. If we view living itself as an organism's attempt to create a set of conditions within which it can carry out its purposes, then we can begin to see the significance of the innumerable activities that are covered by the broad term "sexual behavior." Lying behind all such activities is the process the biologist calls "homeostasis," the tendency of the organism to achieve physiological equilibrium. The homeostatic processes concerned with sexual behavior, unlike those concerned with cellular reproduction, oxygen consumption, and the like, are of course accompanied by an emotional awareness. But for the human being there is far more to living than the maintenance of physiological equilibrium. A characteristic of being human is to have a capacity to appreciate satisfactions that have complex and subtle value overtones and that we describe by such words as friendship, companionship, devotion, love, hate, anger, lust, and envy. The way these value overtones are themselves experienced is in large part determined by the cultural and situational influences to which the particular individual is exposed.

The human being seems destined by his nature never to enjoy the full satisfaction of sexual behavior unless it is an interdependent aspect of that relationship between people we call "love"—

HADLEY CANTRIL, chairman of the Department of Psychology and director of the office of Opinion Research at Princeton University, is the author of "The 'Why' of Man's Experience" and co-author with William Buchanan of "How Nations See Each Other, a Study in Public Opinion," published last month.

a situation which exists when the satisfaction *another* person derives from experience is a crucially important and necessary aspect of the satisfaction you derive from *your own* experience. Sexual behavior, then, when limited to the purely reflexive processes that may bring orgasm obviously never provides the value overtones which individuals are ultimately seeking. Merely to achieve orgasm is a very different experience from achieving the full and mutual participation of the love relationship. And one cannot achieve this experience of love by traveling the road of sexual behavior on the emotional reflexive level in the hope that greater values will be at the other end. On the contrary, the history of mankind and the observations of its poets, philosophers, psychologists, and psychiatrists indicate that the height of sexual passion itself is reached only if one initiates sexual behavior at the top value level. The point is brought home in a remark which I believe is in one of Erskine Caldwell's books describing the philosophy of a girl of rather loose morals in a Southern town who said, "When I likes 'em I lets 'em; when I loves 'em I helps." And we remember that Juliet said to Romeo, "The more I give to thee, the more I have."

The authors do state that "what an individual does sexually will depend on the nature of the stimulus with which he or she comes into contact, on the physical and physiologic capacities of the individual to respond to that stimulus, and on the nature and extent of the individual's previous experience with similar stimuli." The point I wish to make and the point that Dr. Kinsey and his co-workers have not yet got to in their studies is that the "nature of the stimulus" is in large part a creation of the individual who is being stimulated and that the particular significance he assigns to particular tactile sensations varies enormously according to the particular orchestration of behavior—including value relationships and purposes as well as reflexes and blood pressure—of which tactile sensations are only one aspect. While Dr. Kinsey and his co-workers hold out the hope that they will later consider more thoroughly problems of motivation and attitude, it is perhaps not without significance that the word "love" is not found in the index of the present volume on sexual behavior. To get at all the factors an individual takes into account when he indulges in any form of sexual behavior is more than a matter of emphasis and will require an entirely new kind of methodological approach designed to uncover all the influences, from the simple reflexive level to the highest value level, that operate in the unique behavioral situation constituted by any sexual activity.

ONE OF THE fascinating threads to follow through the chapters is the way women have to learn how to achieve increasing sexual satisfaction. Only about 5 per cent of the sample indicated that they had received anything more than very casual information from parents or religious instruction. Learning has to come through one's own experiences. Ninety per cent of the women had petting experiences prior to marriage, two-thirds of the married women had experienced orgasm prior to marriage, nearly 50 per cent had had coitus before marriage. In the light of Dr. Kinsey's total picture, and of the fact that more than three-fourths of the married women who had had pre-marital coitus expressed no regret, the evidence is clear that the earlier sex relationships with their problems and frustrations can be regarded both by the individual and by society at large as opportunities for sexual development and for increasing the sense of personal responsibility accompanying personal choice. To learn how to choose and how to achieve greater satisfactions, an individual must experience the consequences of his own actions.

If we consider sexual behavior as an aspect of the total transaction of living in which human beings are trying to work out conditions that will constantly enrich the *quality* of their experiences, Dr. Kinsey's findings appear intrinsically reasonable and begin to fit together into more of a pattern than emerges from the rather strictly biological framework of the book. As the individual has increasingly valueful hetero-sexual experiences within the social and legal framework as a result of the affection, respect, and sense of obligation that most marriages do seem to nurture, other sources of gratification begin to dwindle. When such conditions cannot be found, then erotic stimulation and orgasm continue to be obtained in other ways.

In this second book the authors make clear their own impatience with current legalities, and the footnotes in the book describing the laws in some states are eye-openers:

> It is not to be forgotten that our sex laws and public opinion are so far out of accord with common and everyday patterns of sexual behavior that many persons might become involved in social or legal difficulties if their sexual histories became publicly known.

But Dr. Kinsey has not yet by any means squarely faced the problem of acquiring a sense of responsibility—which is, to repeat, always the other side of the coin *if* one looks on sexual behavior as something more than coitus.

> It takes two sexes to carry on the business of our human social organization; but men will never learn to get along better with women, or women with men, until each understands the other as they are and not as they hope or imagine them to be. We cannot believe that social relations between the sexes, and sexual relations in particular, can ever be improved if we continue to be deluded by the longstanding fictions about the similarities, identities, and differences which are supposed to exist between men and women.

The authors have made bold and im-

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portant beginnings in their two published books. If in their further studies they can shed light on the significance of the sexual behavior of men and women as human beings endowed with the capacity to experience love, devotion, sacrifice, choice, responsibility, guilt, anxiety, and frustration rather than as males and females having erotic experiences through petting, masturbating, homosexuality, or coitus, then they will truly be on their way to contributions of even greater social and scientific importance.

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"The China Tangle," by Herbert Feis, will be reviewed by O. Edmund Clubb.

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The first twelve titles of this series concern Degas, El Greco, Toulouse-Lautrec, Renoir, Matisse, Cézanne, Botticelli, the French Impressionists, Dufy, Van Gogh, Utrillo, and Rembrandt. Twelve other titles are announced for the near future. These superb little books give many times their value in their texts, abundance of illustrations, and the quality and size of their twenty color plates, six of which double or even treble the size of the page by use of the double spread or the folded sheet. There are twenty supplementary illustrations of excellent quality in black and white. Although the books measure less than five by seven inches, ingenious layout has made it possible to include varied shapes of picture without resort to cropping (with a very few exceptions).

The introductory essays and commentaries on individual works are well written and though addressed to a very general audience are marked by a high degree of intelligence and perceptiveness. The writers include Professor Wilhelm Koehler of Harvard (Rembrandt), Daniel Catton Rich of the Art Institute of Chicago (Degas), Clement Greenberg (Matisse), and Theodore Rousseau, Jr., curator of painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Cézanne). A less well-known writer, Sam Hunter, formerly critic for the New York *Times*, has produced, within the necessary sharp limits of space, a brilliant and incisive account of Toulouse-Lautrec.

It would be irrelevant if not impudent to criticize the color plates from the standard, say, of Abrams's ten-dollar series of monographs, though the cover, on glossy paper, is of similarly high quality. Otherwise the plates are on soft stock which dilutes their intensity and is especially hostile to dark pictures. Pastels (Degas) and paintings in high-keyed flat tones (Lautrec) come through much better.

The important thing to consider about these books is not their technical shortcomings but the influence they may very well have in bringing the work of great artists to a vast new public, and bringing it in an intelligent and dignified way. They should help to raise the general cultural level, as some of the drugstore art books with their leering biographical commentary have not been able to do. We wish this new series success in all quarters, including drugstores.

"The Language of the Center"

PURITY OF DICTION IN ENGLISH VERSE. By Donald Davie. Oxford. $3.

Donald Davie, an Irishman from Trinity College, Dublin, is not only a profoundly perceptive reader but one who believes that the normal resources of urbane English are adequate to the discussion of English literature. Too many of our critics seem bent on anatomizing literature into a technical glossary whose basic principle is a distrust of the very language in whose gardens they peep and botanize.

Davie begins with a reexamination of the currently unfashionable late-eighteenth-century poets. Acknowledging ours as an age of romantic (extravagant) diction and granting that sort of diction its own merits, he asks if there are not certain pleasures in poetry for which we have forgotten to look—the kind one finds, for example, in the precision and rightness of Sam Johnson's line: "For such the steady Romans shook the world." After a careful and rewarding examination of many examples, Davie

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evolves a definition and a theory of pure, or "chaste," diction. The elements of a chaste diction in his mind are, first, economy and aptness in the use of metaphor, and second, in Arnold's phrase, "the language of the center"—that is, neither extravagant idiosyncrasy nor common speech but the perfection of common speech attuned to the precision of urbane prose, and so used as to revivify the root metaphors of the language. He is arguing, that is, with Valéry for the purification of the language of the tribe.

Davie is not an original critic in the sense that he generates new concepts of literature. What distinguishes him is the forceful and pleasant presence of mind in all he does. If he is the child of the new—not necessarily New—criticism, he is also one of those who bring it to maturity.

Geologist and Poet

CONVERSATION WITH THE EARTH. A GEOLOGIST'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Hans Cloos. Translated from the German by E. B. Garside. Edited and Slightly Abridged by Ernst Cloos and Curt Dietz. Knopf. $5.75.

Geology is a difficult science to present in popular form because so many isolated facts have to be grasped before they can be put together in an intelligible picture. Since books for the layman are fewer in this field than in that of any of the other major sciences, the curious might well have a go at these informal observations by the late distinguished head of the geology department at the University of Bonn. Readers will find no systematic introduction to geology, but they will get a feel for the structure of mountains and plains and seas as phenomena having decipherable meanings, and they will also get glimpses of how a geologist goes about his job. Cloos writes with enthusiasm, passion, and a poet's grasp of his subject. His wide wanderings carried him to South Africa and the American Southwest.

Duel of Spies

LONDON CALLING NORTH POLE. By H. J. Giskes. British Book Center. $3.50.

A curious episode in the duel of spies and counter-spies. In 1942 the author, while serving as chief of German military counter-espionage in the Low Countries, seized a British agent and persuaded him to continue acting as a radio link. He did so, presuming that London would realize he was under German control, since his instructions in case of capture had been to garble every sixteenth letter of his dispatches. But owing, apparently, to carelessness on the part of London, the warning went unnoticed, with the result that the Germans received much valuable information and were able to disrupt the British spy net.

Seaside Society

THE SLEEPING BEAUTY. By Elizabeth Taylor. Viking. $3.

This is another of those charming and unimportant novels by the Perceptive School of English lady writers. Mrs. Taylor is a master of small and sensitive perceptions, as she again reveals in this tale of a perennial bachelor (who has married secretly), a heroine who has been recently widowed, an attractive neighbor, and English vacation society. There are very witty scenes here among

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the seaside ladies who are trying to keep young in the usual feminine ways; there are some touching moments between the widow and a son with whom she has no rapport. Mrs. Taylor is almost a first-rate talent, but it is a pity that her gifts are so much greater in these small episodes than in the larger matters of human character and experience. In her case we might say that the sum of the parts of the novel are greater than the whole; the book is highly entertaining, and far from good.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

SEEING Ethel Waters in her one-woman show (at the Forty-eighth Street Theater) and "Take a Giant Step" with its largely Negro cast (at the Lyceum), I was reminded of a story told about Bernard Shaw in the thirties. A visiting American who went to see Shaw was asked by him about the progress and problems of our Federal Theater Project. The American reported that among other difficulties there was some trouble in certain cities over white actors who objected to appearing with colored ones. Shaw remarked that he didn't blame the white actors. The American gasped at this heresy. "What chance has a white actor with a Negro actor beside him?" Shaw queried.

Negroes have a vividness and vitality on the stage all their own. They have in addition a remarkable sense of our spoken language, rare among any but a few Irish actors. English actors often speak well, but the excellence of their speech is more a matter of fine articulation and the design of sentences than gusto or the faculty to savor individual words. In the mouth of a good Negro actor English acquires a richness of timbre and a sensuousness which constitute the true music of speech.

Ethel Waters is a formidable woman. Above and beyond the peculiar racial characteristics, she possesses a wealth and depth of human experience more potent than talent itself. There are a goodly number of proficient actors on our stage, but precious few who are interesting people. And in acting, as in the other arts, real quality has its source and acquires significance through the human material from which it emerges. Ethel Waters strikes us not as a "performer" but as a force. She does not need to put anything over; she exists as an element. She is not "natural"; she is nature.

That is why I prefer her least "sensational" numbers. There are a purity of feeling and a subtlety of statement in her rendition of such spirituals as "Motherless Chile" and "Crucifixion"—which she retains in "Cabin in the Sky"—that surpass all her showmanship. In the other numbers she is tremendously clever, even when her vocal equipment fails her; in the spirituals she satisfies something greater than our need for entertainment.

SOMETHING OF that purity, a reduction to the most artless terms of basic human sentiments, may be found in young Louis Peterson's first play "Take a Giant Step," the portrayal of an eighteen-year-old Negro boy's first stumblings toward adult consciousness. It may be argued that this play offers nothing new: the scenes with the boy's parents, with the prostitutes, with his first woman, and with his white playmates—all these have been presented before in countless narratives of adolescence. Let those who argue in this vein be satisfied with the correctness of their statistics. They miss the point—and the pleasure. What is fresh and poignant in "Take a Giant Step" is the particular color, immediacy, and urgency of its feeling—a kind of emotional frankness, a wry naivete, and a rough goodness of heart that smack of something truly native, original in tone, and unmistakably lived.

That there are awkward, unfulfilled, and possibly even trite moments disturbs me very little. O'Casey isn't as adroit as Coward; O'Neill isn't as smart as the writers of our entertainment industries. Plays like "Take a Giant Step" enhance our understanding and love of American life. It is perhaps only a seed, but from such seeds flowers may grow. Most of show business is only window dressing. Our aversion to crudity in the theater is not a sign of taste; it is a commercial vice—inspired by the psychology of ticket agents and booking offices.

Though uneven, the production of "Take a Giant Step" is basically sound. Its most accomplished actor is Frederick O'Neal, a man of unusual resources, but unfortunately his part here is small. Jane White is handsome and distinguished. Practically everyone in the cast is sympathetic. In the central role Louis Gossett is particularly winning in his quieter and more relaxed moments. He does not command enough craftsmanship to manage the whole range of his difficult part with easy elasticity. But he gives us a warm sense of honesty and cleanness of spirit—invaluable assets in a play of this kind. One leaves the theater with the reassuring impression that there are still some sensitive and healthy folk among us. Too often we are oppressed by a feeling of being surrounded by abominably suave salesmen and tricksters.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IRVING KOLODIN'S "The Story of the Metropolitan Opera" (Knopf, $7.50) begins with a chapter, Patrons and Purposes, which tells how the social ambitions of the new millionaires of the eighties, who were denied boxes in the Academy of Music by the old millionaires, led them to build the Metropolitan Opera House and arrange to have opera produced in it, and describes the part these men and their successors played in the subsequent history of the building and the producing companies. The next chapter, House and Home, discusses the characteristics and defects of the building as a theater, and gives its history as a meeting-place of New York's aristocracy of wealth. Then comes the major portion of the book, Opera and Artists, with a season-by-season listing, description, and evaluation of operas, performing artists, and productions from the opening in 1883 through the season of 1951-52.

An unavoidable weakness of the book is that it must derive its evaluations of the early seasons from contemporary newspaper reviews by critics some of whom are no more worth reading now than they were then, and even the best of whom, W. J. Henderson, shakes one's confidence with his opinion that Verdi's "Don Carlo" was "both tuneless and unvocal" and "machine-made from beginning to end." Kolodin does his own evaluating of recent seasons; but I have described in this column some of the experiences with his critical writing that have made it not writing I would read for information about a work or performance.

A major defect of his earlier book on the Metropolitan was its endless descriptions of casts and changes of casts, which he justified by the fact that the book was intended as a factual record for reference purposes. The new book seems to me to have less of this material, possibly because the complete record is now available in the Seltsam book which simply gives all the casts in block style. But there is still too much, some of it concerned with appearances by obscure singers that are of no importance whatever. And whereas Seltsam's listings in block style are interesting to glance through, Kolodin's prose listings are made worse than boring by the quality of the prose.

Which brings us to a major defect of the book: the writing, and not just about casts. A man who perpetrates "The absence of Wagner during the war years blemished no opening," or "The complications of critical coverage of New York's music events prevented close attention to several new ventures that may be isolated in time, if not by quality," is plainly someone unable to use the English language; though things like "The unspirited if conscientious work [in "Louise"] of Fourestier, Parisian though he was, left as much dissatisfaction as the cool, collected singing of Kirsten, American though she was," or "Peace had [in 1945] indeed come to all theaters of war by fall, but not to all theaters of opera. The easy acceptance of incompetence [in the war years] now imposed a period of extrication to balance the one of implication," plainly reveal the writer's belief that he is turning out specimens of very fine writing and impressive thinking indeed. The pretentious gestures are like a woman's coquetries that presume the attractiveness she lacks; and they produce writing and thinking—especially in the passages of summation—that are sometimes difficult to make coherent sense of.

For me what is valuable in the book is the factual material of the opening

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chapters. From the time I began to frequent the Metropolitan, in 1914, the public was given to understand that it was the princely generosity of the millionaire members of the Metropolitan Opera Company (the producing company, as distinguished from the Metropolitan Opera and Real Estate Company, the owner of the building), and above all of Otto Kahn, that made possible the continuation of opera there. But the fact is that opera at the Metropolitan earned a profit uninterruptedly from 1910 to 1930, and when the deficits began the millionaires of the Opera Company called on the public to make them up, retaining control but escaping financial responsibility through the transformation of the Company into the Metropolitan Opera Association. As for the $4,500 a boxholder paid each year, this was an assessment for maintenance of the building which the boxholders owned as members of the Real Estate Company; and since they received the use of the boxes instead of rent from the Opera Company, the $4,500 was in effect their payment for six box seats for every subscription performance of the season—which is to say it was not philanthropy but payment for value received.

All this is interesting in connection with Toscanini's leaving the Metropolitan in 1915. It is, characteristically, not clear whether Kolodin merely speculates that the reduced profit for the season of 1914-15 *would* have "argued for retrenchment on rehearsals, to which Toscanini would not accede," or he means that such a difficulty about rehearsals *did* occur; but he considers it certain that an unsatisfactory performance of "Carmen" "was the spark that ignited the explosion." My authoritative information is that the spark was Kahn's insistence that instead of five extra musicians being hired to play on stage in "The Masked Ball," five men be taken from the orchestra in the pit. Presumably this was not the first instance of the kind; and, as we have seen, it was not as though the money would have had to come out of Kahn's pocket.

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Letters

Bouquets for Mencken

Dear Sirs: You have made me very much your debtor. I found the Bouquets for Mencken [issue of September 12] of exceeding interest, and I congratulate you upon having conceived a notion alike so excellent and so equitable.

JAMES BRANCH CABELL

Ophelia, Va.

Dear Sirs: I wasn't among those you asked, but I too was a writer for the *American Mercury* in Mencken's time, and so was my husband, Maynard Shipley; and I can't refrain from adding my word to the tributes.

Mencken was unique in my long experience with editors. He could even turn down an article and leave you grateful instead of discouraged. I still have many of his short personal notes, every one of them full of the man himself. . . . Later I was able to give him a number of items for his various editions of "The American Language," and he was generous and scrupulous about using and accrediting them.

One thing that nobody mentioned was the priceless encouragement he gave a group of prison writers in the '20's.

I hate to think of Mencken as disabled and retired. He was more than "the incomparable editor"; he was the inspiration and the guide of all my generation of writers.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sirs: A few weeks ago you marked the seventy-third birthday of H. L. Mencken. It was not fitting at the time that I join the festivities: as the author of "The Irreverent Mr. Mencken" I am widely regarded as one of his detractors. However, I would like to add my own peculiar bouquet to the rest.

I have always been, and am still, deeply devoted to the gentleman. But he wanted me to write of him as I saw him. And I saw him as a reprobate—lovable, to be sure, and inspired, but still a reprobate.

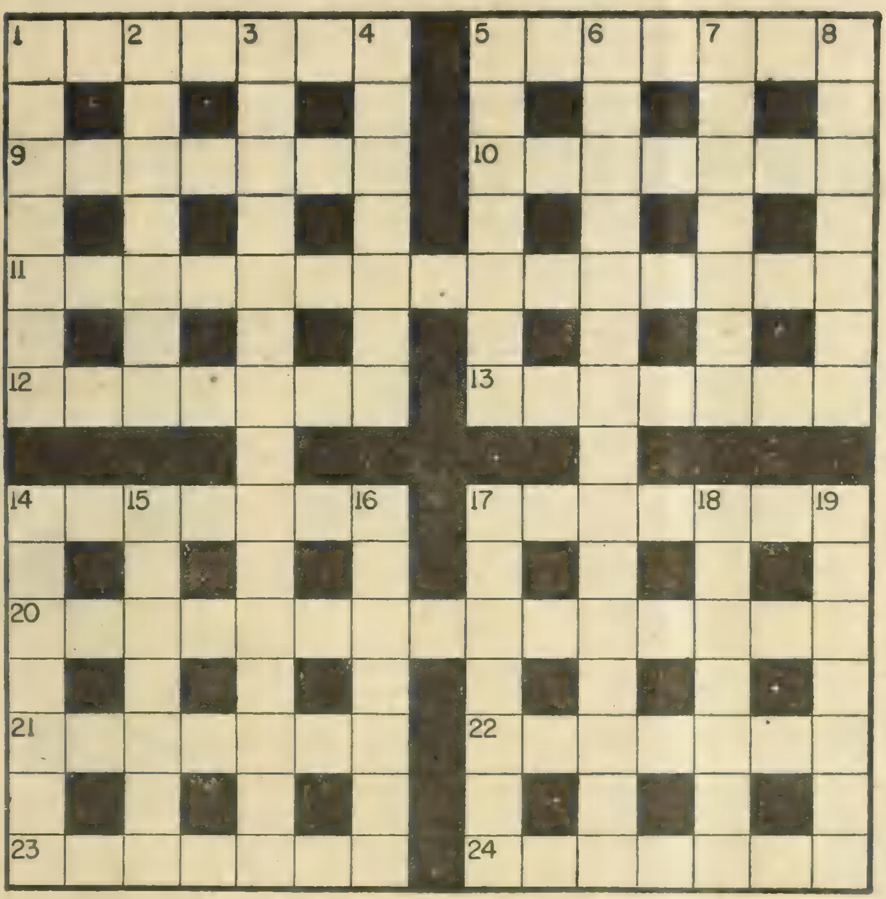
Why he put up with my impertinence I don't know. I suspect it was because, to some extent, he agreed with me.

In the long pull his contributions may be swallowed up in the stream of history, but his character with all its paradoxes is immortal. Like Dr. Johnson's, it will be written about for centuries to come.

Alexandria, Va. EDGAR KEMLER

Crossword Puzzle No. 536

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Rather undependable sort of car tire. (7)
5 Current notation given, as agreed. (7)
9 Irritation found with a disease. (7)
10 Costing something else when possessing knowledge. (7)
11 Ballad suggesting the location of James's horseman? (2, 3, 2, 3, 5)
12 Put up with a sort of uncovered Communist? (7)
13 Deletes a verb form implying cold drops. (7)
14 Dry-cleans for those who are used to dictation? (7)
17 Act like a moving van? (7)
20 Get tight on a split with rye—in the early morning, perhaps? (9, 6)
21 So-called lion-man. (7)
22 Busy little things right after the beginning of the Christmas season. (7)
23 Sort of help about a large number of those who take pains to give them. (7)
24 Sheets of fibers which sound edible. (7)

DOWN

1 Fence. (7)
2 Sat with one's feet on the bar? (7)
3 Royal mutation? (3, 5, 2, 5)
4 Teased, like the end of 20. (7)
5 A heavenly body found above us. (7)
6 Should they be marked with daggers in dictionaries—being unpleasant? (5, 10)
7 It seems sort of tired to go to town! (7)
8 Arch, indeed! (7)
14 Gets out of bed, and straightens things out, perhaps. (7)
15 Traveled because of or despite water in the gas? (7)
16 Found as part of either office or grocery supplies. (7)
17 The place where, in retrospect, it's crazy to quit. (7)
18 "Yet sometimes glimpses on my sight,
Through present wrong the ——— right." Whittier. (7)
19 Asks for a hitch? (7)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 535

ACROSS:—1 STRANGLE HOLDS; 10 GRAND; 11 INDONESIA; 12 POTBOILER; 13 DRAFT; 14 GERMAN LIEDER; 19 PHILANTHROPY; 22 LEASH; 24 OTHERWISE; 25 GRIEVANCE; 26 ENTRY; 27 SMALL POTATOES.

DOWN:—2 TRAITS; 3 ANDROMEDA; 4 GUILLEMOT; 5 EIDER; 6 OWNED; 7 DISCARDS; 9 BATTERY; 15 NORTHWEST; 16 IMPERFECT; 17 APOLOGY; 18 TITANIUM; 20 and 8 LITTLE EGYPT; 21 BERYL; 23 HOVEL; 24 OWN UP.

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Volume 177, Number 16
New York, Saturday, October 17, 1953

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The New Secretary of Labor

The appointment of James P. Mitchell as Secretary of Labor is entirely logical. The late Senator Taft was quite right in saying that the Durkin appointment was "incredible": there just never was a place for a plumber among those millionaires. Mr. Mitchell is definitely "of management." He will give the President the kind of expert advice on labor problems that the chairman of the board of a large industrial concern would have the right to expect from an intelligent, well-trained, sophisticated, industrial-relations expert. As such experts go, Mr. Mitchell has a good record. A labor official who has negotiated many agreements with him informs us that he is likeable, trustworthy, and a fair-minded spokesman for management. Most of his dealings with labor, however, have been in the department-store field where employee morale is a vital factor; the "fight-labor" attitude has not been as conspicuous in this as in some other fields.

Politically the appointment may be scored as another victory for Governor Dewey, although Merlyn S. Pitzele, labor editor of *Business Week* and chairman of the New York State Mediation Board, appears to have negotiated it. Since the appointment had to come from management's ranks, it is fortunate that the Dewey influence prevailed; where labor is concerned, the New York Republicans are far more knowledgeable than some of the party's Midwest primitives.

The Truth Is Sugar-Coated

Samuel Boyea's article, Dent in the Crown, which appeared in our September 5 issue, gave *Nation* readers an excellent background against which to judge today's events in British Guiana. Last summer the natives of the colony, taking advantage of their first opportunity to exercise full suffrage, voted into power the People's Progressive Party, among whose leaders are several pro-Communists. During the campaign the P. P. P. was of course attacked as a Communist party in disguise; actually its program called for nothing more radical than land reform, higher wages, pensions, and other forms of social security. The P. P. P.'s victory led Mr. Boyea to comment: "When well-intentioned patriots make the mistake of labeling age-old freedoms as Communist issues and let so-called 'Communist-led' groups advocate and defend them, the voting goes against patriots."

Now the British, under the pretext of averting a threatened Communist revolution, have landed a large detachment of marines, suspended the colony's five-month-old constitution, deposed the duly-elected P. P. P. ministers, and given the British governor the power to rule practically single-handed until a new and more amenable native government can be formed. "Many were astonished," said a New York *Times* dispatch from Guiana, "at the haste and severity of London's action." But the big sugar planters approved heartily, and so, not surprisingly, did the American bauxite interests. The fact is, this is not the first time, as certain Central American countries can attest, that marines have been landed ostensibly to quell revolution from the left but in reality to buttress reaction. The pattern is as shocking as it is

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The Editors of *The Nation* have completed plans for a unique book club in which every *Nation* subscriber, *at no extra cost and with no obligations attached,* will automatically become a member. You will be able to buy up to twelve books a year at great savings and receive book bonuses in addition. On the other hand, not a single book will be sent to you unless you specifically ask for it.

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familiar; we hope that British liberal opinion will react as sharply to the turn of events as the $10-a-week Guianese sugar workers promise to do.

Not So Nice Discrimination

The Spanish Republicans in the Interparliamentary Union are more than a symbol of the democracy that was driven out of Spain by international fascism, They represent the essence of what the old organization stands for: government by the elected deputies of the people. To turn them out and open the door to delegates from Franco's voiceless Cortes would be a serious surrender of principle. That has not happened yet, but the position of the Republicans was undoubtedly weakened by the refusal of the American delegation to invite their Spanish colleagues to the Interparliamentary Union conference held last week in Washington. This inhospitable act was patently linked to the signing of the military pact with Franco a few days earlier.

When one consorts with a dictator it is embarrassing, no doubt, to entertain democrats whom he has driven from their country and condemned in *absentia* to death. And yet our officials manage to get along nicely with prominent exiled victims of dictatorships of the left. There must be a hidden reason for this apparent inconsistency of attitude; some day we mean to look for it.

The Unstoppable Poison

More than once in the past year the Soviet delegation has placed before the United Nations what it called evidence, in the form of sworn statements from captured American fliers, that United States planes were dropping germs or other bacterial agents on North Korean territory. Last week the United States delegation to the U. N. showed to members of the General Assembly some Defense Department movies in which five pilots, recently exchanged, repudiated the statements they admit having made and describe the means employed to extract their so-called confessions. Their stories agree on the important elements of the sufferings inflicted on them—hunger, cold, isolation, sleeplessness, filth, and alternating hope and terror. You cannot blame them for what they said in North Korea; you can only sympathize with them and be glad you have never faced their terrible choice.

At the same time one wonders what purpose was served by putting these sick-hearted men on public show. Ambassador Lodge, who presided at the meeting, appeared grimly satisfied that he was dealing a knockout blow against what he called the "bacterial-warfare item." But as evidence the performance was worthless. No one who scorns the charge of germ warfare believed the original confessions, and no one who gives the charge credence will believe the retractions. Such is the nature of slander—against nations as against individuals. It cannot be erased by denial, and negative proof is never a match for irresponsible charges. Now that presumption of innocence has lost its weight in men's minds, a nation accused of spreading typhus is in the same boat with a man accused of spreading treason; they can only try to outface the slander on the ground of incredibility. It seems a little callous, therefore, to parade the misery of five brave but not invincible men in order to convince those who were never in doubt.

Trieste Formula

SINCE no satisfactory solution for Trieste has ever been found, it is not surprising that the victorious powers were unable at the end of World War II to come to an acceptable arrangement. The creation of the Free Territory of Trieste was a compromise which pleased neither Yugoslavs nor Italians, though in itself it was a sensible enough idea, offering at least a chance that under United Nations supervision the old port might again assume its natural role as a major outlet for the trade of Central Europe. The failure of Russia and the United States to agree on a governor, dooming the plan, was not all Russia's fault, as commentators now glibly assert; the the United States rejected more than one eminent non-Communist candidate. As a result, however, Trieste has remained divided into British-American and Yugoslav occupation zones.

With patience, agreement might eventually have been reached, perhaps through combining partition with international control of the port. But by 1948 Washington was less interested in the future of Trieste than in bribing the Italians to vote down the Communists. Quite arbitrarily the chief Western powers, acting under American inspiration, promised the whole Free Territory to Italy. Obviously this indefensible pledge could not be redeemed, but it served its purpose; a little later, when Yugoslavia broke with Moscow, the Western leaders said no more about it. But Trieste was still there, a burden to the occupying powers and a continuing irritant to Yugoslav-Italian relations in a time when unity among "free nations" held a high priority.

The sudden announcement last week that the United States and Britain would withdraw their occupation forces and return Zone A to Italy was a new switch, made like the prior one without consulting the nations directly affected and without notifying the United Nations. Its real purpose, again, was an ulterior one—to prevent Italy from using the Trieste issue as an excuse for delaying ratification of the E. D. C. treaty. Invented, apparently, by Ambassador Luce, the idea was described in Washington as "the only practicable method of breaking the impasse between Italy and Yugoslavia." What it actually did was to generate riots, bloodshed, and nationalist rage in Belgrade and bring a clear threat from Marshal Tito that his forces would march into Zone A if the Italians did.

Russia's formal protest against the Anglo-American move may have been strictly for the cold-war record. Nonetheless, it was technically justified—the delivery of Zone A to Italy clearly contravenes the peace treaty—and was no more cynical than the ready-made formula which the Western powers plan to impose. The events of the past week testify again to the futility of trying to resolve intricate political differences with pat devices intended for other ends.

COST OF ATOMIC SECRECY

Anglo-U. S. Rivalry . . *by Ritchie Calder*

London

BRITAIN'S proving of the atomic bomb—the equivalent of Los Alamos—took place at Monte Bello Island, Australia, last year. This month the equivalent of Bikini, complete with the press and observers, will be staged at Woomera Range, in the South Australian desert. The gap of seven years between United States and British achievements represents a tremendous gulf in the atomic relations between the two countries.

Since the "somber decision" which Winston Churchill warned Roosevelt in March, 1943, he was obliged to take, Britain and the dominions (actively, Canada) have had to "go it alone" and create an atomic program independent of the United States. What is not generally realized is that the rift occurred during the war and that the McMahon act and the "vetoes" of Vandenberg and Hickenlooper were locking a door which had already been slammed.

Because the facts are not generally known, Americans do not understand the resentment and the cold reproaches of British scientists or the oblique references which Churchill frequently makes. And that is why, when they cast up Nunn May, Fuchs, and Pontecorvo in justification of exclusive security, they

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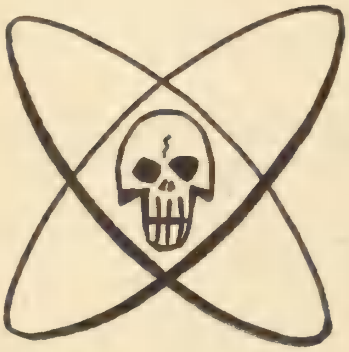
do not clinch the argument. These cases were a *post hoc propter hoc* excuse for discrimination which began much farther back.

NOBODY, including, it would appear, Churchill himself, is quite clear as to what was really agreed on when in June, 1942, it was decided that the British and American atomic programs should be merged. It was a "gentleman's agreement," but neither at Hyde Park nor at Casablanca nor at Quebec was it defined exactly enough to avoid misunderstanding and recrimination. Churchill, in Opposition, called upon Attlee to produce a document, which, he implied, would establish the terms of the Quebec agreement. He did not get it then, nor has he produced it during his own term of office. But it exists, because it was the basis of Vandenberg's threat to vote against Marshall Aid unless its terms were changed.

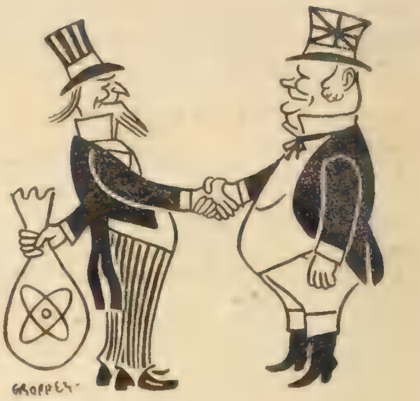
We must go back farther than August, 1943, for even then the canker was nagging. Briefly, for the record, the early history (British version) of the atomic bomb was as follows: After the discovery of the chemical break-up of uranium by Hahn and Strassmann in Berlin, Frisch and Lise Meitner in Copenhagen established the release of energy by uranium fission. Early in 1939, after Halban, Joliot, and Kowarski had printed a letter in *Nature,* the British scientific journal, showing how a neutron-flux could be maintained, Sir George Thomson began experiments with a borrowed ton of uranium oxide, and by the outbreak of war it had been proved that through use of a moderator—the preference being heavy water—a chain reaction might be set up. But the practical difficulties seemed insuperable until Dr. Peierls, together with Dr. Frisch, who had come to London from Copenhagen, pointed out that the difficulties lay in U.238 and did not apply to U.235. When France fell, Halban and Kowarski escaped to Britain with almost the entire stock of heavy water then existing in the world. Researches were pressed forward.



In July, 1940, Britain made a full disclosure of all existing facts to the United States authorities, and there was an exchange on a scientific level. By the summer of 1941 the Thomson committee had drawn up a report for the consideration of a Cabinet committee, and in September, 1941, Sir George Thomson handed over that report to Dr. Vannevar Bush and Dr. J. B. Conant and strengthened the hands of those who were pressing for a much more vigorous program in the United States. A month later Professors Urey and Pegram visited Britain. The visit was returned by Peierls and Simon, who took with them the plans for the gaseous-diffusion separation of U.235.

Under the guise of "Tube Alloys" a body had been set up in Britain for developing the work. Then, because Britain was under blitz and its resources fully extended, it was decided to carry on a joint operation and move the further developments across the Atlantic. This meant that the British personnel, including the key scientists, were transferred to the United States under Sir James Chadwick, discoverer of the neutron, to combine with their American colleagues in the "Manhattan Project." In fact, as events proved, they were submerged in that project.

OF THE Hyde Park discussions (June, 1952) which led to this merger Churchill in a later acrimonious exchange with Roosevelt through Hopkins said, "My whole understanding was that everything was to be on a basis of fully sharing the results as equal partners. I have no record, but I shall be much surprised if the President's recollection does not square with this." By March, 1943, it was obvious that his understanding did not square with the events or with the exchanges, in the meantime, at Casablanca. The British personnel were "lost" in American security. In February, 1943, Churchill was demanding free exchange of information. He cabled to Hopkins, "The American War Department is asking us to keep them informed of our experiments while refusing altogether any information about theirs." He later sent a complete record of all Anglo-American dealings and claimed "on grounds of fair play" that full cooperation be restored. Then, in March, he issued an ultimatum—"the somber decision" that Britain would be compelled to go ahead separately. The only satisfaction he got was the reply that the President could not overrule the military, who regarded the secrets, and the British personnel, as their exclusive concern.



Leaving out national chagrin, it might be argued that the eventual bomb would serve the common end. But the British case then was that this would in fact create a post-war American monopoly of industrial atomic energy. As events proved, this was also the American view. Attlee, as Churchill's successor, found himself confronted with the claim that the agreement—this still undisclosed document—effected the transfer of technological development of atomic energy to the United States and with it the right to determine the peace-time uses. (This, of course, was buttressed by the fact that military and civil materials were common and, consequently, a security risk.) Whatever else the agreement may have had to say about the British and Canadian right to approve or veto any decision to use the bombs—the issue which provoked the Vandenberg threat to kill Marshall Aid—this claim was one of the things that took Attlee and Mackenzie King to Washington in the fall of 1945.

Nor does that compass all the deep misunderstandings. The joint British-Canadian Montreal operation was designed to work closely with such United States projects as the Chicago pile. But from the date of America's entry into the war the British and Canadians received nothing but basic physical data, although they kept the Americans fully informed of all research and development in Canada. The frustrations of the scientists in Montreal led to morbid suspicions and dangerous reactions.

Notice that all this occurred before passage of the McMahon act, which merely confirmed by legislation the existing situation. And it had nothing to do with the subsequent failure of the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission or with Vandenberg's insistence that the United States must make the decision on the use of the bomb—a suborning of Attlee which shocked his supporters when it was disclosed. So far this account has been concerned with the conduct of allies in war and, for that matter, with the "confiscation" by the Manhattan Project not only of British brains but of researches which had cost Britain $180,000,000 at the time of the merger.

AS FROM March, 1943, Britain had no choice if, as an industrial nation, it was to hold its own in atomic energy. This was abundantly clear when, after his discussions with Truman in Washington, Attlee returned to set up *from scratch* the British atomic-energy program.

The Chalk River station in Canada had served as a base. There British personnel subsequently to be used at Harwell Atomic Research station and in the production plants were in training, and there the blueprints for Harwell were worked out. Sir John Cockcroft remained as director of Chalk River until he took over at Harwell. The English research station was constructed on an old airfield on the Berkshire downs. It was an enormous job; in addition to determining the know-how of reactor operations, first in a small pilot pile and then in a large-scale one, all the problems of health and safety had to be worked out. Among other things, because the effluent discharges into the Thames, which supplies much of London's water, every trace of radioactivity had to be removed from it.

Without help from United States experience but with guidance from the try-out at Chalk River, Britain had to wait for the confirmatory results from Harwell before it could complete the production plants—Springfield, Lancashire, preparation of pure uranium from ore; Windscale, Cumberland, production of plutonium in atomic piles; Capenhurst, Cheshire, production of separated U.235 by diffusion plant; Amersham, Buckinghamshire, preparation of radioactive substances; and Aldermaston, Berkshire (with Fort Halstead, Kent), research on atomic weapons. It was an appalling undertaking for a country which at that critical juncture must rebuild homes and schools and factories, convert its industry for the struggle for survival in a world in which it had to export to buy half its food, reorganize and reequip its mines in a period of desperate fuel shortage which paralyzed productive industry, replace power plants staggering to obsolescence because in 1941 all generator building and replacement had been stopped and the factories turned over to aircraft, and put through a welfare program.

In the circumstances it seemed crazy to launch an atomic-energy program, but this was no prestige fight—at the outset it was not even a military effort. It was as much a struggle for survival as the rest, since Britain, unlike the United States with its abundant sources of alternative power supplies, needs industrial atomic energy. By 1960 the British Electrical Authority will be facing an additional demand for current equivalent to 13,000,000 tons of coal a year. As that coal may not be forthcoming, there is practically a deadline for electricity generation by nuclear power.

After the insistence on the purely peaceful aspects of the program it came as a shock to many Labor Party supporters, when in 1948 the Labor Minister for Defense announced that Britain was embarking on bomb production. This was "going it alone" with a vengeance. All the war-time arguments against an atomic arsenal in the vulnerable British Isles were surely still valid, though less cogent since United States atom-bomb-carrying planes were already based there. When Churchill came to power he expressed sardonic surprise at the thoroughness with which the Labor government had gone ahead with the atom program and especially at the advanced state of the missile side, which he indicated had cost $300,000,000 unrevealed to Parliament.

When Churchill congratulated all concerned on the success of the Monte Bello explosion it was with the knowledge that Britain had been unable to borrow a single kilo of prepared uranium from the United States or a milligram of plutonium even for laboratory experiments and that, thanks to Vandenberg, all discussion of metallurgical problems had been barred. There is an irony in his renewed efforts to reestablish joint operations, since he implies—and no one can judge whether or not he is right—that in default of American cooperation Britain has improvised know-how that the Americans may not have.

Meanwhile work has begun, at Cal-

Excessive Secrecy?

Two big atomic explosions and some small ones are to take place at Woomera [Australia] in the autumn. The experiments will be carried out by British and Australian scientists, but no Americans are being invited. Their exclusion may seem quite fair, because it was the United States and not Great Britain that closed its doors to the atomic scientists of the other nation (and to Canada). Since 1946 the United States has been exploding bombs and rockets in the deserts of Nevada and New Mexico, as well as among remote Pacific islands. No Commonwealth visitors have been allowed any closer than they could get as tourists on the main roads and railways, and there is no immediate sign that the United States is going to relax its restrictions. But the duplication of effort is senseless. Why should the Commonwealth countries spend millions of pounds to discover the effect of an atomic explosion on ships, cities, and people when the Americans have already done it? Why should the United States have to devote millions of dollars to discovering certain mechanisms which the Commonwealth already has? It is sheer waste. Yet it is happening. The Russian explosions and the British progress have given two spurs—small ones, so far—to the notion in the United States that perhaps atomic secrecy has been excessive. A sharper jab is needed before a change of policy can come.—*Manchester Guardian.*

derhall in Cumberland, on the first British industrial power pile to generate electricity, and a site is being chosen for the first breeder pile to exploit the results of the pilot breeder developed at Harwell and to produce more atomic fuel than it consumes. In conception it will be independent of the breeder pile built by the United States Atomic Energy Commission at Arco, Idaho. The slogan is still "No connection with the firm opposite."

The government seems determined to disengage atomic developments as much as possible from its direct control and to open the way for private enterprise. A committee under Lord Waverley is examining, not the desirability, but the means of doing so. At the moment the program is directly under the control of the Ministry of Supply. That may not be the most suitable arrangement, but any attempt to hand over to private capital the only industry that was conceived and born nationalized will mean one of the bitterest political struggles that Parliament has ever seen.

Otherwise, Britain, ten years after Churchill's warning, is well set up in the atomic-energy business.

EGGHEADS ARE ROLLING

The Rush to Conform . . *by Nelson Algren*

"IF YE turn up the gas in the darkest heart," Mr. Dooley liked to say, "ye'll find it has a good reason—a good varchous reason—for the worst things it done. Like protectin' the liberties of mankind or needin' the money."

"So soon as you have a military class," Woodrow Wilson agreed with Dooley, "elections are of minor importance, because they determine the political policy, and back of that political policy is the constant pressure of men trained to arms, enormous bodies of disciplined men wondering if they are never going to be allowed to use their education and their skill and ravage some great people with the force of arms. That is the meaning of armaments."

Five years have passed since we began, once again, to rearm. Do we therefore feel more safe against attack than we did five years ago? Do we find ourselves with more friends in the world? Have our rights as free men been made more secure? Or have we only demonstrated that when we keep in private hands industries which depend for profit upon war and preparation for war, we are putting a hot-car thief in charge of a parking lot?

Just as the Russians use the charge of Zionism to blanket criticism by terror, so our air-force magnates use pitchmen like McCarthy and Velde to keep orders mounting. Charles E. Wilson, of General Electric, writing in the *Army Ordnance Journal* as far back as 1944, felt we ought to be less secretive about such orders: "War has been inevitable in our human affairs as an evolutionary force. . . . Let us make the three-way partnership [industry, government, army] permanent." The conservative editor of *United States News*, David Lawrence, began to get the drift a couple of years later: "Our whole government is beginning to adopt the philosophy that the United States must have a big army, navy, and air force, and that military demonstration, instead of the language of reason and justice or self-denial, is foremost. This is the only solution that Hitler found for Germany's troubles."

SAY I'M STANDING knee-deep and sinking in the muddy waters of the Little Calumet. Some anxious patriot paddles up to bring me comfort and joy: if the Little Calumet were the Volga, he says, I'd be up to my ears. And he paddles away as contentedly as if he'd really done something for me.

Nor does it help me to be told that I better stop saying Ouch when McCarthy gives the screw another turn—lest the Kremlin overhear my yip and tape-record it for broadcasting to Europe. The insistence of these remaindered intellectuals on the short leashes that we don't have any notion of what a real drive for conformity, such as goes on in the U. S. S. R., can be like reveals loyalty to nobody save Henry Luce. Who has decided that we should now exert all our influence in the world for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit? "America does not go abroad," John Quincy Adams corrects him, "in search of monsters to destroy."

Monsters enough roam the local wilderness. Watching Luce and McCarthy battle is like watching two dinosaurs go at each other—it doesn't make any difference which wins because they're both extinct. If they're not, then we are—the great confident majority of Americans whom Adlai Stevenson described as "the generous and the unfrightened, those who are proud of our strength and sure of our goodness and who want to work with each in trust, to advance the honor of the country."

It no longer suffices to express our doubts privately. The out-loud kind of doubting which rescued American thought in the twenties from the files where the McCarthys and McCarrans and Jenners of that decade had locked it is what we most need in the timorous fifties. We need someone to take the place of Dreiser and Mencken, Sinclair Lewis and Veblen and Steffens.

Again the little editorial fellows in the London collars are hawking the alarm on every newsstand that only by napalm and thunderjet can the American way of life be saved, that no man can now call himself loyal who will not pledge allegiance to the commander of the nearest American Legion post and to the mob-mindedness for which he stands. By placing economic boycotts on dissenters, we are told that we will in-

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sure the liberties of conformists; by hobbling scientists and teachers we will guarantee academic freedom; if we can but build a space platform before anyone else we will insure national contentment.

When we can make a half-hero out of a subaqueous growth like Whittaker Chambers and then place a government employee under charges because unidentified informants allege that "his convictions on the question of civil rights extend slightly beyond that of the average individual," it is time to call a halt.

"Risk for risk," the wonderfully named Judge Learned Hand writes, "for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion."

"I do not believe in democracy," Herbert U. Nelson of the National Association of Real Estate Boards differs; "I think it stinks."

"Those nations who profess to fear our methods most will soon be most closely imitating those methods," was how Adolf put it. And echo answers: "What is good for General Motors is good for the country."

If you turn up the gas in the hearts of our business brass you'll find a good reason—a good varchous reason—for investing more and more heavily in the Korean adventure. Such as protecting the liberties of mankind.

Or needing the money.

MONOPOLY'S NEW DEFENSE

Countervailing Myth . . *by Leland E. Traywick*

THE brazen, unmitigated monopolistic power held by a few corporate giants in the United States amounts to a conspiracy against the general welfare. A mere fraction of 1 per cent of all corporations controls some 50 per cent of total corporate wealth. At the turn of the century gigantic mergers took place in oil, copper, lead, sugar, paper, salt, powder, cans, whiskey, coal, steel, and other lines. By the late 1920's more than half of all public-utility companies were controlled by three corporations and another third by ten holding companies. In World War II, 10 manufacturing companies received 30 per cent of the dollar volume of war contracts and 100 companies 66 2/3 per cent; in the Korean war 10 companies received 40 per cent and 50 companies 66 2/3 per cent. Big business is constantly becoming more concentrated and more powerful. The end can only be the replacement of free enterprise by industrial feudalism.

Yet opposition to monopolistic power is traditional in this country. Although Americans have admired the successful careers of Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, Vanderbilt, Mellon, and Ford, they have condemned their tactics. And the feeling against the great impersonal corporations has been even stronger. It used to be that a jury would almost unfailingly bring in a verdict of guilty against a bank, an insurance company, or a railroad. The idea of economic slavery was extremely repugnant to our people. At present, however, profitable and powerful concentrations of business are being justified in various ways. We are told, for example, that concentration of power offers no problem if it is offset by another concentration. This counterbalancing need not be effected by sellers competing with sellers but by buyers working against sellers and sellers against buyers. A firm may be restricted in its market power by those from whom it buys as well as by those to whom it sells. The emphasis is thus not on restraints from the same side of the market but from opposite sides. Monopolistic power exists, but since monopolies offset monopolies, there is no danger. This is known as the theory of countervailing or counterbalancing power.

Illustrations are carefully chosen to bolster the argument. In such industries as steel, automobiles, electrical goods, rubber, and farm machinery powerful labor unions hold management in check. This is no accident. Since big business begets big labor, counterbalancing power automatically comes into being. The reverse is also true: big management offsets big labor. Similarly, strong retailers check strong manufacturers. The mail-order houses, the food, variety, and department-store chains, and the cooperative buying organizations have a strong incentive to develop counterbalancing power. Using simple bargaining methods, Sears, Roebuck was able to sell Goodyear tires for from 20 to 25 per cent less than the manufacturer. By threatening to make its own cornflakes the A. and P. was able to reduce the price it had to pay for cornflakes 10 per cent. Detroit was one of the few places

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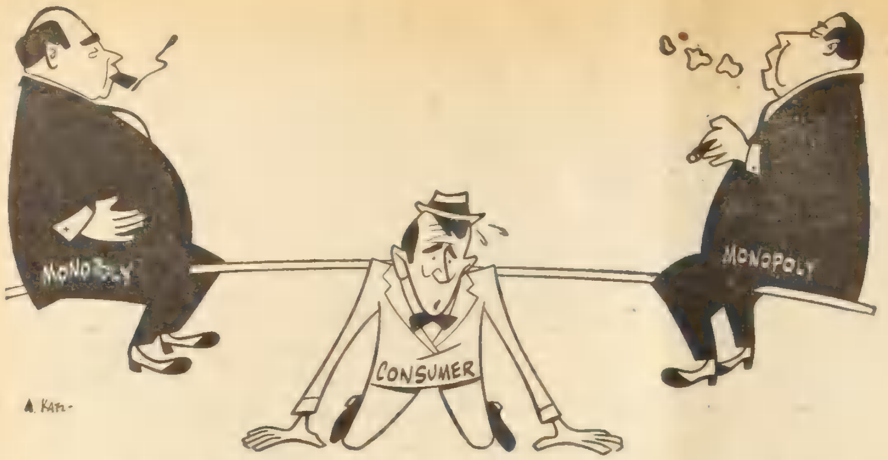

in the country that had no basing-point delivery price for steel, since the big automobile companies could play one seller off against another and so wage the only successful war against the monopolistic prices of the steel companies. Such examples could be multiplied by references to Woolworth, Kresge, Penney, Rexall, and other strong retailers.

APPARENTLY, therefore, the monopolists have been forced to yield some of their power. Imbalance existed but is now in check. On theoretical and practical grounds it seems that the pending anti-trust cases against the A. and P. and the duPonts should be dropped. The system of offsets works for the benefit of all. What, then, is wrong?

First, the system of counterbalancing power is not controlled by any restraints from outside. Big management may be successful in checking the big unions, and the chains may subdue the manufacturers, but who is to check management and the chains? Is it to be the government? The answer is clearly in the negative when one sees how the lobbyists and pressure groups made up of big enterprisers coerce the government and even more how the government is coerced from within. In the early days of the Federal Trade Commission big business did not attempt so much to fight its decisions as to get its own men on the commission so that the "right" decisions would be made. At one time the Attorney General of the United States, who is charged with enforcing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, actually worked for its repeal! And after it was clear that repeal could not be accomplished, the only cases he brought were against labor unions.

Lately it has been suggested that the appointment of big-business thinkers to virtually every key post in the federal structure rules out any action against the giant corporations. It might be added that men who divest themselves of corporate securities seldom experience a change of heart. Perhaps the old adage never had more force: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." Big business, the big press, big radio and T.V., and big patronage are currently working together. Such an unchecked concentration of economic and political power cannot be glorified by calling it a counterbalancing power. If there is nothing to check it, we have neither economic nor political democracy.

Second, the system does not really provide internal checks on concentrations of power. Rather, it is a struggle in which the strongest wins. Take the case of the big unions and big management. During periods of prosperous business activity, a seller's market, neither works against the other to win an oppressive victory. Instead, both agree to promote the wage-price spiral under which all sellers win—to the detriment of the consumer. In periods of recession or depression, a buyer's market, unions are too weak to fight management. Workers will often gladly take pay cuts if only they can keep their jobs. So big management, which produced big labor, is not counterbalanced by its offspring. Neither in good times nor in bad is effective counter-power exerted.

Third, since the system of counterbalancing power has neither external nor internal checks and is not, therefore, a regulatory mechanism for the economy, it tends to intensify inflations and depressions. During both the 1940's and 1950's the problems of price and wage controls were aggravated by the combined front that management and labor presented to break ceilings and dispose of control boards. One of the primary reasons for a depression is that business interests make their adjustments in output and employment instead of in prices. The recovery of our economy from the great depression was not accomplished by the counterbalancers but by the strong hand of the government: lower taxes, a system of progressive income taxes, and spending for immediate relief and long-run capital projects. Since then it has not been concentrations of power on the same or opposite sides of the market but war or rearmament that has propped up our economic system.

Fourth, the really great danger in the concept of countervailing power is the presumption that power will be concentrated in the hands of the few, which is the essence of totalitarianism. Free competition among *many* buyers and *many* sellers—economic democracy—is diametrically opposed to control by a few. Those who favor a system of counterbalances would promote high tariffs—import duties build big enterprises. They would repeal the Robinson-Patman act—price discriminations help big business. The counterbalance of power means privilege and discrimination. The overthrow of political democracy begins in corporate concentration.

Fifth, the theory of counterbalancing power appeals to those who believe in an undemocratic world where everything is left to the "experts" and the ordinary citizen surrenders his initiative in the political, religious, social, and economic field. People have done this again and again—in Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia. Only a citizenry that is aware of the danger and willing to fight on the economic and the political front can maintain its democracy. Freedom is not for the weak. Totalitarianisms of the left or right are for the weak and the indifferent. The United States can be captured from within just as easily as any other country. The danger lies partly in the strength of the totalitarian forces of corporate collectivism but more especially in the lack of positive resistance to those forces.

WHAT CAN be done? While there is still time, the concentrations of corporate power must be broken up. The tools are at hand. The anti-trust laws are still valid; only their vigorous enforcement is required. A competitive capitalism for the many sellers and many buyers is still workable. As Franklin D. Roosevelt once observed, the difficulty with the system of free private enterprise is not that it has failed in this generation but that it has not been tried. New theories will not justify old evils. The courts must break asunder what man has illegally joined together. Just such a dissolution of concentrated power was effected by the Public Utility Holding Company Act at a time when people were more conscious of what power in the hands of the few really meant.

Let us insist upon free markets for free men; let us have no power of economic life and death vested in the few. Let us learn from what we have seen happen in other capitalist countries. Even as we would reject political dictatorship we must reject economic dictatorship.

GERMAN LABOR'S PERIL

The Authoritarian Adenauer . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

ON THE morning of September 7, after the radio had given the final results of the Bundestag elections, I heard through the open window the following conversation between two workers: "Well, what do you think of it?" "That Adenauer! Next year we will have Adolf back."

These sarcastic words may only reflect the bitter disappointment felt by eight million Social Democratic voters, but there is some truth behind them. A Swiss newspaper, quoting the opinion of a foreign diplomat, said much the same thing: "Another election like this and German democracy is dead."

True, the overwhelming electoral victory of Chancellor Adenauer was a victory of the center. The extremists of right and left were routed. But it was not a victory for democracy. The Führer principle defeated Germany's only reliably democratic party and reduced it to a hopeless minority. This principle, which functioned so brilliantly in Hitler's day, is still thought of with nostalgia by many Germans.

The good bourgeois democrats who support Adenauer's coalition but are honestly horrified at the amount of power his victory conferred upon him console themselves by saying, "At last Germany has a two-party system," shutting their eyes to the fact that since 1949 Adenauer has been the strong man of an authoritarian system of government. No German Chancellor before Hitler ever enjoyed such power—except Bismarck; many Germans, indeed, have dubbed Adenauer "the Catholic Bismarck." And a further similarity can be pointed out: just as the Prussian Bismarck owed his political and military successes to the benevolent neutrality of czarist Russia, so Dr. Adenauer owes everything to the United States.

IF THE Federal Republic were to offer today no other ground for pessimism than the plight of the West German unions, that would be enough to worry an honest observer. Apart from the Social Democratic Party, a purely political organization whose 700,000 members are scattered in thousands of towns and villages, only one position of power in West Germany today is not subject to the will of the Chancellor and the governing coalition—the General Confederation of German Trade Unions (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*), an organization of six million workers and employees. Before Hitler there were two such organizations in Germany, one Christian Democratic and one Social Democratic. Hitler destroyed them both, confiscated their properties, and threw their leaders into jails and concentration camps. The trade-union movement was transformed into the "Labor Front," an organ of the government and of National Socialism, which every worker and employee had to join if he wanted to keep his job. Robbed of any trade-union content and of the right to strike, the Labor Front became a source of strength to the National Socialist dictatorship. It represented a great triumph for the German employers, and their colleagues abroad were only too willing to applaud their achievement. The big industrialists of all countries could overlook the crimes of the regime when they viewed the German totalitarian paradise where there was no class struggle and no workers' movement. It was only later that Hitler presented his account.

Labor organizations were the first to show signs of life after the grisly end of the Third Reich. Having learned that division meant weakness, the workers and employees of West Germany created in 1945 a single organization, the A. D. G. B., with no political or religious ties. About half a million of its six million members come from the former Christian trade unions and support the party of Chancellor Adenauer. The great majority vote Socialist. Nine-tenths of its officers are Socialists.

A few days before the federal elections the A. D. G. B. executive published a manifesto warning the workers, first of all, against neo-Nazi maneuvers and asking them to protect democracy and social progress. Reminding them that the previous parliament had ignored the workers' demands, it launched the slogan: "Elect a better Bundestag!" Dr. Adenauer's reply was a murky campaign against the unions based on the charge that they had violated their political neutrality and had taken a stand in favor of the Socialist opposition. The federation officers met at Essen and unanimously approved the manifesto. There followed new threats of

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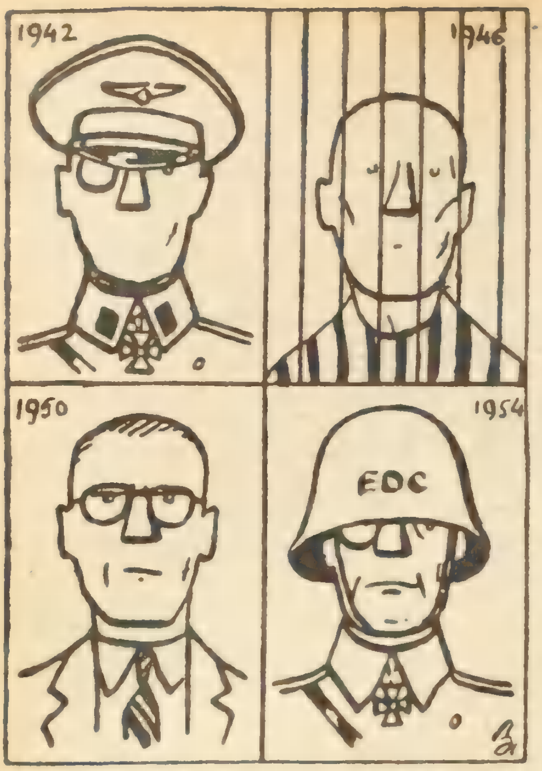
CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a prominent Social Democrat who acts as The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*



Die Tat (Zurich)

From a German Colonel's Album

vengeance from Adenauer and his ministers, and the day after their electoral victory these threats were carried out. The Christian Democrats, through their social-work committees, demanded that the labor movement be emasculated along Hitlerian lines. Members of the party were to be attached to the federal executive of the A. D. G. B., to union executives down to the smallest local branches, and to all union-operated newspapers, schools, and educational organizations in order to "guarantee their political neutrality." Christian workers were to form special unions within the unions, and their separate organizations were to be recognized by the union authorities. To give a stronger emphasis to these demands Cardinal Frings and the C. D. U. ministers brandished the big stick and threatened to form a separate Christian workers' federation.

The Association of German Manufacturers was free to collect a propaganda fund of forty million marks for the government parties, but members of works councils lost their jobs when accused of having made electoral propaganda for the Socialists inside the factories. John Foster Dulles warned German voters against the Social Democrats and asked them to vote for Adenauer, but the largest association in Germany, the federation of unions, was expected to remain dumb. However, the skin of the bear was apportioned without consulting the bear, and the six million members of the A. D. G. B. reacted with outbursts of anger and protest. "We are a democratic organization," the unions declared, "and our executives and officials are elected democratically by our members. We will permit no direction from above." The ultimatum issued by Adenauer and the C. D. U. was treated as an "intervention in the class war." A joint meeting of the federal executive of the A. D. G. B. and of its national committee, held on September 30, unanimously voted to consign it to the waste-paper basket. The proposed *Gleichschaltung* was rejected even by the C. D. U. men in the unions.

It is highly unlikely that the Christian Democrats will admit defeat and let it go at that. By using their parliamentary majority and by applying the methods of the cold war they will try to get what they failed to get by direct action. After all, why did the industrialists spend millions to insure Adenauer's victory? They will certainly demand what they paid for. They will insist that the teeth of the workers' organizations be drawn. Already the present Minister of Justice is recommending, for renewed use, "legal regulation of the right to strike," which really means prohibition of strikes and labor legislation. It does not matter that German workers achieved the much-praised "economic miracle" by their will to work, that they have borne the burden of the lost war and of reconstruction by accepting a policy of maximum prices and minimum wages, that they defeated communism in the factories, and that without them the Communists would have taken Berlin and would be standing today on the Rhine—all this is not enough. "Up with prices and down with wages" has become the slogan of the victorious coalition; that was the purpose for which the election was fought. At the time of the currency reform, capital represented by savings—the pennies saved by the masses—stood at 71,000,000,000 marks within the present borders of the Federal Republic. Today it stands at 3,600,000,000. Capital invested in stocks and bonds amounted to 21,000,000,000 marks in 1948. It is worth 21,000,000,000 marks *in gold* today. These are the profits which the big men earned at the expense of the small—and they want still more. The unions are for them merely a disturbing factor.

SOON after September 6 Adenauer succeeded where MrCarthy himself had failed last spring: the best newspaper in Germany, the State Department-owned *Neue Zeitung*, stopped publication on the request of the Chancellor. This was Washington's first victory gift to Adenauer. Why was the paper sacrificed? Because Adenauer wanted to have a "Ministry of Information," Goebbels style, with control over the press, radio, film, and news agencies. Protests from newspapers and from abroad blocked the plan, but it is bound to reappear in a different form and to be embodied in legislation. Dr. Adenauer has his docile majority and he knows what he wants.

All bourgeois ideological divisions were submerged in the election struggle by bourgeois class interests. Fear that the economic conditions of the inflation days might return made fourteen million voters choose Dr. Adenauer and his party. Nevertheless, the Socialists, standing for anti-militarism and willingness to negotiate with Russia, obtained one million more votes than in 1949.

Even before Adenauer's victory the German Republic was economically the strongest country in Europe. Now it is the deciding factor in European politics. Only the army is still missing. When that has been re-created, the old game can start all over again. The German bourgeoisie no longer needs a Hitler. It needs only a two-thirds' majority in Parliament, and that it has. Soon the governments of the *Länder* will be brought into line and this will mean a two-thirds majority in the Bundesrat, or upper house. The federal bureaucracy is already won over. And so back to Bismarck and his authoritarian state. The first Bismarck was a Prussian Junker. The new Bismarck comes from the Catholic metropolis on the Rhine, the capital of German heavy industry.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Laniel in the Lion's Den

Paris

THE French Parliament met one week before its official date, though several weeks after the date asked by the leaders of the August strike. The respite thus gained by M. Laniel saved his Cabinet from a possible fall, but it has hardly helped to solve the three great problems which France is now facing: to satisfy the demands of the workers, to find a way of putting an end to the war in Indo-China, and to avoid the rearmament of Germany.

As regards the first point, there are clear signs announcing a new period of social unrest. The Laniel Cabinet's policy of lowering prices in order not to have to raise wages has had a brief period of success. Prices fell at first but, as has often happened in such cases, soon regained their original level. There is no more convincing proof of this than a visit to one of the popular covered markets in Paris to listen to the conversation of women making their purchases. For every woman who says that she is now spending less money in the market than she did before M. Laniel and his Finance Minister, Edgar Faure, published their decree-laws, there are nineteen who say that they are spending just about the same. Markets and factories are better sources of information on France's social problems than newspapers or speeches of political leaders. The French worker is still as dissatisfied today as he was during the August strikes.

The first alarm was given by partial stoppages of work in the nationalized railroads, gas and electric industries, and the post office. These strikes could not be compared with those of August, and the government could speak of a Communist failure. But it must be remembered that the August strikes too were slow in developing. Unlike in August, when the initiative was taken by the Force Ouvrière and the Catholic unions, and the Communists followed their lead, this time it is the Communist-controlled C. G. T. which leads the strike movement. The government likes it better this way because it makes it easier to denounce the agitation as predominantly political and the strikes as a Communist maneuver. The government pretends to believe that the present strikes, coinciding as they do with the reopening of Parliament, aim at impeding the ratification of the E. D. C. treaty. But however much it may try to discredit their purpose, there is no doubt that in the prevailing social climate and as long as wages remain at their present low level, it matters little who starts the strikes and from what political motives; there is always a good chance that the mass of the workers will follow a call to strike. I have heard French industrialists say they would not be surprised if this agitation were to produce before the end of the year a real general strike, a much more serious affair than the strikes of last August. Some industrialists and business men are even talking of a coming revolution in France.

THE SECOND great problem facing M. Laniel and the Assembly is Indo-China. It would appear at first glance that M. Laniel had scored a considerable victory here. The additional aid of $385,000,000 granted by Washington for the prosecution of the war in Indo-China has made possible considerable cuts in the budget. The reduction in military expenditure announced by M. Faure to the Assembly is due above all to the United States having undertaken to equip the Vietnamese national army. The pro-government press and the Premier himself are singing the praises of French-American solidarity. But a goodly number of deputies, including some belonging to M. Laniel's parliamentary majority, agree with the definition given by *Le Monde*: "A contract is a contract. Washington is supplying the money; what else can we supply but men?" In a much talked-about article published in the same newspaper on September 30, J. J. Servan-Schreiber posed the question whether France should accept this money. For once France accepts the money it must pledge itself to push the war in Indo-China to a victorious conclusion. The war goes on, and such a pledge opens up a perspective totally opposed to the proposal of negotiating peace in Indo-China, which brought M. Mendès-France within an inch of the premiership when he appeared before the Assembly to ask for a vote of confidence four months ago.

It will be a long time before the Vietnamese national army is fully equipped. In the meantime, more French soldiers will have to be sent to Indo-China to fulfil the obligations France assumed by the "contract." This is in itself enough to create a political problem for any French government, in view of the great unpopularity of the Indo-Chinese war. But more than that, it will further complicate the issue of the European army, against which the president of the Assembly, Edouard Herriot, recently took a very strong stand in an interview with Geneviève Tabouis in the financial organ *l'Information*. The supporters of ratification of the European-army treaty by the Assembly are now concentrating their efforts on demonstrating that France can put into the field sufficient divisions to counteract the presence of German divisions in the army. But if more and more battalions are to be sent to Indo-China, where will the men be found to form the French divisions of the European army, and how is it possible for a Frenchman not to feel more alarmed than ever at the rearmament of Germany?

This line of thinking undoubtedly prompted some of the Cabinet last week to propose a five-power conference—including China—with its agenda limited to Far Eastern questions. Once France is free of the burden of the Indo-Chinese war, its bargaining power in Europe will be tremendously increased.

BOOKS

The Too Long Reach

MARRIED MEN. By Ira Wolfert. Simon and Schuster. $7.50.

By John W. Aldridge

FOR some years now Ira Wolfert has been building a reputation for literary competence of that rare high kind which is so close to excellence that we must assess it rather as the product of an aspiration strained beyond its means than as a symptom of a talent which has found it more profitable to cheat than to aspire. Although he has had perhaps more opportunity than most men, Mr. Wolfert has never cheated: the impulse behind his aspiration has remained holy. But it is none the less true that his aspiration has been of such quality and directed toward such ends that it has been doomed from the start to exceed his creative grasp. He is the sort of man who probably should never have come to the novel in the first place. He is by nature ill-equipped for it, and perhaps because he senses his inadequacy he is always trying to make it do work it was never meant to do, at least in such hands as his, or to twist it into some hitherto undiscovered form more congenial to his limitations.

What his limitations are must by now be notorious, for he has displayed them to good effect in two novels before the present one. They consist, in brief, of a certain averageness of mind, a certain mediocrity of taste, and a certain obviousness of feeling, all of which have caused him embarrassment in his dealings with the larger philosophical abstractions and the finer complexities of human emotion and behavior. In at least one of his earlier works, however, Mr. Wolfert was able to get around his limitations by the simple strategy of doing nothing to call them forth. When he wrote "Tucker's People," his first novel, in the early forties, he depended almost entirely on his very superior journalistic gifts—his clear perception of environmental detail, his deep sympathy for and understanding of the various dwarfed personality types which inhabit the modern underworld, and his ability to exploit to great dramatic effect the shade of difference between a fictional account and its constantly intruding factual basis.

Of all his gifts this last probably served him and the novel to best advantage, for it made it virtually impossible for the average reader to see the fiction except through the haze of his emotional response to the social condition against which the fiction was a protest. And the same was true of his reaction to Mr. Wolfert's war novel, "An Act of Love": he saw it as a glorious confirmation of his most cherished conventional attitudes toward the patriotic fact of war as he was able to observe that fact under the fevered and overblown circumstances of 1945. He did not recognize Mr. Wolfert's fatuousness in that novel, or his oppressively manic view of the joys of dying in battle—if he had, he would have been obliged to recognize them as his own, and that, in 1945, would have amounted to an act of subversion.

Mr. Wolfert's gift for exploiting the moment had seduced the reader into taking a meretricious view of the fiction, precisely as it had enabled Mr. Wolfert to elevate meretriciousness to the level of a kind of low literature. I do not say he did this deliberately; he simply happened to share the attitudes of the great mass of his public. But it did have the effect of forestalling for a long time the critical judgment of his powers as a novelist which we are now compelled to make. For now, in "Married Men," he has chosen to present, in journalistic form and language but in the terms of a conception far beyond the range of his journalistic gifts, a body of material from which no meretricious influence of timeliness or popular interest can arise to help him.

Mr. Wolfert's material in "Married Men" is no less than the moral and industrial history of a certain imaginary sector of American life in the modern era; or, to put it another way, the novel represents an attempt to analyze on a major scale the politics of the relationship which once existed in this country between the structures of economic class and the structures of the self. That Mr. Wolfert has largely failed in the attempt, or that, in some respects, his is one of the most important failures we have suffered in the novel in recent years, is not for the moment our concern. What should interest us first is his method, for that is the form in which his failure is transmitted to us and the form which, in large measure, his failure takes.

THE STRIKING feature of that form is its enormous size: Mr. Wolfert's failure consists partly in his compulsive inability to make it smaller. The novel runs to slightly more than a thousand pages; and we are told on the jacket that it was revised three times. There can, consequently, be no mistake about it: Mr. Wolfert thought he knew what he was doing and could do no less. But what he thought he knew must escape our immediate comprehension, for in this country, at least in recent times, such garrulity as his has come to be thought of more as an ailment than as a method—the affliction of writers who, having failed to capture their subjects in youth, must resort in middle life to chasing them down through pages of print.

In the European novel, where garrulity is very nearly the grand tradition, we are inclined to accept it or, more often, to ignore it because it is usually inseparable from some great sustaining subject, some vast generalizing conception of man in nature. Even when Dickens and Dostoevski were writing novels to order, which they were not at all above doing, they were careful to write them by the pound rather than by the yard. Their subjects, furthermore, were not something they pursued; they were something they had, as elderly Boston gentlewomen have their hats. But American writers tend to have material rather than subjects, impressions rather than conceptions, feelings rather than emotions; and what they are apt to feel most intensely about is merely themselves. In this re-

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spect Mr. Wolfert is no Thomas Wolfe. He is not in the least interested in himself. If anything he is closer, in some of his technical resources, to the Russians. He has a sense of dramatic scene and detail that is nearly Tolstoyan; he even shares somewhat in Tolstoy's great preoccupation with the mechanics of power and its effect on men. But he is what Tolstoy would have been if he had been drugged and imprisoned, chained to a desk and condemned to write endlessly long after he had ceased to think. And his novel is a kind of "War and Peace" *manqué*, what Tolstoy might have written if he had had merely all that material, all that sweep, and no suitable form in which to make of his material a truly meaningful dramatic subject.

PROPERLY SPEAKING, the material of "Married Men" is of two kinds. There is on the one hand the massive narrative itself, documenting in endless detail the life histories of the characters against the background of the social and economic history which they and their kind collectively produce. On the other hand there are the countless tedious passages of seemingly interpolated philosophical and metaphysical discourse which are apparently intended to serve as the vehicle for Mr. Wolfert's idea or theme. Ideally, the material should be impenetrable to analysis of this sort. There should not be two kinds at all, but one. The body of the novel should consist of a single, fully objectified unit of dramatic meaning, complete in itself and demonstrating through its own symbolic and imagistic properties the philosophical implications which are intended to rise out of it. This is the great lesson we have learned in the novel since Flaubert and Henry James. But it is a lesson which Mr. Wolfert's experience and cast of mind do not allow him to learn. His narrative moves along like a vastly independent convoy laden with action, while his philosophy is made to race after it and weave in and out through it like a police patrol heavy with monitory intent. And what is more, the narrative and the philosophy have behind them two completely different and violently incompatible systems of perceiving and explaining the reality which it is the business of the novel to engage.

The narrative is oriented on the old-fashioned historical-naturalist premise, a belief in the efficacy of sheer horizontally accumulated detail to produce a convincing picture of reality. Its traditional literary form is the saga, chronicle, fake journal, and the kind of novel which has come down to us through Zola, Balzac, Norris, Dreiser, and Farrell. Its traditional technique is garrulity. Its traditional goal is not literature but the reproduction of life. Philosophically, it represents a rationale which has been untenable for the last fifty years; for the findings of nineteenth-century European scholarship on which it is based have been that long in the discard. It assumes a mechanical universe governed by natural law and force and a static view of human behavior as simply a chemical and ganglionic response to environmental stimuli; and that is not the universe we have inhabited or a view we have been able sensibly to hold since the appearance of Freud and the publication, in 1905, of the first Einstein papers.

THE BURDEN of Mr. Wolfert's philosophy, however, is existentialist, in the respect that it assumes a relative universe and a view of human destiny as an achievement of the responsible or "engaged" will operating within an order of time, space, and nature which is quite the opposite of the mechanical order of the naturalists. Its traditional literary form is the novel of introspection and sensibility, the novel of James, Virginia Woolf, Conrad, and Faulkner, where dramatic realization is as a rule achieved through the realization of a character's power of free choice, his attainment of selfhood. The question it asks, the question that is asked over and over again in the speculative portions of Mr. Wolfert's novel, is: what can a man do to bring about such a realization in terms of his whole nature? But the question which the narrative asks is: how can a man gain sufficient freedom from the social and economic trap in which environment and chance have placed him to find out whether he has a nature? It is clearly the first of these questions which Mr. Wolfert wishes his novel to answer, or at least to raise; but he has chosen to raise it within the framework of a narrative technique which, by the very nature of the world view it represents, can provide an answer only to the second. The result is that, even as Mr. Wolfert raises his question, his narrative rules it out of order; even as he struggles to save the souls of his characters, his narrative damns them. It is only at the very end of the novel, through what we must interpret as a sacrificial act of self-sabotage, that he is able to impose salvation on them; but by then it is much too late.

The terms in which the characters are introduced to us, the only terms in which, given Mr. Wolfert's method, they can be introduced, are those of naturalist determinism. This is to say that they are seen as the passive victims of forces set in motion by the environment surrounding them—in particular, by the psychological environment created through their relations with their immediate families. In the case of each of the leading characters the directing compulsive force is Oedipal: each in his own way must kill his father in order to release the fathering or self-creating principle within himself. This might well have served as the scaffolding on which Mr. Wolfert could have constructed his existentialist novel if he had been able to persuade his narrative to cooperate. But the insight into the psychological nature of his characters which he gives us, largely through his expository passages, is obscured and finally vitiated by the contradictory motives which his narrative causes his

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characters to have. Wes Olmstead, his prototypal tycoon, is *shown* to be driven, not by an impulse toward creative selfhood, but by an ultimately self-destroying desire for wealth and power; and the vast industrial empire which he builds in the service of this desire comes to represent the ultimate in spiritual impoverishment for the men under him. Elizabeth, his wife, while also ostensibly motivated by a need to become "existent" as a self and as a woman, is *shown* to be motivated by impulses no less acquisitive than her husband's when she undertakes a political career.

It is perhaps because Mr. Wolfert sensed and sought to reverse the direction in which his narrative was taking him that he chose, at the last possible moment, to resolve his characters in terms of an existentialist destiny. Olmstead, at the end of his life and in complete contradiction of the facts of his nature as previously given, is made to develop a conscience and to work for the creative betterment of his men. Elizabeth later on is inexplicably released into womanhood by Olmstead's death and, even more inexplicably, by the suicide of Banty Springer, a former Olmstead employee whom she scarcely knows.

But Mr. Wolfert's last desperate efforts are not entirely wasted. The story of Banty Springer, which forms the long concluding section of the novel, is surely one of the finest pieces of sustained narrative writing to be produced by an American novelist in many years. It is like the scenes of Joe Christmas's castration in Faulkner's "Light in August" and Axel Heyst's sacrificial death in Conrad's "Victory," in the sense that it represents one of those rare and almost unbearably lucid moments when all the tensions and ambiguities and, in this case, contradictions which have been spreading through a novel and holding it back from climax suddenly release and resolve themselves in a single tranquillizing act of perfectly rendered drama. But with all its perfection, Banty Springer's story is still not enough to save the novel. The thick tissue of paradox and inconsistency which has grown up before it in the narrative has already crowded out the master design in which it might have taken a significant place.

In these times of indiscriminate praise and blame, one further distinction needs still to be made. "Married Men" may be a crashing bore and a nearly crashing failure. But even at its most boring it is always serious, and even in its failure it testifies in a major way to the high quality of Mr. Wolfert's intent, the continued purity of his aspiration. It also stands well above the majority of the novels which, in its size and form, it so much resembles and with which it is certain to be compared. I mean those voluminous provocations to aphasia which go by the publicity names of "saga" and "chronicle" and "epic" and "panorama" and which seem to prophesy, in their every line, the coming of that day when the publishing of books in America will at last have been delegated to a gigantic autonomous printing machine, whose business it will be to turn out great bundles of paper between gaudy covers, to be sold in the millions to an audience so anaesthetized that it will no longer know or care that there is no print whatever on any of the pages.

The City Beautiful

THE CITY OF MAN. By Christopher Tunnard. Scribner's. $5.50.

By Albert J. Guerard

THIS encyclopedic work, written with loving care by a highly qualified man, cannot be summarized in a few words. My review might profitably be reduced to: "Read it; enjoy it; ponder it." Lest I be accused of unreasoning enthusiasm, let me start with two minor reservations. The book is announced as the first to emphasize the role of art since Camillo Sitte's (1889). Now Sitte's approach, of limited but intense interest, is totally different from Tunnard's. And there is no city planner worth his salt who does not consider his craft as an art, the most complex, the most subtle of all. If we choose to disregard Lewis Mumford as being a crusader rather than a technician, Werner Hegemann cannot be swept aside. Gratuitous claims weaken faith.

My second objection is, to use the French phrase, "that the bride is too fair." Tunnard is full of poetic visions of the past and of the future, and translates them into such glowing language that the effect is at times one of baroque splendor. It is true that the puritanical functionalist Le Corbusier writes with even greater fervor: a blend of Isaiah and Westbrook Pegler. Wear dark glasses, and the essential moderation of Christopher Tunnard will be apparent.

There are three main aspects to city planning. The technical must never be neglected: collective good housekeeping, *cf.* the *American City* magazine. The social requires longer and larger views. The slums are the result of shortsightedness and greed and can be cured only by energetic social consciousness. If Robert Moses tells Mumford that we have to build wrong because building right would not pay under the present system, then the system must be altered. Finally, there is the artistic side, in every sense: adequacy to purpose, elegant economy of means, preservation of the storied past, best use of natural amenities, opportunities for leisure and pleasure, and a stimulus to the imagination. A church which is unequivocally a church, a memorial, even a triumphal arch fulfil their function, which is not purely mechanical. I do not know whether beauty is truth; I do know that beauty is a truth, or a part of the truth.

> All the latest New York buildings were planned by architects who fancy themselves economists, sociologists, or business men. The way out for our architecture is difficult. It involves a completely different training for the young. It demands boldness and no cringing. . . . If we can accept the reality of beauty in architecture, a change will have come about. If we continue to hope for beauty as a by-product of design, good buildings will not be the result.

In other words, America's business is not business, for "good business" is not necessarily good. The purpose of the book is described as "the recovery of beauty in the city: a new approach." Strange that it should seem new! It is the great tradition—not a return to ancient styles but the preservation of a spirit. The quest for beauty is the high road; profit-seeking is but a dingy blind alley.

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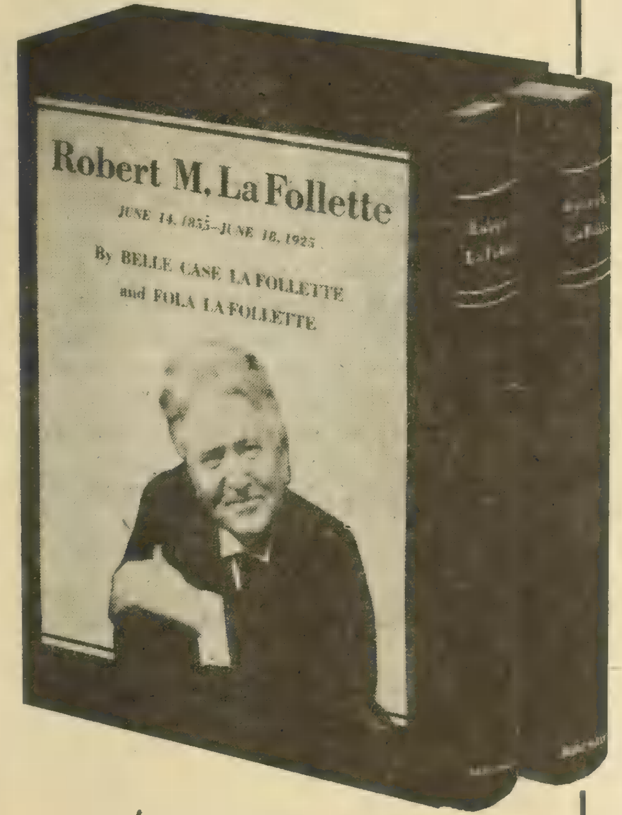

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New Books in Brief

Peace with Slavery

THE GREAT PEACE. By Raja Hutheesing. Harper. $3.50.

A well-known journalist who participated in India's struggle for independence, Raja Hutheesing long felt that his country's "millions continued to live without hope in hunger and ignorance" and that China "seemed to offer a new way." This book, describing the author's two visits to China in 1951 and 1952, is also the chronicle of an Asian's disillusionment. For, while an Indian, Hutheesing is at the same time a humanist who found he could not accept the constant surveillance, the sight of repression and fear, and the sham of a totalitarian regime masquerading as a "new democracy." Unfortunately for the impact of the book, this revulsion often diverts the writer from straight reporting, for which there is such need, to editorial condemnation, of which there is such a surplus.

Yet the book does have merit. It is another demonstration of how Mao's China affects non-Communist Asians able to tour the country, and here and there it has revealing flashes of Maoism in action. Perhaps the best is the story of how, on a trip to Manchuria, Hutheesing identified aloud a race course reported infected by "American germs" and now innocently used as a pasture. The penalty of alertness came the same night. Hutheesing was awakened near the Great Wall and informed he would have to be detained since he had no plague certificate. At Shanhaikwan two doctors with white masks awaited him. One of them was attaching the needle to a defective syringe with bare fingers. Not a drop of the glucose in the syringe went into Hutheesing's arm, but the fiction of "germ warfare" was preserved.

Tiger Hunter's Boyhood

JUNGLE LORE. By Jim Corbett. Oxford. $2.50.

In this fourth volume by the author of "The Man-Eater of Kumaon" Colonel Corbett is concerned chiefly with his boyhood and youth in the hill country of India. His early years appear to have been a sort of Kiplingesque idyl in the course of which he absorbed rather than learned jungle lore, and his education seems to have made him into a sort of Kiplingesque hero. Some readers of a previous book were offended by the paternalistic attitude toward "natives" which he took for granted; other readers may be slightly troubled by his assumption that hunting is the normal source of a knowledge of nature. Colonel Corbett, however, seems to have "played the game" strictly according to the code. His paternal concern for the welfare of the natives is genuine, not a pretense. His sportsman's code is not—like Hemingway's—a mere excuse for meaningless slaughter.

"Jungle Lore" is remarkable, like his earlier books, for its extraordinarily direct, unself- conscious, and vivid narrative.

Our Stake in Italy

THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY. By H. Stuart Hughes. Harvard. $4.

This first-rate contribution to Harvard's admirable American Foreign Policy Library seeks to penetrate the "deceptively happy mask" that hides the tragedy of Italy from most tourists. Mr. Hughes, who was in Italy during the war with the O. S. S. and has been a frequent visitor since, combines the eye of the trained historian with an unpatronizing affection for the Italians. Clearly and succinctly he uncovers the roots of Italy's major political and economic problems, giving particular emphasis to the "tragic disequilibrium" between the industrialized north, a part of modern Western Europe, and the poverty-stricken south, where the mass of the population has barely emerged from the Middle Ages.

Until World War II, American foreign policy was but little concerned with Italy. Since then the United States has become a predominant power in the Mediterranean with a major stake in the integrity and prosperity of the country that divides that sea in two. But while we have done something to aid Italian recovery and have intervened—clumsily—in Italian politics, there is, Mr. Hughes believes, much else we might do to strengthen Italian democracy to the point where it would become a strong link in the NATO chain. Lower tariffs on Italian products and more generous quotas for Italian "immigrants" would ease the country's economic difficulties and pay huge dividends in good-will. Of even greater import would be American technical and financial aid, and moral support, in applying to the south "a kind of shock treatment—a rapid succession of measures for land distribution, land improvement, power development, highway building, and industrialization all going on at the same time." For until the frail craft of Italian democracy is better ballasted, it is liable to be wrecked either on the Scylla of a revived fascism or the Charybdis of communism.

Posed and False

THE MONUMENT ROSE. By Jean Garrigue. Noonday Press. $3.

Jean Garrigue's second book of poems leaves me, as her first left me, with an impression of sensitivity undisciplined and of perception unsorted from eccentricity. There are indeed moments in which the vision starts, but the statement too often descends to gabble:

> Music at this, for whom the kings throw dice
> Or favor your wild beauty by that sky
> They know the gods appareled white with stars
> Who stung and pale, indifferent as those maps you rule,
> Are then appointed by our passioned wills, know you?

or:

> And we are blood, blood—
> Moves in our mind. Is it blind, blind?
> Is as well, wine. Is it doom? As much
> Song. And the night plucks open our veins,
> Strong, strong!

I am reminded of a line from Miss Garrigue's first book: "They are kicking a man in the head to death." May not a poet be expected to know when he has stumbled on the unsalvageable?

Similarly in Song for a Marriage the opening invocation bids an unidentified messenger to go to the loved one and to "say for me/The words she said whose secret I do keep." But if the poet keeps the secret of the words, how can the messenger repeat them?

This same disregard of basic prose

elements becomes sheer grotesque in a poem built around the classic refrain: "My cat peed in the coalbin, why?" Miss Garrigue uses that rhetorical "why" to spring for universal meaning:

My cat peed in the coalbin, why?
Well, God himself asks many things
And gives no reason for the sky.

A possible perception perhaps, but that "why" is posed and false. Miss Garrigue knows very well that her cat peed in the coalbin because coal can be scratched at. If there must be mystification, let it be of the mystery. The literal is still precisely perceivable. Sidney Solomon has done a superb job of book designing.

Southern Authors

SOUTHERN RENASCENCE. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and Robert D. Jacobs. Johns Hopkins. $5.

This symposium on literature in the modern South, gives a peculiarly narrow view of that region as a breeding ground for authors: the younger generation is not discussed, nor are Negro authors, nor authors who write of the South although they were not born there. Indeed, Faulkner is nearly equated with Robert Penn Warren, Erskine Caldwell, Caroline Gordon, and (heaven help us all!) Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings.

Theater

Harold Clurman

FROM a trade angle there would seem to be little point now in reviewing "The Strong Are Lonely," which closed after seven performances. But the play was patently superior to most shows we see—including many successes. Apart from an insufficiently integrated production, "The Strong Are Lonely" failed because its subject matter, though based on a fundamentally universal theme, is foreign to our theater audiences.

Religion in our country is not only separate from the state; it is separate from our lives. The religious impulse, as well as certain consequences of religious training, certainly enters into our thinking and behavior more than we commonly suppose, but we are not used to viewing religion as an active, practical central force of our daily concern. In Europe, where the church has played a vital part in the development of states and cultures, where today there are important parties which to a large extent are secular functions of the church, vying for control of the bodies as well as the minds of entire nations, the problems posed in "The Strong Are Lonely" are almost topical.

To put it as baldly as possible, what Fritz Hochwalder's play—originally called "On Earth as in Heaven"—asks are the age-old questions: Can Christianity serve as a practical doctrine? Can there be a truly Christian state? More specifically, can the church, in the light of the original Gospel, function as a radical or revolutionary political agent? Must the church deal only with men's souls or can it face all man's problems, including the social? Shall the church merely render unto Caesar what is Caesar's?

Hochwalder's play depicts the trials of a Jesuit Father Provincial who wishes to make Christianity a living force on every level of man's activity. As such it is an absorbing and impressive work, though its ending is ambiguous, sentimental, and probably evasive. As a piece of theater it is unusual and dramatically sturdy in a near-classic vein. It is a pity that it could not be produced here under conditions more favorable to a cordial hearing than those afforded by the Broadway system.

"TEA AND SYMPATHY" (Barrymore Theater) is a totally successful play because it deals with a theme which has a strong appeal to our audiences and because it is extremely well produced.

I speak of the play's theme, although I was not altogether sure at first what the theme was. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the play tells an interesting story which suggests a number of themes none of which are emphasized or probed at any particular depth. The story is that of a sensitive prep-school boy who on very slight evi-

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dence is suspected of being a homosexual. The suspicion is furthered because the boy is a shy, introspective adolescent given to playing the guitar, "long-haired" music, and discussion of plays like "Candida." The main theme therefore is a defense of the special person in a society which tends to look askance at the "odd" individual, even the unpremeditated non-conformist. If the play has a message, it is to the effect that a boy like its protagonist may be more truly a man than those falsely rugged folk who oppress him.

The play also cautions us against prejudice, slander, and false accusation—in a word, is a plea for tolerance. Naturally, we are all for it: every contribution in this direction is more than welcome. Yet in this regard I cannot help thinking that we have arrived today at a peculiar brand of tolerance. We tolerate the innocent! We say "this person who is accused of being off-beat—socially, sexually, or politically—is not guilty; we must therefore be tolerant." If he is guilty, should we then tear him to bits? I should prefer to see a play in which, let us say, a homosexual is shown to be a genuinely worth-while person and the persecution that he suffers is presented as a disease within ourselves.

This thought leads me to another. In our theater we are forever beginning all over again. When O'Neill wrote his early plays, we felt we had come of age: we were now free to speak as forthrightly as any of the Europeans. We could be not only frank but, if we pleased, savage or pessimistic. Though now easily acceptable, a play like "Tea and Sympathy" is probably still regarded by many as adventurous and advanced, though it is actually primitive in its theme, characterization, and story development. It is, in fact, a very young play.

This is no adverse comment on it. It is the work of a young playwright, Robert Anderson, whose approach is honorably craftsmanlike and humane. He has been greatly aided by Elia Kazan's production, which represents our professional best. Everything is done with admirable meticulousness and theatric acumen by a finely chosen cast.

Deborah Kerr is beautiful to behold as well as gratifyingly warm and simple. John Kerr is a real find—a delicate, intelligent, handsome, and virile young man. Leif Ericson, who plays the rather obnoxious and underwritten part of a bully-boy husband, is an excellent character actor whose work in pictures is generally an abuse of his talent. All the others, notably John McGovern, are completely right. Mr. Kazan has rendered his author and actors a true service.

Films

Manny Farber

THIS is the age of elephantine, humorless films that show little if any artistic endeavor. The latest example of gigantism, "The Robe," deals with a Roman counterpart of Lanny Budd who gets around to all the important Biblical events. The story, however, is less important than the fact that it is presented on the new CinemaScope screen, probably the widest and largest in existence. The screen is exploited here chiefly for spectacular mural-type photographs in which every detail is clearly defined: the movement of the camera lens is usually a slow sideways one, giving you the impression of looking at the world through a slot-in-the-wall.

These overpowering views have been colored and composed with some of the skill that went into "Moulin Rouge," but they exist as great static blocks of scenery, with the characters—from Lloyd C. Douglas's enormously popular book—squeezed in between in an unintentionally funny way: the camera seems to bump into a leading character standing in the middle of a street, open plain, or mountain top with nothing to do but gaze off into the distance. If he is played by a hammy actor like Mature, the fellow's face can be seen moving like mammoth plates of steel. But no matter who the actor, the character is usually a forlorn figure who looks as if he had stumbled into the center of a Music Hall set on the wrong cue.

"The Robe" tells the story of a young tribune (Richard Burton) who annoys an evil, effeminate prince regent to the point where he is sent into the worst spot of the Roman Empire. In Jerusalem he starts out as indolent playboy, falls under the spell of the new religion, and eventually operates like Douglas Fairbanks spreading the gospel in Rome itself. There has been so much effort on Twentieth Century–Fox's part to put this first CinemaScope production over that about all you notice is the dull competence strewn into a hundred and one corners of the film. Only a few actors really individualize their roles. Someone named Jay Robinson enacts the petulant prince regent with a weird wobbling walk in which he invariably teeters off to the side before moving forward—he reminded me of both Leon Errol and an untalented Charles Laughton. On the credit side there are Frank Pulaski, Jr., as a tough, taunting Roman commander, as hard as anyone I've seen in movies, and a humanized bit by Richard Boone, who as Pontius Pilate has only to wash his hands in a distracted way.

Director Henry Koster and script writer Philip Dunne may have tried to spark up the movie by making the nonbelievers more manly and the Christians less obviously saintly than is usual in Hollywood journeys through the Bible. In the case of the Cana Christians—Dean Jagger as Justus and Michael Rennie as Peter—the characterizations come out insipid anyway. Jagger talks and acts as if he were a colored preacher in a 1930 Hollywood musical, and Rennie just moves around making you conscious of the shoulder padding under his toga. The other actors—most of them British (Burton, Simmons, Thatcher)—are adequate in a one-dimensional way. Burton plays the proud, hot-tempered, somewhat cocky hero with an angry set to his mouth and an impetuous way of moving and talking.

Some of the usual faults of Biblical melodramas have been avoided in "The Robe." There is less sadism and sex of the glamorous, freely brushed-in type that De Mille has used so often, but what there is, is definitely corny. In a clanking sword fight around the dusty main street of Cana the sound-effects crew steals the show with its phony noise-making while the swordsmen slice away in rhythmic patterns. The thrills are mild and invariably the product of the spectacle scenes. One of the best of these, Christ's entrance into Jerusalem a week before the Crucifixion, handles a swirling line of marchers in deep space with the skill of an old master. But the whole intent in such scenes—to produce static pictures that are breathtakingly big and colorful—seems as philistine as anything I've seen recently, reminding me of nothing so much as the worst examples of calendar art.

Records

B. H. Haggin

SEVERAL more performances by Dinu Lipatti—of Chopin's great Sonata Op. 58, his lovely Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, the fine Mazurka Op. 50 No. 3, and the Barcarolle, parts of which are very beautiful—have been issued on an LP record (Columbia). They were recorded in 1947 and 8, and the sound lacks fullness and brightness; but the lyricism and grace, the unfailing taste and feeling for continuity in the traditional rubato style, the unfailing precision and considerate treatment of the instrument are sufficiently audible.

When the record with Lipatti's performance of Mozart's Sonata K. 310 was issued I said the work could be played with more power; but that performance was power itself compared with the delicate miniature Friedrich Gulda produces (London). The style is more successful in Mozart's engaging Rondo K. 485—successful, for one thing, in pointing up, in its delicately sensitive way, the bold modulations in the piece. And there are also sensitively illuminating performances of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E flat minor from Book 2 of "The Well-Tempered Clavier," of which the Fugue is more interesting than the Prelude, and his English Suite No. 3, of which the Prelude and Sarabande are moderately interesting.

The delicacy and sensitiveness work well in Chopin's Preludes Op. 28, which Gulda plays in the traditional rubato style but with good taste (London). These are the best performances of the pieces that I have heard on records (and I might add that Goldsand's are the best I have heard of the Etudes).

Six of Scarlatti's finest Sonatas—Longo Nos. 23, 387, 395, 411, 449, and 463—are played by Casadesus with fluency and deftness, if not with sharpness and sparkle (Columbia). He also plays some pieces by Rameau—a Gavotte, "Le Rappel des oiseaux," "Les Sauvages," and "Les Niais de sologne"—which are for the most part quite engaging.

Scarlatti spent many years in Portugal and Spain; and his influence is evident in some of the charming pieces of eighteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese keyboard music that are played well by Felicja Blumental (London).

In Schubert's Impromptus Op. 142—beautiful examples of his fully matured writing for the piano—Clifford Curzon does the best playing I have heard from him (London). It is more expansive and slower-moving than Schnabel's, but convincing in its own way; and it has the advantage of clearer and fuller recorded sound—to say nothing of the quiet, as against the crackling and scraping of the scratched copies of the Schnabel record. On the other hand the Schnabel record offers the Impromptus Op. 90 in addition to Op. 142.

Prokofiev's early Sonatas Nos. 3 and 4, and later No. 8, are played well by Robert Cornman (London). No. 3, in one movement, begins with gay toccata-like material which quiets down for a lyrical section; and this material of the exposition and recapitulation makes the piece an engaging one even with the uninteresting development. No. 4 has a rambling quasi-improvisatory first movement; a fine lyrical Andante, low-pitched and somber at first, high-pitched and lovely later on, then combining low and high; and a good concluding movement. The first movement of No. 8 begins with an Andante section of involved distorted lyricism, which returns after some toccata-like figuration; in the second movement a sugary theme is heard through harmonically astringent figuration; and the third brings an explosion of motor energy in toccata-like figuration which returns after a quiet interlude over an ostinato bass. When Horowitz first played No. 8 in 1945 I heard Szigeti say it was a return to the early Prokofiev; but the lyricism of Prokofiev's early works is quite different from the involved "modern" distortion of it in the first movement of the Sonata No. 8, and from the sugar flavored with acid in the second movement.

Playing the recent Bruno Walter records on my New York phonograph I find that the sound in the Mozart "Haffner" and G minor Symphonies is a little dry and sharp; that the orchestra accompanying George London in Mozart arias sounds like a little group crowded together in a little studio; and that Eleanor Steber's voice in Mozart arias is occasionally shrill in a high note and occasionally excessively tremulous. These faults make her singing in *Mi tradi* from "Don Giovanni" not agreeable to listen to; but elsewhere it is magnificent.

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Letters

On the Vandals Among Us

Dear Sirs: The Vandals Are Among Us, by Matthew Josephson [*The Nation,* September 26], is a remarkably clear and forceful presentation of the looming threat of bigotry to modern art. I sincerely hope that this fine article will be widely read by educators, politicians, and all who are actively interested in the preservation of freedom of expression in this democracy.

PAUL HYDE BONNER,
Member of the Board of Trustees of the American Federation of Arts
New York

Dear Sirs: I found Mr. Josephson's article very interesting and extremely important. There is no question in my mind that it deserves as wide a distribution as possible.

HERMAN BARON,
New York Director, ACA Gallery

Dear Sirs: The Nation has seen its manifest duty and done it. Congratulations for the clear thinking that produced the good writing of Matthew Josephson.

ANGELA KINKEAD,
Editor, San Francisco Art
San Francisco *Association* Bulletin

Reconstruction First

Dear Sirs: Probably no peace parley within living memory has faced as tough a problem as confronts the forthcoming political conference on Korea. An almost limitless divergence is likely as to the means of attaining Korean freedom and unity, and until the enmities and suspicions created by three years of bitter war have been moderated it would seem to be inviting disaster to rush headlong at these problems and attempt a quick solution.

In any case it may be the better part of wisdom to strive first of all for an interim arrangement which stabilizes the present political division of the country so as to give time for more moderate counsels to prevail on both sides of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. But apart from this, is there not a good deal to be said for concentrating first and foremost on the economic rehabilitation and physical reconstruction of both Koreas—if possible under a unified plan and utilizing resources drawn from both the Communist and the non-Communist world? This would be to put first things first, anyway. Political unification can wait—will probably have to wait for quite a time. But the satisfaction of the basic human needs of all Koreans, whether North or South, is an overwhelming necessity.

Since the United Nations was a party to the conflict it might be necessary and expedient for its own already established Korean reconstruction agency to give way to an ad hoc International Relief and Reconstruction Commission for Korea set up by the political conference and plentifully manned, if not controlled, by nations that have had no direct part in the fighting. It would draw its resources from all prepared to provide them. And the recent Russian and Polish decisions to contribute for the first time to the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program may be a favorable omen for Communist participation in such an all-embracing effort to heal the material wounds of a peculiarly destructive war.

Guilford, England GERALD BAILEY

Bertrand Russell and "Preventive War"

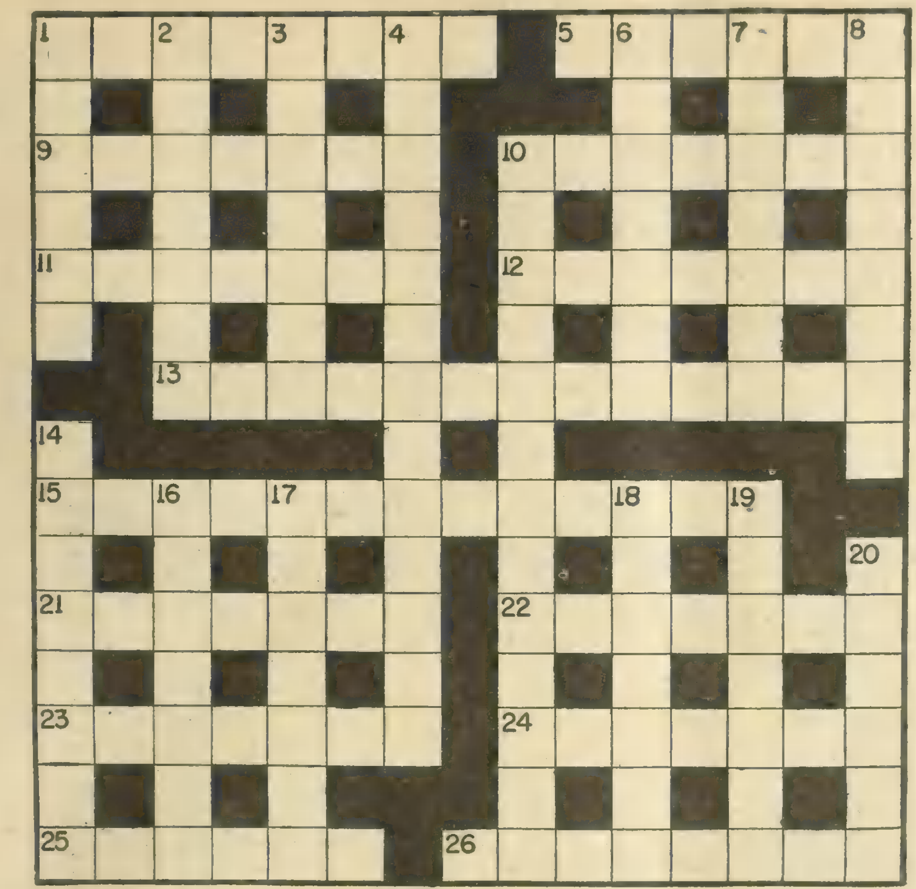
[*The following letter from Bertrand Russell was received by a reader of* The Nation *and is printed with the permission of Earl Russell and the recipient.*]

Dear Sirs: The story that I supported a preventive atom war against Russia is a Communist invention. I once spoke at a meeting at which only one reporter was present and he was a Communist, though reporting for orthodox newspapers. He seized his opportunity, and in spite of my utmost efforts I have never been able to undo the harm. Krishna Menon, with whom I had collaborated for years on Indian affairs, turned against me. The *New Statesman* in London wrote assuming the truth of the report, and it was only by visiting the editor in company with my lawyer that I induced the *New Statesman* to publish a long letter of refutation from me. You are at liberty to make any use you like of this letter, and I shall be glad if you can make its contents known to anybody who still believes the slanderous report.

BERTRAND RUSSELL
Richmond, England

Crossword Puzzle No. 537

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A helper goes after a heavy load without a key. (8)
5 Jersey is one in the 11. (6)
9 Within easy range, but you'd better use a holder if so! (3, 4)
10 A rather unusual drawing. (7)
11 Your most common association is probably by number rather than frequency. (7)
12 It's not appreciated if one's act brings down the house. (7)
13 He practices legerdemain rather than makes something to guard against your fixing digits. (13)
15 Reputedly a graceful creature. (8, 5)
21 Three-dimensioned space by the sound of it. (7)
22 Angelic painter? (7)
23 Bert, the comedian, is taken out of 22, as a clue. (7)
24 Do rains make such encroachments? (7)
25 Appears suddenly like a leg is broken, to a certain degree. (6)
26 Certainly not bare chests! (8)

DOWN

1 The way you have your cap set determines your facial expression. (6)
2 You'll never get in first this way! (7)
3 Part of the Gold Coast sounds like a mean place to live. (7)
4 Perhaps Forester should have used him to portray Horatio as a lad. (6, 3, 4)
6 Raimu, as made up in foreign character. (7)
7 Permanent dwelling? (7)
8 Planted like Shakespeare's constable. (8)
10 Hester Prynne was one, perhaps, but not in the service of the government. (6, 7)
14 Keeping on hand or on foot. (8)
16 The way to make a debit be refulgent. (3, 4)
17 Does the medical sort sound like this? (7)
18 Makes known black magic, seemingly. (7)
19 Help up the lowly from the rock. (7)
20 Acts as an obstructionist about churches. (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 536

ACROSS: 1 ERRATIC; 5 ACCEDED; 9 CHOLERA; 10 GNOSTIC; 11 ON TOP OF OLD SMOKY; 12 ENDURED; 13 SLEETED; 14 DESPOTS; 17 PRECEDE; 20 BREAKFAST CEREAL; 21 NOMINAL; 22 DECANTS; 23 SADISTS; 24 MUSCLES.

DOWN:—1 ENCLOSE; 2 ROOSTED; 3 THE SPORT OF KINGS; 4 CHAFFED; 5 ANGELUS; 6 CROSS REFERENCES; 7 DETROIT; 8 DECOYED; 14 DEBUNKS; 15 STEAMED; 16 STAPLES; 17 POTSDAM; 18 ETERNAL; 19 ENLISTS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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A NOBLE TRIBUTE TO A NOBLE BOOK

John T. McManus Reviews
Howard Fast's New Novel*

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti

HOWARD FAST stands virtually alone among American authors for the sheer force and timeliness of his writing on the most vital themes for those seeking to construct a genuine democracy in the United States.

His newest work is perhaps the finest example of what I mean. It is a most extraordinary treatment of the last hours of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in August of 1927; and although no mention is made of any possible later-day similarity, hardly any reader can fail to relate its circumstances to the tragedy of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in June, 1953. Nor can any reader knowing of the Rosenberg Case fail to scent frame-up after reading the facts of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case as Fast presents them.

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti is presented with Fast's special talent for vitalizing history. The last 18 hours of the two New England radicals, framed for a payroll hold-up and murder in 1920 and held in jail for seven years until executed, become the focal point of a retelling of their whole story—of the world unrest surrounding their case, the final efforts to save their lives, the callous smugness of authority from the President down, and the incandescent forbearance and greatness of the two simple workmen chosen to die as a deterrent to radicalism in the twenties.

The story is told with great beauty of writing, an intimate understanding of the men and their cause, and a passion and vehemence not only warranted but necessary in the retelling of a political frame-up.

Told almost as fiction, with few names used other than those of the victims and their families, it nevertheless gives new generations the true story of how a New England judge sentenced "two anarchistic bastards" (as he called them) to death on trumped-up evidence, against absolute proof of their innocence; how the sentence was affirmed by the Governor of Massachusetts and the president of New England's most vaunted university as head of a commission to investigate the case; how a law professor in the same university challenged his president and the authorities; how a great New York newspaper columnist and a world-famous woman poet fought for clemency; and finally how a New England-born U. S. President washed his hands of the case despite world-wide appeals for mercy.

As in every such work of Howard Fast, the facts reflect the most painstaking research and are incontestably accurate. The fictionalized portions serve principally to drive the facts home with the greatest persuasion.

America's topmost writer in the fight for human decency has written an incomparable document. You can read it again and again, and be more emotionally moved, more convinced each time.

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*From *The National Guardian*, September 28, 1953.

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THE *Nation*

October 24, 1953

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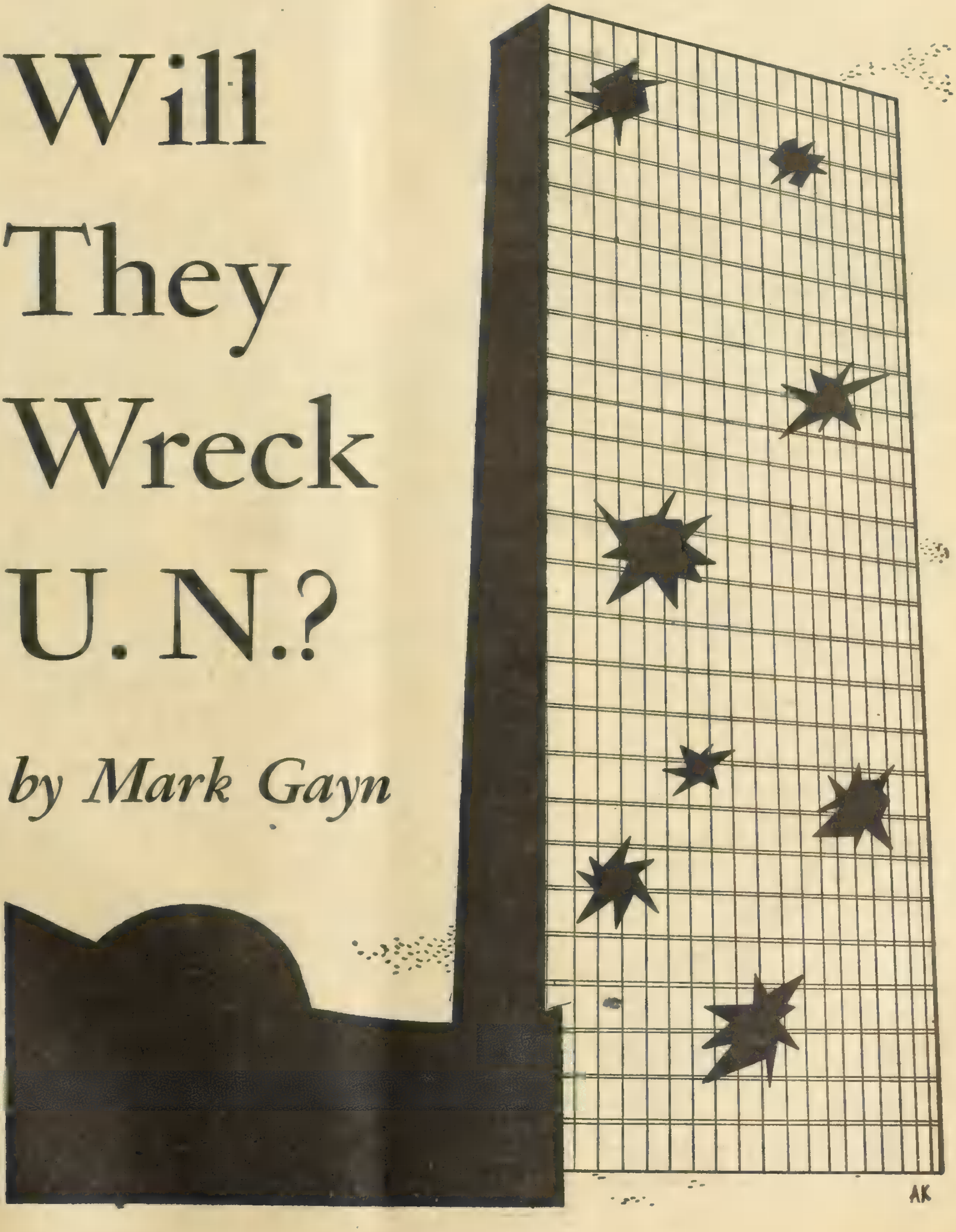
Will They Wreck U.N.?

by Mark Gayn



EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

FOR MONTHS now we've been haunting the well-carpeted lairs of New York book publishers to learn something about their problems. Object of our quest was to bring to fruition a long-time *Nation* goal—the founding of a book club which would suit the diverse but generally liberal tastes of our subscribers. We're happy to say, as announced last week, that we did find a formula and that we're well on the way to starting the club.

As a matter of fact, we had already made some preliminary gambits to ascertain how *Nation* readers would regard the idea of buying books through the magazine. You may recall we offered Lord Jowitt's book on the Hiss case last summer, and currently readers may buy the forthcoming biography of the elder La Follette at a very handsome discount (see back cover).

Our readers bought the Hiss book at such a brisk pace that the sales elicited considerable comment from publishers. Furthermore, our experience with this book—and with subsequent books—was a great help in working out our pending book club.

We're going to launch the club—which we're calling *The Nation's Choice*—at the end of next month with every expectation that it will develop into a source of great benefit to *Nation* subscribers. Incidentally, ONLY, BUT ONLY, subscribers will be able to reap the benefits of the club.

. . . Our editors could be taking credit for a neat bit of editorial omniscience in publishing last week's article by Ritchie Calder on Anglo-American atom-bomb relations. The piece appeared at the same time that front-page stories broke about new A-bomb tests in Australia. However, it was scheduled months before there was any inkling of the tests. It was just the fortuitous concourse of atoms.

. . . Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, whose article on The Citizen and the Free School in our issue of October 10 brought many favorable comments, has a new book scheduled for late fall publication: "On Education and Freedom" (Schuman, $4). It is Dr. Taylor's thesis that the colleges and universities "now occupy the center of intellectual and moral controversy formerly occupied by religious institutions, when the Protestant movement was struggling to gain and hold its independence and the free-thinkers were struggling to gain independence from the Protestants."

. . . We've received both pro and con comments on our publication of Ray Bradbury's story, The Garbage Collector. We invite more statements from our readers on how they feel about this story—and generally about the publication of fiction in *The Nation*. We're also interested in your opinion about some of our recent illustrated covers. Actually, they're designed primarily for subscribers and not as an aid in newsstand sales. About all you see on most newsstands is the upper right-hand corner of *The Nation*. Our real problem is how to enlarge this upper right-hand corner. Any suggestions?

. . . *Nation* contributors Frederick L. Schuman and Hans Morgenthau will be taking part in what promises to be a fascinating forum (December 2 and 3) sponsored by the Akron (Ohio) Civic Forum on its twenty-fifth anniversary. Subject of the forum is "What Is Communism? Who Is a Communist?" Other participants include Robert C. Hartnett, S. J., of the magazine *America*; S. J. Stoessle, Jr., of the State Department's Russian desk; Adam Watson of the British embassy; and a representative of the Yugoslav U. N. mission. The aim of the forum is "a scholarly and unemotional examination of the most confused topic of the day." Interested readers can write for further details to the Akron Civic Forum, 119 N. Highland Avenue, Akron, Ohio. MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Yes, Yes! . . .

Dear Sirs: The Garbage Collector by Ray Bradbury [October 10] struck me as one of the freshest pieces produced by *The Nation* since the departure of Diana Trilling, Margaret Marshall, and Joseph Wood Krutch. . . .

Ruxton, Md. JOHN C. SMEDLEY

. . . No, No!

Dear Sirs: Having reached such a low as to publish the psychotic raving you called a "short story," I suggest you rename your magazine *Garbage Collector.*

New York MRS. G. BLACK

Apology to Mr. Williams

Dear Sirs: My article about Aubrey Williams in *The Nation* of October 10 has to my great regret brought exceptions from Mr. Williams himself. I quoted him as saying that "a Negro's life is worth less than a dog's around here." He intended the remark to refer to the Birmingham area of Alabama, and not to Montgomery, which he considers one of the better spots, although still regrettably "Jim Crow" in almost everything. "No one has had their house burned for opposing segregation in Montgomery," Mr. Williams said. "I have advocated the abolition of segregation all the time I have lived here and have not suffered molestation, nor do I expect to." Mr. Williams feels that other remarks I attributed to him in this connection were unfortunate in that I "left so much out."

It was of course farthest from my intentions to distort my conversation with Mr. Williams in my article about him. My deep admiration for him led me perhaps to be extreme.

Livingston, Ala. ALFRED MAUND

Old Age Security

Dear Sirs: A National Federation for Old Age Security is being organized with the idea of uniting all possible pension groups into a broad federation. The common goal is national old-age pensions and better conditions for the aged. Members all over the country are contributing to the writing of a temporary constitution; groups are giving support and expressing ideas on membership, indorsement, and affiliation; and all pending legislation is under study.

Membership costs you $1, which sum applies to the first-year dues. You will then receive all reports and have a voice in policy. Please address me at Route 1, St. Maries, Idaho, for information.

St. Maries, Idaho LOUISE DENNIS

Volume 177, Number 17
New York, Saturday, October 24, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Saturday Is U. N. Day

This issue of *The Nation* appears on U. N. Day, the world's only official international holiday. But the regard in which most of the world still holds the U. N. is currently of less moment than the forces arrayed against it in this country. Unhappily ours are the money, the prestige, and the real estate.

The problem is beyond the U. N.'s power to solve. As Mark Gayn points out (see page 326), the world organization has become a domestic political issue. Extreme right-wing Republicans—and Democrats—have borrowed the hate-U. N. motif from the crackpots and are using it to rally reaction. The U. N. Charter comes up automatically for revision in 1955, an issue ready-made not only for next year's Congressional election but for debate and possible Congressional action in 1955. And in the 1956 Presidential election the U. N. could well become a major issue.

But if the attack on the U. N. is political, then its defense must be organized politically. So far no political organization and no political leadership have appeared to do the job. Five years or more of witch hunting have taken their toll of the liberal movement in this country; people hesitate to ring doorbells, join committees, sign petitions. Many organizations doing an excellent educational job are enjoined from *political* action by their tax-exempt status. Nor has it helped that the original concept of a bipartisan foreign policy has evolved into the concept of an authoritarian policy which it is heresy to criticize.

To save the U. N., these difficulties must be surmounted. They can be. The U. N. itself should be used as a means of mobilizing maximum liberal strength, just as its opponents are using it to mobilize reaction. On such an issue—the saving and strengthening of the U. N. —the entire roster of democratic forces can unite. It is within this context that Mr. Gayn's plea to organized labor to rally to the organization's cause has real meaning. What is needed is leadership for political action.

Wisconsin Whirlwind

The country has caught the clear accents of the farm revolt involved in the unprecedented election of a Democrat from Wisconsin's Ninth Congressional District. What the press is hiding is that the election has significance far beyond the dissatisfaction with declining farm income.

There is no question about the decisiveness of Lester Johnson's sweep of the farm areas in the district which less than a year ago voted overwhelmingly Republican. But there is no question either about his sweep of the city vote, of which Republicans had been supremely confident. In the city of Eau Claire, the only large industrial center in the district, Johnson carried thirteen of the sixteen wards, including nine which had gone Republican last year. He came within forty votes of carrying Chippewa Falls, his opponent's home town and the district's second largest city.

The election cannot be explained simply by saying that the farmers are in rebellion against Secretary Benson. The pattern of general revolt against the Eisenhower Administration is too obvious in the results. On the farms, in the villages, and in the cities, where Eisenhower ran powerfully last November, the people cast a "protest" vote against what is going on in Washington.

They Didn't Like Ike

The Republicans made the issue clear during the campaign. Senator Bridges came into the district to warn that the defeat of the Republican, Arthur Padrutt, would be "a stunning blow against the Administration." Governor Kohler also campaigned for Padrutt, using the same theme. Padrutt's own campaign slogan was: "Give President Eisenhower a real helper on his team."

When it was over, Padrutt said: "The results show very clearly that the farmer and laboring man do not like the present Administration's policies and took this opportunity to show their displeasure." He could have added, from a look at the urban results, that a lot of white-collar people joined labor and the farmers in expressing their dissatisfaction.

One of the most hopeful things about the election is its indication that people are beginning to become aware of the fact that their pockets are being picked. It indicates that people are fed up with the "bankers' administration," with the giving away of the public domain, and with government of, by, and for General Motors. It shows that even in McCarthy's home state the voters are tiring of the Senator's medicine shows and are hearkening at long last to the really important domestic issues

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The Nation, October 24, 1953. Volume 117, No. 17

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which the Administration is either bungling or evading. And finally it indicates that the legend of the President's popularity is beginning to get shopworn around the edges.

More Political Troubles

Within the last few weeks the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party has run into trouble outside of Wisconsin. With the appointment of the new Chief Justice, California has at long last been "liberated" from the strange brand of fusionist, or, more accurately, "confusionist," politics practiced so successfully by Mr. Warren. California tips the political scales in the Far West; its electoral votes are worth the combined votes of the other Western states. "Goody" Knight, the new governor, is a distressingly mediocre politician whose extreme right-wing politics will not be popular in California. On the East Coast, Governor Dewey is working round the clock to blow down a gorgeous political scandal involving labor racketeers, underworld big shots, and top Republican officials. In New Jersey the administration of Governor Driscoll has been seriously discredited by revelations of political corruption, and the name of the Driscoll-indorsed candidate for governor in the November 3 election has now cropped up in the New York scandal. More important, the Republicans took a merciless drubbing in the recent Connecticut municipal elections, despite the fact that the state chairman urged support of all party nominees as an indorsement of the Eisenhower Administration.

California, New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey have been strongholds of the Eisenhower elements of the Republican Party; they may not be in 1954. But the ultimate beneficiaries of these recent developments may be, not the Democrats, but the go-it-alone right-wing Republican extremists.

Settlement at Arma

After a nine-and-a-half-week strike, precipitated when 158 I. U. E.-C. I. O. workers were fired in violation of seniority (Strike at Arma by Herbert Orrell, August 29), approximately 5,000 shop men, draftsmen, and engineers are now back at work at the Arma Corporation defense plant in Long Island. For the first time in this country white-collar engineers, traditionally anti-union, pooled forces as a group with shop workers in a labor struggle. The outcome was mixed, but on the whole favored the strikers. The I. U. E. won reinstatement of its 158 workers and preserved its "bumping," or promotion, rights. The engineers won a small wage increase, the extension of their contract until 1955, and other minor concessions, but had to yield on certain procedural matters affecting future negotiations. A prolonged fight over overtime ended in compromise.

The big fact that emerges from the walk-out is that white-collar engineers, in common cause with technicians and production workers, were able to hold their own against a tough and skilled negotiator for management. Their solidarity and steadfastness have strengthened engineer unionism and given a lift to the parent organization, the Engineers and Scientists of America. The story of Arma should hearten white-collar workers everywhere.

Negotiating from Arrogance

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE British Prime Minister may have returned to Downing Street too late to repair the damage done by his subordinates and his chief ally during his months of forced retirement. Certainly he won't do it merely by waving the big stick at Israel, Guiana, and Yugoslavia and snubbing France. His immediate job is not so much to insist on the pride and power of the Empire in its dealings with lesser nations as to stand up to the United States on major issues.

The idiotic decision on Trieste must obviously be retracted, in effect if not in words, unless the Western Allies want to risk war on the Adriatic and a considerable diplomatic victory for Russia. While the application of gunboat rule in the Caribbean has won prompt support from a Republican State Department, it will be resented all over Latin America, even where discretion forbids open protest, as well as in the colonial areas, the Middle East, and Asia. As for the harsh rebuke to Israel, this too carried a note of arrogant dictation which suggests that Britain has forgotten it no longer exercises a mandate over Palestine and likes to pretend Jordan is an independent state. The reciprocal hostilities between Israel and Jordan are ugly and threatening enough to have warranted consideration by the Security Council; they do not by any stretch of the imperial imagination justify unilateral orders from Whitehall or Washington. No doubt all these issues called for consultation by the three foreign ministers in London, but not for decisions which could only reinforce the growing impression that wisdom and concern for peace were being sacrificed to a display of power for its own sake.

So it seemed, at least, as the conference ended last Sunday. Nor was this impression weakened by the proposal to Moscow of a new four-power foreign minister's meeting to discuss Germany and Austria. It should be clear by this time that another such meeting can only chew on stale crusts. Germany remains the key to any settlement between Moscow and the West, but the key cannot be used to good effect unless both sides know what lurks behind the door. This is the reason Sir Winston has pressed for private, informal talks among the top leaders. He is not looking for the sort of deal that might emerge from talks tied to a tight agenda prepared in advance. What he is looking for are understandings on certain basic tenets and approaches.

At a hazard, we suppose he wants the United States to convince Russia that it does not intend to march, or arm or finance or incite others to march, into Eastern Europe to "liberate" the area from Moscow and its own Communist regimes. We suppose he wants to assure Russia and Poland that Germany will not be encouraged or permitted to try to get back its lost provinces by force of arms. On the other side, we imagine he wants Moscow to agree, on the basis of such assurances, to pull its armies out of the satellite states and permit their political future to be determined by political means. He may be prepared to ask for an end to the more hostile forms of propaganda and espionage, and to persuade both sides to wipe out artificial political restrictions on trade. This at least is the sort of political truce and cold-war demobilization which is needed and could only be arranged by principals acting behind closed doors, free from destructive sniping, domestic or foreign. If successful it would make possible a realistic settlement in Germany and Austria, with enough solid advantages all around to enable both to maintain prestige and disarm political enemies ready to charge a sell-out the moment a concession is hinted.

IT IS hard to believe that Sir Winston has relinquished the hope of making such an attempt; hard both because he is a stubborn, self-assured person who likes to have his own way, and because he is a master-politician who knows that the future of his government is today in the balance. His forced absence—and that of Anthony Eden—put Tory foreign policy at the mercy of the inept, reactionary Salisbury and the ever-cautious permanent officials at Whitehall. Between them they allowed Mr. Dulles to shoulder the Churchill proposal aside, and by doing so they drove down the popularity-rating of the Conservative Party to a new low and equally raised that of the Labor opposition. If the Prime Minister hopes to retrieve the fortunes of his government—and who can doubt that he does?—he cannot afford to let his plans be twisted to suit the quite different political designs of the Republican Administration in Washington. The conference just ended seems to have done exactly that. Sir Winston knows the country wants a solid, honest attempt to reach a live-and-let-live deal with Russia; it is not interested in a demonstration that Britain still knows how to throw its weight around and still, reinforced by America, has weight to throw. But if he is to act on his knowledge he will have to do it soon, before the chance of talking calmly with the Russians has been forever lost; it may be too late even now.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

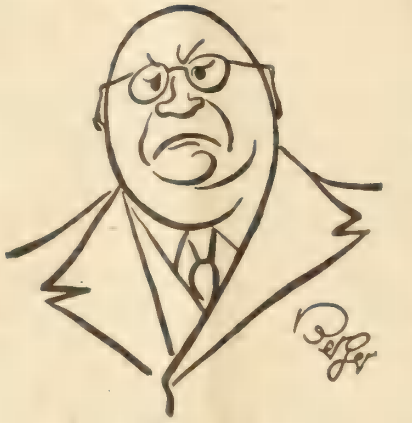
Report on South Africa

Geneva

THE United Nations is so closely identified in the general mind with New York, where the Assembly and the Security Council meet, that few people realize how much important work the organization is doing in this quiet and beautiful city. Geneva is ideal headquarters for a commission of inquiry, for here it can escape the political pressures issuing from the delegates working in Manhattan and from the embassies established in Washington. In Geneva the commission set up by the Assembly to inquire into and report on the racial situation in South Africa has been working hard for the past five months. Its three members are Santa Cruz of Chile, former president of the U. N. Social and Economic Council, Laugier of France, former Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., and Bellegarde of Haiti. Their report is soon to be presented to the General Assembly in New York. For once the members were chosen for their character and independence and not for their national origin. They have had no other aim than to establish the truth, and in this case the truth is not pleasant.

The racial unrest in South Africa is an old story but one which is insufficiently known, although it has been an international issue since last year, when the Nationalist government of South Africa, defying the public opinion of the world and, later on, the warnings and reproaches of the United Nations, made *apartheid* its major policy. The racial problem, exacerbated by segregation and restricted rights of travel, work, and franchise—all justified by supposed precepts of religion, blood, and social hierarchy—is much older than the *apartheid* doctrine. But the Nationalist Party, in power since 1948, has had the sad honor of being the first to embody in national law discriminations hitherto locally or partially applied.

The Nationalist policy is based on the principle that the white race, as the heir of Western civilization, has the duty of maintaining permanently and at any price its position of domination over the colored majority. Hence white supremacy must be embodied in laws, decrees, and supplementary measures giving complete power to the white, or European, 20 per cent of the population and condemning the remaining 80 per cent to perpetual indignity. The report of the U. N. commission thus courageously describes the situation created by the segregation laws.



Prime Minister Malan

The three million Bantus who live in the "native reserves," comprising just over 9 per cent of the area of South Africa, have little chance to cross either the geographical or the social frontiers drawn by the whites. Under no circumstances may a non-European aspire to become the husband or the wife of a white person. He may leave his "ghetto" only if he is granted a special permit to go to another province. If he works in one of the privileged "white" areas, he must renounce the right of freely walking the streets after sunset, and he needs another special permit to seek a job outside his reserve. He is not allowed to forget his troubles in a consoling drink; should he buy a bottle of liquor, punishment would be visited on both him and the person who sold it.

Many restrictions extend to all non-Europeans. They may not study at the universities of Pretoria or Pochefstrom or be elected to Parliament. Their right to vote is exceedingly limited; it is, in fact, only half a vote. Even certain mechanical jobs which labor regards as "aristocratic," such as driving a locomotive or operating an elevator in the mines, are forbidden to dark-skinned workers.

The commission's report points out that two additional discriminatory measures are expected shortly to be approved by the South African Parliament. One is designed to assure that only Malan's brand of "Christian National" dogma, including racialism, will be taught in the country's schools. The other will ban all non-white trade unions. "I am not prepared to recognize native trade unions," declared Minister of Labor Schoeman, in urging this bill. "I won't consult native trade unions because I want them to disappear." The language is certainly unequivocal.

IF THE doctrine of racial differences and superiorities upon which *apartheid* rests is scientifically false, it is also politically absurd. Dr. Malan and the other Nationalist leaders in South Africa should realize that, politically speaking, the situation they have created is sure to explode one day and destroy their regime. The U. N. commission reports on the rate of growth of the non-European population of the Union. Within a generation, by about 1980, the Europeans will form only 17.9 per cent of the total population. And the non-European population is not only increasing faster than the white minority; it is also acquiring an ever larger group of remarkable leaders trained by struggle and adversity to carry on the movement of resistance against discrimination. Their efforts are supported not only by India and Pakistan, the countries of origin of many thousands of non-European South Africans, but also by the formidable anti-colonialist movement now shaking the continent of Africa and exercising steadily increasing influence in the United Nations.

The U. N. commission was asked by the Assembly "to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa" and "to submit its conclusions." Since Dr. Malan and the South African delegation have repeatedly asserted that the treatment of non-whites in the Union is no business of the United Nations, the commission had to make clear in what way South African policy violates the letter and spirit of the Charter. The commission declares that the whole body of discriminatory legislative and administrative measures contradicts "the solemn declaration of the preamble of the U. N. Charter," which calls upon member nations "to realize international cooperation by . . . encouraging respect for the rights of man and the fundamental freedoms of all people without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion." It also contravenes Article 55, according to which the United Nations is supposed to "create the conditions of stability and well-being required to assure peaceful and friendly relations between the nations." "Therefore," the commission concludes, "the measures taken to implement the policy of *apartheid* represent a failure on the part of the government of the Union of South Africa to fulfil the obligation it contracted under the Charter 'to act, both conjointly and separately, in cooperation with the Organization of the United Nations, with a view of attaining the aims announced in Article 55.' " In support of its thesis the commission quotes all the Assembly's resolutions on race discrimination.

IKE'S NAZI GUESTS

The Luftwaffe Reborn? . . *by Milton Friedman*

Washington

DR. WILLY MESSERSCHMITT was experimenting with the first all-metal aircraft in Germany in 1928 when President Calvin Coolidge invited various aviation personalities, including Germans, to a dinner to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wright brothers' first flight. Last Wednesday, on the fiftieth anniversary of the same occasion, another Republican President showed his interest in powered flight by welcoming to the White House Dr. Messerschmitt and other manufacturers of German military planes, together with aviation pioneers from twelve other countries. Dr. Messerschmitt brought with him not only touching memories of the Wright brothers but a briefcase full of plans for a rejuvenated Luftwaffe.

President Eisenhower might have recalled that the names of some of his guests had appeared in Pamphlet 31-110A, issued March 23, 1945, in which the War Department suggested that the United States army, then under Eisenhower's command, should take into custody as dangerous Nazis three of the gentlemen he greeted here—namely, Dr. Messerschmitt, Helmut Sachse, and Gerhard Fieseler. According to the War Department, these men had "thrived under National Socialism, welcomed it in the beginning, aided the Nazis to obtain power, supported them in office, shared the spoils of expropriation and conquest, or otherwise markedly benefited in their careers or fortunes under the Nazis."

A fourth aviation expert who visited the White House was General Wolfgang von Gronau. The General's interest in aviation goes back to the Spanish civil war. His earlier achievements were noted in the 1934-35 edition of the "Deutsche Führerlexicon," a who's who of leading Nazis.

The air pioneers were invited to the United States by the National Aeronautical Association to take part in a program arranged by an anniversary committee headed by General James H. Doolittle, now vice-president of the Shell Oil Company. Dr. Heinz Krekeler, the German ambassador in Washington, represented the Bonn government at a dinner honoring the visitors. Russia was

Dr. Willy Messerschmitt

MILTON FRIEDMAN is a Washington newspaperman who covers the White House.

"represented" by Igor I. Sikorsky, whose views do not reflect those of the present government of that country. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, in an address entitled "Aviation as an Instrument of Peace," said of the German and other aviation pioneers: "History will remember them. Our generation is grateful to them. This audience honors all of them." Each of the visitors, Germans included, received a medal and scroll "in recognition of his contributions."

Travel expenses for members of Congress who attended the dinner were authorized by Public Law 32, passed in the last Congressional session. This joint resolution described aviation as a "social force which has recast the world" (it certainly "recast" Rotterdam and Warsaw) and provided for participation of the Defense Department and a joint House-Senate committee in the arrangements for the anniversary.

Protests against the presence in the United States of men who in 1945 had been described by the War Department as Nazis were sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson. No response was noted. Both Dulles and Wilson were members of the national committee for the aviation celebration. Herbert Hoover helped to arrange it. President Eisenhower was thanked for "excellent cooperation."

THE GERMAN delegation is advancing negotiations begun some time ago for the reactivation of the Luftwaffe. In the plan to remilitarize Germany, Bonn gave top priority to aviation, believing that public opinion in Western Europe would accept a German air force with less protest than German infantry or *Panzer* divisions. Envisioned as the most powerful in Europe, the German air force will be started off with more than 1,300 aircraft and a personnel of 80,000. (The French air force contains fewer than 65,000 men.) The German planning staff is headed by Colonel Richard Heuser, former chief of staff of Hermann Göring's Fourth Air Division. Colonel Heuser is now working out the details with the aid of the German member of the E. D. C. committee on defense allocations at SHAPE in Paris. General Hans Speidel, chief of staff of Rommel's Afrika Korps, has submitted plans—said to have been unofficially approved by the United States—for some twenty fighter and fighter-bomber wings to support a mobile army of twelve divisions.

After Nazi Luftwaffe officers, including an aide to Göring, were entertained by the United States air force at Wiesbaden, Germany, on April 21, Senator Herbert H. Lehman wrote the Department of the Air Force that he had received letters from American ex-fliers who felt this honor to the Nazis "mocked at the sacrifices made during World War II." He was informed that "such action was in consonance with the foreign-policy objectives of the United States in that area in connection with the common defense against communistic aggression." It was a "good-will gesture," he was told; the surviving members of the Richthofen Squadron were entertained, and it was only "coincidental" that several had "served in World War II as high-ranking officers." At Wiesbaden the German fliers were luncheon guests of the deputy commander of the American air force in Europe. They were treated to a special aerial demonstration of F-84 and F-86 jets and shown the latest equipment at the American air base at Landstuhl.

WILL THEY WRECK THE U. N.?

The Reactionary Drive . . *by Mark Gayn*

United Nations

IN THIS glass-walled skyscraper on the East River people behave as if they were manning a beleaguered outpost on hostile shores. Once, when this magnificent building was still going up, there was jubilation, for the structure seemed a material assurance that the United States would not shirk its responsibilities after World War II as it did after World War I. Today is a time of disillusionment, for everyone here feels the United Nations is chained to this piece of valuable real estate, and with it to the internal crises shaking the United States. Willingly or not, the United Nations finds its life affected by the squabbles within the Republican Party, by America's growing mood of isolationism, and by the entire complex of fears, frustration, and intolerance which is so much a part of the American scene today.

See editorial, Saturday Is U. N. Day, on page 321 of this issue.

Morale here is bad, and despondency is heightened by the well-timed Congressional raids, by the American threats to pull out of the United Nations if it does not toe the line, and by the ceaseless sniping of the unfriendly press. Five years ago there would have only been a chuckle for the announcement of a pompous and irresponsible columnist that he would dance on Forty-second Street the day the U. N. was driven out of the United States and the building divided into apartments. Today this is no laughing matter. Who can be sure that the man is not a good prophet?

Officially, the U. N. is above taking cognizance of these attacks. It is bound hand and foot by diplomatic custom, by the reluctance to antagonize the Americans, and by the sense of futility. But the point of indifference has long been passed. Today some officials are compelled to give their full time and thought to this torrent of abuse—even if there is very little they can do about it.

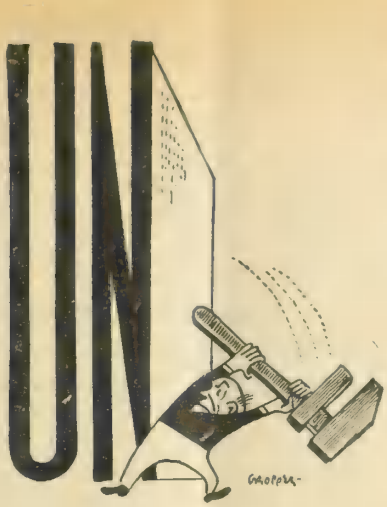
What makes the campaign against the

MARK GAYN, well known as a foreign correspondent, has been covering several aspects of the U. N. General Assembly for The Nation.

U. N. especially significant is that it offers a common encampment to the entire corps of the self-styled "conservative-rightists." The old exponents of political and social hooliganism, with the odor of the Nazi *Bund* still fresh on them, are here in force. But along with them march new figures, with different stakes and objectives. One can find among them movie stars who want income taxes cut, isolationists who seek control of the Republican Party, fanatics who would purge all "internationalist" notions in the schools and revive scholastic "fundamentalism," those who still hope to see General MacArthur in power, those who fear that the old American virtues are being undermined by the imported "Socialist" ideas, and even lobbyists who seek to break up labor unions, keep Negroes out of certain neighborhoods, and bar Jews from the desirable hotels.

WHATEVER their cause, for all of them the U. N. has now replaced the "New Deal" as a symbol of the evil each seeks to combat. In the thousands of clippings, pamphlets, and bulletins that I have read in the past two months the U. N. is equated with socialism ("which is but a narrow corridor to communism"), with the concept of an intolerably strong central government, with high taxes ("which go to pay for this bunch of U. N. foreigners"), with alien social, political, and educational ideas, with the "betrayal in Korea," and of course with treason and subversion.

One illustration of how the anti-U. N. theme is intertwined with all the themes of extreme nationalism and intolerance was provided by the "Congress of Freedom" held in Omaha on October 1-3. (Omaha was chosen because it is "in the heart of what is probably the greatest area of native-born in the United States.") Sponsored by something called "Operation America, Inc.," the conference drew an estimated 250 delegates, who were joined by some 350 "observers" and stray onlookers—a far cry from the "thousand or more" promised in the prospectus but still a good number. For chairman the sponsors picked Archibald B. Roosevelt, an investment banker and "Teddy" Roosevelt's only living son. The sponsors also invited, and ingeniously used, the names of Charles Lindbergh, General A. C. Wedemeyer, Whittaker Chambers, Representative Frederick R. Coudert, Jr., of New York, and Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, but none of these showed up. There were, however, among the speakers a New York Congressman, a past president of the American Bar Association, and one of General MacArthur's closest former advisers.



What was this "Congress of Freedom" concerned about? Representative Ralph W. Gwinn, the Republican statesman from New York, warned darkly that "we are already so sunk in socialism that it is too late to call a halt in Washington." Frank Holman, a Seattle corporation lawyer who has been traveling up and down the country attacking the United Nations and plugging the Bricker amendment, declared once again that the "treaty law as contemplated by the United Nations" was a threat to "individual rights and the right of self-government." Frank Chodorov, associate editor of a nauseating newsletter, *Human Events,* demanded the repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, providing for income taxes (the income tax is "the open sesame to all our socialistic experiments"). The woman editor of an obscure New York publication, *Educational Reviewer,* and a professor from an equally obscure Indiana college rose to defend American education from "alien ideas" —including those carried in UNESCO pamphlets.

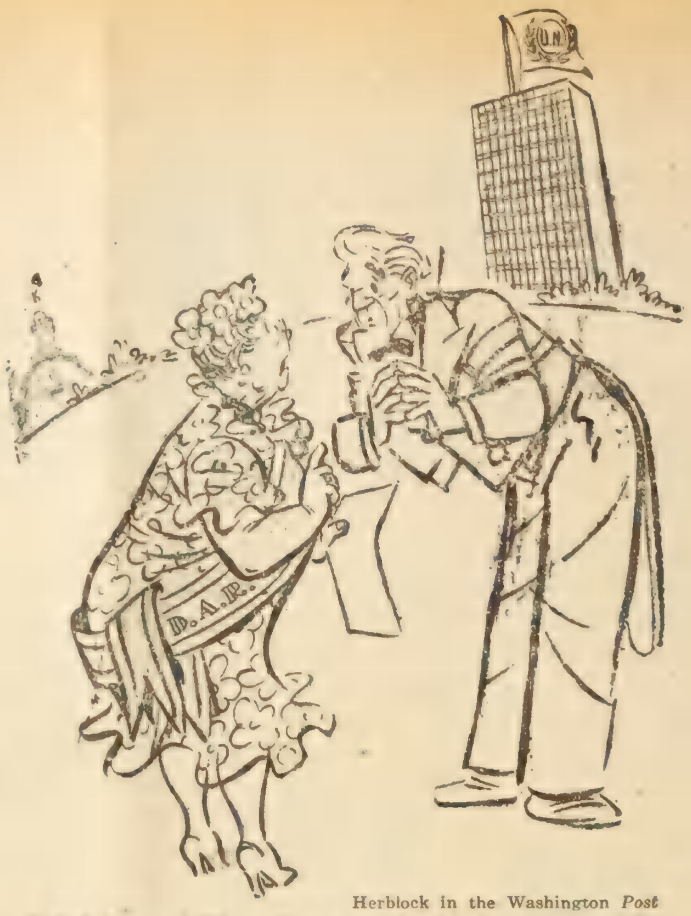
At their concluding session the delegates—"weary but determined," according to a friendly observer—agreed that "freedom in America is not being adequately protected." They also passed a flock of resolutions—approving the Bricker amendment, hailing the four musketeers of Congressional interrogation (Senators McCarthy, Jenner, and McCarran and Representative Velde), opposing federal aid to education and public health, urging repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment (income taxes), demanding the end of foreign aid, and branding the United Nations as "deplorably and unforgivably shameful."

SOME OF the faces behind these resolutions are familiar. They are the faces one finds at a time of emotional stress and uncertainty—the intense women with thin lips and shrill voices; the editors of obscure publications happy for a day in the limelight; the pathetic little woman in a red dress, decorated with Uncle Sam's hat in red, white, and blue; the bluff professional patriots; and the retired warriors ready to save the Republic from alien onslaught. Even the names of the organizations have a familiar ring —the Minute Women and the Liberty Belles, the National Blue Star Mothers of America and the Dames of the Loyal Legion of U. S. A., Operation America, America Plus and Pro America, the American Council for Christian Laymen and the American Heritage Protective Committee. There is a tawdry air about most of them, and a feeling of harsh intolerance.

But they are not alone in the field of ultra-nationalism. Harvesting beside them are the old professionals who have now added U. N.-baiting to the profitable job of attacking Jews, Negroes, Catholics, and labor unions. There is the flamboyant anti-Semite, Gerald L. K. Smith ("I sweat like a Georgia pig when I get going"), who now maintains that the United Nations is the instrument of a cabal of "Jewish Communists seeking to rule the world." There is Smith's young ally, W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., whose "American Flag Committee" was established in 1950 specifically to fight the United Nations. One of MacFarland's attacks on UNESCO reached a circulation of 500,000 after another U. N.-baiter, John T. Wood, at the time Republican Congressman from Idaho, inserted it in the *Congressional Record.*

There is Merwin K. Hart, the smooth-talking head of the National Economic Council, who mixes his defense of free-wheeling enterprise with attacks on the United Nations ("U. N. is a gigantic fraud. . . . It is a mechanism for fastening upon the world an international collectivism"). Hart's diatribes are reprinted occasionally in *Common Sense,* the organ of yet another "patriot," Conde McGinley. A four-pager with a paid circulation of more than 30,000, *Common Sense* once said, "The U. N. was inspired and set up by Marxist plotters and traitors like Alger Hiss to level down all governments and establish a Marxist 'world government'—World Slavery."

For many of these, baiting the United Nations is merely a profitable profession. But dollars and cents are not the only yardstick. Some of those who hate the United Nations do so in the genuine belief that it menaces the established American ideals or ties American hands in such key areas as Korea. Still others find in their attacks on the U. N. an outlet for excess energy, an opportunity to attract attention, or a way to express their suspicion of everything alien. The Southern racists, such as the Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, Tom Linder, hate the United Nations because it appears to stand for racial equality. And champions of free enterprise fear and detest the International Labor Office, with its talk of fair wages, job security, and free health service.



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"And Some of Those Countries Aren't American at All"

A GOOD example of a U. N.-hater is provided by one Myron C. Fagan, a playwright and political promoter from the West Coast. For the past four or five years Fagan has been hammering out a minor reputation for himself, not by his literary talents, but by his attacks on communism in Hollywood, forceful oratory in behalf of something called the Cinema Educational League, and pamphlets noted for their intemperance. One of Fagan's earlier Hollywood ventures was his presentation, on Christmas of 1947, of his play "Thieves' Paradise," dealing with Communist treachery in a mythical Balkan state. The play lasted six days. Blaming it all on the Reds, Fagan appealed for help to some women's clubs and the West Hollywood American Legion Post. The play reopened on April 12, 1948, with the Legion post supplying a color guard. Fagan marked the event by a curtain speech in which he named a hundred Hollywood figures as Communists or fellow-travelers. The play remained a dud.

By 1949 Fagan's attention turned elsewhere. He had already printed his "Red Treason in Hollywood" and "Documentation of the Red Stars in Hollywood," and he was now ready to devote his main attention to politics. Competent observers were describing him as the spearhead of the campaign to divert California Republicanism into nationalist and isolationist channels. His particular target at the moment was the eminently respectable United World Federalists, whom he called "a gang of the most notorious and crafty Reds in America." A hard-faced, intense man, Fagan traveled up and down the state, lobbying and addressing mass-meetings. At one such rally, at which the star speaker wore a red mask for disguise, Fagan claimed the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and the Reverend Wesley Swift, a one-time Ku Klux Klan organizer, Smith's former bodyguard, and one of California's most vicious anti-Semites.

By this time Fagan had established contacts with the country's leading extremists, and some newspapers and Jewish organizations began to view him with interest. On January 20, 1950, one William C. Ring, an attorney for Fagan, filed a suit charging the *Jewish Voice,* the largest Jewish newspaper in the West, with libel and denying its allegation that Fagan was associated with Gerald Smith or Wesley Swift. Fagan also sued the Anti-Defamation League, which is perhaps the outstanding body fighting intolerance in the United States today.

The suit languished until the end of August, when Attorney Ring sprang a major surprise. He filed his own suit, demanding that Fagan pay $4,709 due him for the preparation of the libel suit and charging that Fagan had collected and put into his own pocket "large sums of money that various Hollywood personalities had given him in the belief it was for bond in the slander case." Ring said that when he took up the case, Fagan denied any association with Smith and Swift but that now he, Ring, knew better. In proof he produced a letter he had received from Smith himself. "I hesitated," wrote Smith, "to be the one to give you the facts concerning the subsidy of Mr. Fagan by myself and others, but when one approaches a situation where he will be asked to say things under oath, then the situation becomes serious. . . . If I am put on the witness stand and take an oath to tell the truth, I shall have to say that I started the

Cinema Educational League, I named it, I conducted the first meeting, raised the first money, turned the names over to Fagan and said, 'Sic 'em.' "

Fagan dropped the libel suit. A remarkably buoyant man, he was not, however, dismayed. The same month found him busy fighting the move to fly U. N. flags over the county buildings in Los Angeles County. The American Association for the United Nations, which backed the move, Fagan charged was "Communist-inspired." He was also busy with his dramatic activities. By early in 1951 he had written a play, "A Red Rainbow," dealing with treason in the United States. With no takers at home, the play was first presented in Dublin, Ireland.

HOW DID Fagan come to write his "Rainbow"? The story is told by Fagan himself in his Pamphlet No. 27, published eleven months ago and entitled "U. N. Is U. S. Cancer." Only a few Americans, Fagan says in it, realize "what a *dire menace* the U. N. is to the U. S. Few seem to know that Alger Hiss (with the help of other American traitors) created the U. N. *at the behest of Joe Stalin!* It is now *our* job to get the U. S. out of the U. N. and drive the U. N. out of the U. S.!!! Eisenhower won't do it on his own—we must *force* him to do it . . . because the United Nations is our country's *cancer.*"

With this for a starter Fagan reports that he arrived in Washington on January 14, 1946, for a conference with Representative George Dondero and Senator Arthur Vandenberg on the matter of "Red treason in high places in our government." Also present were several members of both houses, army and navy Intelligence officers, and secret-service operators. Among the revelations he heard was that Hiss had been a spy "throughout all the years that he was in the State Department. . .; that the entire State Department was *loaded* with Commies; and that all our top security secrets and codes had for many years been systematically delivered to Moscow. . . . Another open 'secret,' disclosed to me on that day, was that the blueprints of our highly secret Atom Bomb, *together with the material to make that bomb*, had been handed over to Moscow from the very inception of that project—*directly by order of Harry (the Hop) Hopkins*—no doubt with the knowledge and approval of *Uncle Joe's* long time patron saint in America, Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Fagan reports he was also told that the U. N. was originally planned by Stalin, who early in the forties ordered Hiss and others to bring it into being. The reason Stalin wanted a U. N. was that if the Soviet embassy in Washington were ever closed, his agents could still freely move in and out of the United States.

Why was Fagan told all this? Vandenberg explained, according to Fagan, that the only way to smash the Red conspiracy was to put all the facts and names before the American people, and "You can do it by incorporating all the facts we have given you into a play." Fagan agreed. He was then granted interviews, he says, with other top officials and shown "top secret" archives. Fagan does not indicate why it took him three years to complete his "Rainbow." It finally had its American première in Los Angeles in May, 1952, and was received by the critics with mixed feelings.

But Fagan remained undeterred. He was intent on bringing the "Rainbow" to Broadway, and he knew how to go about it. In August, 1953, thousands of letters went out over his name to potential ticket buyers in New York. The letterhead read, "Committee for Americanism in the Theater," Room 300, 205 East 42d St., New York, and carried a list of eight sponsors. Among them were the ubiquitous John T. Flynn; Professor Willford I. King and Sumner Gerard, of the Committee for Constitutional Government; the Reverend (talk about the church in politics!) Henry Darlington, head of the Army and Navy Chaplains Association; and the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S. J., president of Fordham University. One of the interesting things about this curious company was that its offices happened to be in the room already occupied by Edward Rumely's Committee for Constitutional Government, a notorious rightist propaganda organization.

The New York critics proved to be less charitable than their Los Angeles colleagues. John Chapman, of the *Daily News*, called it "the most subversive drama . . . since 'Grandma's Diary.' " Brooks Atkinson, of the *Times*, noted Fagan's belief that he was helping to save America but wanted to know "who is going to save America from Mr. Fagan?" Walter F. Kerr, of the *Herald Tribune*, explained that "the 'Red' in the title stands for communism. The 'Rainbow' stands for the light in the heaven the day communism takes over. The audience stands for more than can possibly be imagined." After the notices came out, Fagan decided to withdraw the play after eight performances; it actually survived a dozen.

Is this the end of Fagan? One strongly doubts it, for an operator who can find such sponsors, or who has the United Nations for an ever-inviting target, cannot perish. His anti-Semitic tones grow harsher; his attacks on the United Nations become more hysterical. And behind it all Fagan now nurses a new idea. Increasingly he is plugging the notion of "a new Party of Americans" that, unlike Eisenhower, will "hurl the U. N. out of the U. S."

I HAVE dealt with Fagan at such length not only because he is a busy enemy of the United Nations but also because his activities are a symptom of our times. How does a bigot like him prosper? What kind of political climate is it that encourages rabid denunciations and insane charges? How does an associate of Gerald Smith find sponsors among respected clergymen and presidents of great universities?

The answers lie in the fact that these seeming aberrations have now become an integral part of a far broader pattern. What Fagan and Gerald Smith say about the United Nations can be read, if usually in more moderate terms, in a hundred newspapers from coast to coast. The Daughters of the American Revolution denounce the U. N., and the American Legion magazine snipes at it. The slogan of the ultra-patriots, "Get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S.," comes out of the same spiritual womb as Senator Taft's declaration, made shortly before his death, that the U. S. could go it alone in Korea, and Senator Knowland's recent statement that if the United Nations admits Red China, the United States will walk out of the United Nations. The Senatorial efforts to "housebreak" the United Nations by investigations or by threats to stop payments to it if it persisted in giving severance pay to the dismissed

American employees fit into the same broad framework.

Fagan is merely a signpost at the American crossroads, a symbol of the vast strains—and debates—in American national life. Should the United States go it alone, or should it, as President Eisenhower suggests, act in concert with other nations? Should it adopt an unyielding policy, or should it "give a little, take a little"? And these questions mesh, of course, with the question of who is to control the Republican Party and what course it is to follow—that of the "Old Guard," of the "Young Turks," of Knowland or McCarthy, or of the "moderates," like the President and Mr. Dulles? It is a tragic accident that the United Nations now finds itself involved in the Great American Debate.

Opinion polls show that the bulk of Americans are still behind the United Nations. But as a special committee of the Conference Group of the United States National Organizations on the United Nations notes, this fact may not mean as much as it seems to. In the face of the determined campaign by the U. N.-haters sentiment is changing. If six months ago the "blighted" anti-U. N. areas were confined to Southern California, central Florida, and Connecticut, the latest map I have seen included Texas, Illinois, Indiana, and the cities of St. Louis and New York.

Since the campaign against the United Nations is a part of the general malady, it is difficult to prescribe curatives for it. One cannot cure the hatred of the United Nations without curing the hatred of "creeping socialism," or the unions, or the Fair Employment Practices Act. All that can be prescribed is minor remedies. One is a vast educational campaign, designed to explain the value of foreign friends and obligations. Another might be a campaign of exposure, which would show who is behind the attacks on the U. N. and why. A California bigot, for instance, might love publicity on his Conference to Abolish the United Nations, but he would dread the disclosure of how much money the conference had added to his own bank account. Has any government agency checked the income taxes of the more prosperous merchants of hate? (Gerald Smith wrote last year that his office was spending $100,000 a day.)

ALL THESE, of course, are minor and negative measures. Positive action is possible only when major segments of the population realize what is at stake in the campaign against the United Nations. One such segment is represented in America's great labor bodies. Unfortunately, almost none of them have yet shown any real awareness of the degree to which the destinies of organized labor are bound up with the fate of the United Nations, or the minorities, or the American schools. In California the same State Senator Jack B. Tenney who fraternized with Fagan and Smith, wrote a foul anti-Semitic pamphlet, and attacked the United Nations, also drafted the notorious "Freedom of Choice" amendment to the state constitution, which would have broken California unions. And it is a foregone conclusion that when the coming session of Congress early next year takes up the consideration of two virulently anti-labor bills, the foes of the United Nations will be among the most vigorous supporters of these bills. The two great labor federations in the United States seemingly have not yet learned that political climate is indivisible; a storm for the United Nations is also a storm for the labor movement. If the day ever comes when this is realized, organized labor may yet become a potent factor in American politics and world peace.

The United Nations is going through evil days largely because it was brought into existence in the era of "cold war." Things have been made even worse because the U. N. skyscraper happens to face, not Lake Geneva, but the East River, in a land racked by domestic fears and uncertainties. Things may get better, but U. N. officials as they watch the mailmen struggling in with the daily load of anti-U. N. propaganda, are frankly apprehensive. "It's terrible now," they say. "What will happen if and when there is a depression?"*

*Those who wish to read more in this field are recommended two new pamphlets: Gordon D. Hall's "The Hate Campaign Against the U. N." (Beacon Press, 50 cents) and Alexander Uhl's "The Assault on the U. N." (Public Affairs Institute, 25 cents). For a general study of hate-mongering there is at the moment nothing to match "The Trouble Makers," by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, who prepared the volume with the help of the Anti-Defamation League (Doubleday, $3.50).

ITALIAN AMERICANS

Their Swing to G. O. P. . . *by Vincent R. Tortora*

ANALYSES of election results in our larger cities reveal that over the past fifteen years more and more Italian Americans of the first, second, and third generation have been voting the Republican ticket. The tendency acquires importance from the fact that Italian Americans are concentrated in the states which have the largest representation in the Electoral College and that they have frequently held the balance of power in some of the major cities in those states and thus in the states themselves. Oscar Handlin in his Pulitzer-prize-winning study of immigrants, "The Uprooted," predicts that even Boston will soon have to acknowledge Italian American political supremacy. No statistics are available, but authoritative estimates of the percentage of Italian Americans—ranging from the foreign-born to the second- and third-generation native-born with one Italian parent—in eleven states are as follows: Connecticut, 25 per cent; New York, 20 per cent; New Jersey, 20

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per cent; Rhode Island, 20 per cent; Massachusetts, 15 per cent; Pennsylvania, 10 per cent; Illinois, 9 per cent; California, 8 per cent; Ohio, 5 per cent; Michigan, 3 per cent; and Maryland 3 per cent.

New York City contains approximately 2,200,000 Italian Americans as defined above; Providence, 70,000; Buffalo, 75,000; Baltimore, 50,000; Philadelphia, 250,000; Pittsburgh, 200,000; Detroit, 155,000; and Chicago, 280,000. Examination of the vote in these cities shows that in the period from 1930 to 1936, inclusive, the average Republican vote in the Italian wards was 26 per cent, while in the whole city it was 38 per cent. The difference was in reality greater to the extent that the Italian American vote tended to pull the over-all vote toward itself.

In the period from 1938 to 1940, inclusive, the average Republican vote in these same wards had risen to 35 per cent and the average over-all Republican vote to 43 per cent. Thus the Democratic margin among Italian Americans had dropped from 12 to 8 per cent.

In the period from 1942 to 1946, inclusive, the average Republican vote in Italian wards had risen another 9 percentage points to 44 per cent. The over-all Republican vote averaged but 42 per cent. At this point the Italian Americans voted more strongly for the Republicans than did the other voters in the cities considered. The Democrats were no longer able to take the Italian American vote for granted.

During this 1942-46 period solidly Italian American wards in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Pittsburgh that had gone Democratic four to one in the 1930's on the average evenly divided their vote between the two parties. Several wards in Philadelphia that had been overwhelmingly Democratic ten years earlier now gave 60 or 65 per cent majorities to the Republicans.

SINCE THE beginning of the post-war period in 1946, the nationality composition of the traditionally Italian wards in these cities has changed in varying degree. In Manhattan, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, and Pittsburgh, Italian Americans have been moving out of sections long identified with them, and their homes have been quickly reoccupied by new immigrant groups and racial minorities. In Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, and Providence enough Italians are left in the old sections to give them an Italian flavor even if it is somewhat attenuated.

Trends in Italian American voting have thus become more difficult to determine. It has been possible to establish, however, that in the sections into which large numbers of Italian Americans have recently moved the Republican vote, on the average, has increased 2 to 5 per cent. And by taking into account the proportion of other new immigrants and racial minorities—who usually vote Democratic—in the old Italian sections, it can be determined that what is left of the Italian American vote there favors the Republicans, on the average, by 3 to 5 percentage points above the over-all vote.

In one of the East Side districts of Manhattan, for example, 40 per cent of the Italians have moved out and been replaced by new racial groups 90 per cent of whose members are found to vote Democratic. Subtracting the percentage of votes by these groups from the total percentage, we find that the remaining citizens, largely Italian Americans, have cast 49 per cent of their votes for the Republicans. Since during the 1948-52 period the Republicans obtained on the average 44 per cent of the votes cast in all New York, we must conclude that the Italian American trend away from the Democrats is continuing. The figures in other cities bear this out.

Attempting to find the reasons for this trend, I interviewed a number of first-, second-, and third-generation Italian Americans of varying occupations. Some, especially the foreign-born, revealed strong emotional and familial ties with Italy. They considered the unstable politico-economic conditions in post-war Italy and the ignominious Trieste impasse to be largely the fault of the Democrats, who had been in power. A surprisingly large proportion felt that the McCarran-Walter immigration act discriminated against their nationality. Numerous non-political Italian American organizations campaigned for a protest vote against the act. Since both McCarran and Walter were Democrats, the protest was registered by a vote for the Republicans.

WITHIN the last fifteen years the war, the generally higher economic standard, and the arrival of new, non-Italian immigrants have worked a marked change in the attitude of society toward the Italian American. Large numbers of young men of Italian descent have served in the army, studied in colleges and universities, gone into the professions or into business. With national prosperity high, much less social pressure has been exerted to keep them down. Puerto Rican immigrants have taken the place of Italians in the contempt of society. Exclusive clubs which once refused membership to "Italians, Greeks, Jews, and Colored" now admit the Italian American.

This change in social attitude and the Italian Americans' own improved financial status have enabled them to move away from the Little Italys. And just as they no longer live as a separate group, they no longer vote as a group. The psychology of group identification and group voting used so successfully by Democratic leaders among the Italians no longer applies. Reacting against the poverty and discrimination of their past, they tend now to consider the Democratic Party that of the menial laborer, the slum dweller—the class to which they belonged for so many years. The Republican Party represents the middle class, the surburbanites, which it has taken them so long to join.

Many of the foreign-born and second-generation Italian Americans interviewed mentioned as a factor in their voting switch the resentment they felt toward the Irish Americans. The Irish, having been immigrants themselves only a few years before, still felt insecure in American society when the mass immigration of Italians began. As the Italians began to compete for their jobs, the rivalry became intense and frequently erupted into violence. As a result of this feeling the church usually assigned one parish in a neighborhood to the Italians and another parish, perhaps only a block away, to the Irish. At the same time the Irish American politicians, realizing the vote potential of the newcomers, went to almost any extreme to curry favor with them. And in response the newly naturalized Italian voted Democratic.

But as the Italian American started on his upward social and economic climb, his dependence on the ward politician diminished. He became a thinking individual. He began to vote as he pleased. By vigorously pulling the Republican lever, he could give an outlet to his deep-seated antagonism to the Irish.

VATICAN BOOMERANG

French Worker-Priests . . *by Egon Poboryles*

Paris

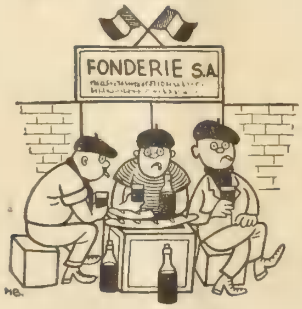
WHO is influencing whom? Are the French "worker-priests" turning the masses from Marxism to God, or are they being turned by their new associates from God to something close to Marxism? Their future depends on the results of the Vatican's inquiries.

The worker-priests were organized in 1943 to engage in "an apostolate of conquest in circles cut off from the church." Since the circle most cut off is the working class, whose members belong in the main to the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.), account for a majority of the Communist Party's 5,000,000 votes, and are often fiercely anti-clerical, the priests took jobs in factories and on farms, on ships and on the docks. Sometimes they revealed their identity to those around them; sometimes they did not. Their idea was to share the life of the workers in every way. If that meant standing the boys a drink or listening to an off-color joke, they were prepared to do it, just as they were prepared to partake in the workers' struggle for economic survival. As it turned out, it also meant engaging in the workers' trade-union and political activities. That is how the trouble started.

A priest living among the dockers of Marseille could hardly help feeling that the demands of the C. G. T. for higher wages and better conditions were justified. There was no appreciable increase in attendance at mass, but, the priests argued, one cannot talk God to people who spend all their lives trying to get enough to eat. One must fill men's stomachs before worrying about their souls. If organizations already existed to care for workers' stomachs, the worker-priests naturally joined them.

Some priests went farther. They felt they should not remain "with the others" at the base of the movement but if necessary assume responsibility and leadership. Priests not only joined the C. G. T. but became officers of C. G. T. locals and took part in the Communist-led peace movement. One worker-priest was killed while leading a picket line in Bordeaux. Two priests were arrested and beaten severely by the police while picking up men hurt in the anti-Ridgway demonstrations in Paris last year.

THE ORIGINAL Communist view of the worker-priests was indicated by Jeannette Vermeersch, wife of France's No. 1 Communist, Maurice Thorez, and a party power herself, when she said: "The imperialists, the government of the bourgeoisie and their Social Democratic valets, are making fantastic efforts to fool the working class. . . . With the aid of certain worker-priests . . . they are using demagogic, phony-laborite formulas to keep the worker in his place." But in April of this year eighteen worker-priests were summoned before an ecclesiastical court by the president of the Catholic labor federation, the C. F. T. C., who considered himself libeled by a statement denouncing the federation which they had signed and which had been printed in *l'Humanité*, the Communist Party organ. After last August's strikes, the Communist paper of Limoges published an open letter signed by five worker-priests which criticized the C. F. T. C. for betraying the interests of the working class by ordering an end to the strikes.



Conservative Catholics in France, Italy, and Spain have felt doubtful about the worker-priests for some time and have asked the Vatican to look into their activities. "We sometimes have the impression," declared one Catholic paper, "that for them everything done by the right is reprehensible but everything is permitted on the left." Some Catholics termed them "Stalinist priests" and said that the movement had been infiltrated by young men who were already Communists or Communist sympathizers.

A papal emissary is now in France to gather information, and the worker-priests' diocesan superior has chosen this time to go to Rome for his annual *ad limina* visit. Meanwhile the worker-priests' seminary, after being forced to move from one diocese to another, has had its reopening indefinitely postponed, and seminarists have been forbidden to take jobs. The opinion of Cardinal Jules Saliège of Toulouse may forecast the Vatican's decision: "It is not the mission of a priest," he said, "to be a workers' leader. . . . He must teach the working class that justice can be attained by love only." The Cardinal said it was a doctrinal error to put "the liberation of the proletariat before its conversion."

Meanwhile the worker-priests are going quietly about their work and refusing to discuss the situation. Their number has grown from 7 to 90, and 150 young aspirants are waiting for the doors of the seminary to reopen.

EGON POBORYLES is a free-lance journalist now living in Paris.

BOOKS

The Perennial China Tangle

THE CHINA TANGLE. By Herbert Feis. Princeton University Press. $6.

By O. Edmund Clubb

HERBERT FEIS'S new book makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the American effort in China from Pearl Harbor (December, 1941) to the Marshall Mission (December, 1945). The author utilizes new data, many of them drawn from original records of the State Department, to clarify some episodes left obscure in the 1949 White Paper on China and to present a coordinated story. As he says, it makes "a tale of crumpled hopes and plans that went awry."

Feis recounts how when Pearl Harbor brought China its longed-for alliance Chiang Kai-shek promptly outlined his ideas for a great coalition—including the U. S. S. R.—in the Pacific under American leadership. "But time and events were all against him." The Anglo-American allies were in grave difficulties, the U. S. S. R. professed inability to cooperate in the war against Japan at that time, and the first large concepts of how the Pacific war should be waged were whittled down to fit the Anglo-American grand strategy for three continents. Secretary of War Stimson defined China's place within the framework of the feasible: "Strategically, the object of American policy in this area [China-Burma-India theater] was to keep China in the war, and so to strengthen her that she might exact a constantly growing price from the Japanese invader." The primary responsibility for achieving those objectives was given to General Joseph W. Stilwell.

The Nationalists had anticipated that American war matériel and other aid would shortly reach China. Under the stress of competing priorities, and with the heartbreaking task of air-lifting in all cargo over the perilous "Hump," they were regularly disappointed respecting the quantity of such aid. The American side was also frustrated, for the persistent attempts of everyone from Stilwell to President Roosevelt to get the Chinese army into effective action against the Japanese were balked by the National Government. The author notes: ". . . the reckonings of the Chinese government were diffused. The world-wide war against the Axis had to be won. But the while it was being won the Chiang Kai-shek regime wanted to be sure that it would survive in power." Far from acceding to American proposals to deploy *both* Nationalist and Communist forces against the Japanese enemy, Generalissimo Chiang rigidly kept some 400,000 Nationalist troops engaged in pinning the Communists down in the Northwest. He put his feeling into his 1944 response to Vice-President Wallace's urging: "Please do not press; please understand that the Communists are not good for the war effort against Japan." Nationalist-Communist relations were a prime factor in "the China tangle."

IN 1944 victory was in sight in Europe, but crisis ruled in China. The Nationalist armies were scattering before the first major Japanese drive since 1938. "There were signs of discontent among the peasants; and students, intellectuals, and government officials . . . were turning toward the [Communist] regime in the north." And, also, a change affecting Sino-American relations began. Stilwell was replaced by General Albert C. Wedemeyer in October, and the experienced ambassador, Clarence E. Gauss, was succeeded by General Patrick J. Hurley in November. Those shifts were only the first of a whole series of removals of hard-trained China experts from the scene.

It should be noted—though it was not by Feis—that the Nationalists and Communists had been in negotiation from May to September, 1944, with the aim of solving peacefully the problems outstanding between them. Hurley's assigned task was "to keep China in the war, to keep the Chinese army in the field, and to unify all Chinese forces against Japan"—the change in policy emphasis being incorporated in the final clause. He approached the unification problem with optimistic concepts formulated after talks with Molotov en route to China, and in November signed as witness, with Mao Tse-tung, a formal proposal for the establishment of a coalition National Government. This was promptly rejected by the Nationalists. Although the United States government from this time onward put increasing emphasis on the fostering of that unification which would enable China to function in the post-war period as the great power it had been acclaimed to be at Cairo, V-J Day saw no change in the basic domestic situation: "The [National] Government was unwilling to agree to a coalition arrangement in which its power to prevail might be shaken or lost. The Communists were unwilling to consent to anything else."

On August 28, 1945, Hurley brought Mao Tse-tung personally from Yenan to Chungking for further negotiations. The talks failed to keep pace with the military movements. Wedemeyer warned that the Nationalists were unprepared for the occupation of Manchuria in the face of Communist opposition, but Chiang clung to his own plans. The military prospect darkened. In November, Hurley suddenly resigned, blasting both "professional foreign-service men" and "colonial imperialism," but evidently without having changed his opinion about either the Chinese Communists or the feasibility of achieving Nationalist-Communist reconciliation.

It was then that General George C. Marshall was selected to go to China. Feis sheds new light on the thought and action resulting in the creation of the Marshall Mission with its two chief aims: "to develop a united and democratic China," and "to assure that the National Government would be able to extend its sovereignty over Manchuria." Those objectives were a natural extension of the "unification" function undertaken so vigorously by Hurley. It is at this point that Feis leaves off the tale and sums up the American effort in point as having had four related ends: "to uphold the Chinese people in the

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired foreign-service officer of the State Department, spent twenty years in various Far Eastern posts, eighteen of those years in China.

war against the common enemy; to restore China as a whole and independent country; to secure for China a place of great authority among the nations; and to bring to an end the grave social struggle among the Chinese people." In the end only the first objective was attained. But that objective, of course, was the only one respecting which the United States bore direct responsibility.

THIS REVIEWER believes that Feis's book has a basic shortcoming: it oversimplifies the Chinese aspect of the "tangle." The main concern may be with the American effort, but the author necessarily projects that effort against the China background—which he then presents with important gaps. The story lacks that integrated analysis of the Chinese political situation which is essential for an incisive interpretation of China developments. The brief historical sketch of early Kuomintang-Communist relations given in Chapter 9 is inadequate. So is the description of the 1937 agreement between the two antagonists for a united front which, technically at least, lasted out the war. Communist leader Chou En-lai occupied an official position in the National Government in 1938-40, and during the rest of the war period functioned as Communist liaison officer at Chungking.

Two other vital aspects of Chinese politics are largely neglected. First, Chiang Kai-shek, although the dominant figure, was not the Kuomintang. That party was and is split into various factions of divergent outlooks and influence, and one could name a hundred powerful Nationalists who played their roles in China's war years. To illustrate: any history of the period which omits mention of the conservative C-C clique and the Political Science Group in relation to the determination of policy, and of C-C leader Ch'en Li-fu and secret-police chief Tai Li in relation to the operation of the Kuomintang rule, and does no more than identify Chief of Staff Ho Ying-ch'in, leaves out essential elements. Second, there were other political groupings in "Free China" besides the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Six of those minor parties finally combined into the Democratic League to constitute a middle-of-the-road party. This group included large numbers of patriotic Chinese, academicians and intellectuals especially, who felt that the time had come for a broadening of the National Government's base. This concept had support in the liberal wing of the Kuomintang.

The proposals for a coalition government were thus not originally American: they were born of a widespread non-Communist *Chinese* demand that the civil war that had run from 1927 to 1937 should not be resumed when Japan was beaten but that a political solution should be sought. This demand began to take form with the establishment in 1938 of the multi-party People's Political Council. But the concept that finally governed was that voiced by Chiang Kai-shek in his 1943 book "China's Destiny": "China's destiny rests entirely with the Kuomintang." The National Government on July 4, 1947, declared the Communists to be in open rebellion and in October of the same year outlawed the Democratic League. The Wedemeyer report of September, 1947, cogently describes the then advanced state of popular disillusionment. When that middle group shifted its allegiance, the collapse of the Kuomintang mainland rule followed. The men and women who abandoned the Kuomintang conservative wing are now found in large numbers in the United States, Hongkong, Japan—and in Peking. That, after all, is why the National Assembly on Formosa lacks a quorum.

The events of China's war years, 1937-45, offer lessons of substantial value for those who would anticipate events and devise adequate policies in respect to neighboring, non-Communist areas in Asia. An observation by Clausewitz is suggestive: "We may . . . say, that the twenty years' victories of the [French] Revolution are chiefly to be ascribed to the erroneous policy of the Governments by which it was opposed." And he laid down "a maxim which should take first place among all causes of victory in the modern art of war: 'Pursue one great decisive aim with force and determination.'" It was beyond the scope of Feis's book to speculate whether it will prove more feasible to construct an adequate, coherent China policy now, when "the China tangle" has become commingled with American domestic politics. But the question lingers to plague our policy-makers.

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New Books in Brief

Colette at Her Best

MY MOTHER'S HOUSE AND SIDO. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod and Una Troubridge. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

A third volume in the projected translation of the complete works of Colette, who is now past eighty and regarded by many of her compatriots as the greatest living French writer. If there are any Americans who still think of her in terms of the naughty paperbacks, these charming reminiscences of a busy childhood in a provincial town should complete their reeducation. Nostalgic as well as witty and humorous, the tone is unique and not easy to describe. There is sentiment without sentimentality, mockery without scorn, and sensibility not incompatible with a good deal of toughmindedness. All these qualities Colette must have learned first from her aloof but humorous father and from the busy mother who was obviously the brains as well as the boss of the family. Despite very modest circumstances she grew up with her brothers and her half-sister in an easygoing household where everybody followed his hobbies and where there were always prolific cats and dogs to be looked after and a large garden to play in. Writers traditionally have unhappy childhoods, but Colette's, if we can believe her memories, must have been very nearly ideal. If she got any of what is usually called "training" she does not mention it, and the lack of it was apparently precisely what she needed. All in all, the two short collections included in this volume present one aspect of the French temperament at its most attractive.

English Classics Reexamined

THE ENGLISH NOVEL: FORM AND FUNCTION. By Dorothy Van Ghent. Rinehart. $4.

In these essays eighteen of the most familiar English novels, ranging from "Don Quixote" (an honorary member) to "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," are examined with an active critical perception that even the most faithful readers of novels will find illuminating. Mrs. Van Ghent discovers and explores broad planes of interest that lie below the surfaces of these classic narratives. She is especially astute at revealing some principle of structure, such as a symbol, an antithesis, or a design, that gives a novel a secret power. She demonstrates, for example, that the language of "Pride and Prejudice" reflects its conflict, that the rapacious selfishness of Meredith's egoist suggests a fetus, and that Clarissa Harlowe, in remaining both virtuous and desirable, embodies the somewhat contradictory qualities necessary for a middle-class goddess of love. Both Dickens and Henry James, it seems, were concerned with the same sin—the tendency to regard people as lifeless instruments. Dickens, in fact, went farther, endowing inanimate objects with strange life of their own, and in describing the causes and implications of this transference Mrs. Van Ghent brings forth some new and fundamental facts about Dickens's art and his criticism of society.

Fifty Years of Ibn Saud

ARABIAN JUBILEE. By H. St. J. B. Philby. John Day. $6.

It was early in 1902 that 'Abdul-'Aziz ibn 'Abdul-Rahman ibn Faisal Al Sa'ud, better known as Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, sallied forth from exile in Kuwait with a small band of followers and regained his ancestral domain of Najd in the heart of Arabia. Reckoning by the Moslem calendar, 1950 was therefore his Jubilee year and this biography was written to celebrate the occasion. Its author is an Englishman who became a Moslem some twenty-five years ago and settled in Saudi Arabia, where he has represented such concerns as Marconi Wireless and Ford Motors. Friend and confidant of the King, Philby denies that he has ever had any official connection with the Saudi Arabian government. Be that as it may, he has very ably attended to its public relations with the West, and this book, particularly the chapter on Palestine, must be read with that fact in mind.

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ject is tinged with candor, and if he has little to say about the King's faults, he gives some amusing examples of his foibles, including particulars of his matrimonial exploits that suggest a prodigious Kinsey rating. A dashing military leader in his younger days, later a shrewd and cautious diplomat, Ibn Saud has shown immense skill in holding together the scattered tribes under his rule and in maintaining his independence. Where he has failed, Philby thinks, is in building an administrative machine for a state that is moving away from pastoral simplicity toward the machine age. As a result much of the immense wealth accruing from oil royalties is being frittered away.

The Young Freud

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD. Volume I. *1856-1900.* The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries. By Ernest Jones, M.D. Basic Books. $6.75.

The four hundred pages of this first of two projected volumes carries Freud's story down to the publication of his first major book, "The Interpretation of Dreams." There is an elaborate discussion of the genesis of Freud's ideas and an occasional brief reference to the supposed influence of more or less traumatic experiences upon his life and character, but the major part of the volume is devoted to detailed biographical facts of the conventional sort. Since the author knew his subject intimately, has been accepted by the family as the authorized biographer, and has long been a leader of the American Freudians, this will no doubt be a standard work. Though any attempt to write a "popular life" is explicitly disclaimed, anyone genuinely interested in the subject will find the volume pleasantly readable.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

AS OF this writing the Metropolitan is strike bound, and the important shows in the offing at the Whitney, the Guggenheim, and the Museum of Modern Art are not yet accessible. A rather miscellaneous group of small exhibitions will, therefore, be covered here.

One of the most ingratiating of these is a selection of early works by Winslow Homer (Maynard Walker Gallery, through November 6). A score of small oils, water colors, and drawings, all from the period 1865-80, give a sympathetic view of this American master at his best. As the largest picture measures hardly two feet, the show invites one to meditate on the relations between a modest scale and a powerful impact. To use a good phrase of Frank Jewett Mather, these are little giants of pictures. They do not open little windows on infinity as does Paul Klee (at the Curt Valentin Gallery through October 24). While they are less imaginative than Klee's little poems, they are more plastic and physical, and in painting that is not a disadvantage.

Homer's early work offers a priceless experience. The discovery that a little picture is small only in size can be positively liberating, as it often is in Corot, in Fouquet's two-inch self-portrait in enamel, in Daumier, and in Chardin. All these masters deal primarily in the physical world, and if they invoke the invisible they are never implausible even by the most pedestrian standards. While this very plausibility is often mistaken for creativeness, a sure sign of the creative power of these artists resides precisely in our discovery that the actual size of the picture is pure illusion as far as its effect is concerned.

The largest of these small Homers, In the White Mountains (lent by the Brooklyn Museum), manages to convey with utmost economy the dark majesty of a great mountain under a leaden sky, the primly Bostonian tramp of some young ladies up its slope, and the gay splash of light on their hats and dresses. The effect is at once very strong and enchantingly innocent. Perhaps this is why the flavor seems so profoundly American—an observation I venture to make even in the face of the tremendous

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cultural changes that have come over America since Homer's day. There are several paintings of children, fiercely absorbed in their play, or leaning on a rail fence oblivious of time and place, or wading knee-high through the grasses of a great mowing—any of these kids might have stepped from the pages of Mark Twain. Both the writer and the painter make you hear the crickets and sense the sultry haze. Everyone is caught, in early Homer, in a kind of muted trance, and thus the portrayal of moral innocence, which could be very tiresome, becomes poetic.

THE SIDNEY JANIS Gallery is celebrating its fifth anniversary with an exhibition of some thirty paintings sold to museums and private collectors, and the catalogue extends the number through its excellent reproductions to sixty. The artists represented are primarily European, and all of them are twentieth-century masters. The shift from Homer, as I experienced it, was dramatic, but it did not lessen Homer's stature: the limits of the true artist are disciplined and self-imposed. That is why, perhaps, the five fine examples of Picasso from the vintage years 1909-15 are more reassuring than some of the large retrospectives of his work have been. As I see more pictures I resist increasingly the shock value of rapid changes of style, and I find it rewarding to demand, as one demands of the masters of all times, specific masterpieces rather than brilliant suggestions for new departures. It is possible to confuse the quality of an artist with his influence on other artists. In this exhibition, however, Picasso's quality is very sure.

The Janis show includes a distinguished room of Fauve paintings by Braque, Vlaminck, Matisse, and Derain, and the late Bonnards (1940-45) hung with them are tonally harmonious. We should beware classifications of Bonnard as a belated Impressionist. There is a fine Kandinsky of his best time (1913), and two of Leger's must rank among his most powerful smaller pictures—Contraste de Formes (1913) and the dramatically serene Les Odalisques, in the classic vein of 1920, here drawing upon a muted autumnal color scheme as a foil for its abrupt patterns of black and white. The big late Mondrian, Trafalgar Square (1939-43), has a welcome complexity which brings it into relation with his less rectilinear work of about 1914.

Stefano Cusmano's exhibition (Passedoit Gallery, through October 31) gives evidence of artistic power. Cusmano sees the world in terms of bold scale, like a muralist, and perhaps for that reason his largest works make the strongest impact, and the smaller ones, except for the tightly laced Offerings, seem to be fragments. He speaks through a low-keyed harmony of grays, pinks, and neutrals, with accents of blue-green. There is a strong sensation of classical Italy, but it is neither imitative nor nostalgic, despite an abundance of plaster busts in his repertory of forms. This artist is an American, and though his America is perhaps less authentic than Homer's, I shall not quarrel with him about that.

What I do quarrel with is self-conscious attempts to be national, or rather provincial, a quality of which we have all too much, particularly from painters who emerge mainly in summertime.

Theater

Harold Clurman

TO PUT it as succinctly as possible, Victor Borge's one-man show, which he calls "Comedy in Music" (Golden Theater), made me laugh, while André Roussin's "The Little Hut" (Coronet Theater) did not. Yet I have more to say about "The Little Hut" than about Victor Borge.

The success of the Danish American comic is easy to explain: he is spontaneous, facile, witty—a showman, a clown, and an observer (he imitates pianistic idiosyncrasies marvelously well)—and yet he remains natural and comparatively normal, a rare quality among our native comics, who generally turn to the grotesque. Borge has learned a few American tricks from night clubs and TV,

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as evidenced by his manner of dishing it out, but what he serves is unusual in its Continental sophistication and sauciness.

"The Little Hut," though less than a trifle, has begun to bother me as if it were a problem. I have seen it three times: once in Paris with Fernand Gravet, again in London with Robert Morley, and now in New York with its least suitable cast. The play was enormously successful in Paris and London, but I confess that in both these places it amused me almost as little as here.

It is a truism of the theater that what makes a play, together with the written text, is the actors and, most important, the audience. For if what you have on the stage is not compatible in its premises, atmosphere, and total spirit with the audience's *mores*, assumptions, and modes of mind and feeling, you have no play. That is why it is unlikely that Racine, Goethe, Strindberg, even Pirandello will ever be popular in this country. What is true on this high level is even truer on less exalted levels.

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In Paris "The Little Hut" was a somewhat smutty joke—the story deals with a husband and lover who decide to share the wife's favors on alternate weeks during their stay on a desert island where they have been stranded. Jokes about so classical—that is, common and recognizable—a situation as the sexual triangle are welcome to the Parisian theater audience. But whereas sex —which the Parisian playwright is pleased to call *l'amour*—is an accredited institution in the French theater, it is not, so to speak, officially received in London. For sex to be admitted and enjoyed by the London theatergoer, he must believe that its existence on the stage is somehow or other fictitious.

Robert Morley's performance in the London version of "The Little Hut" was a triumph of comic make-believe over sex. He simply eliminated it. He was delightfully neuter. He made the whole show into a sort of zany fable having only an oblique and charmingly distorted relation to reality. Oliver Messel's highly stylized setting—a fashionably "primitive" tropical island that looked like a combination of children's-book illustration and a travel ad in a smart-set magazine—seemed like the natural habitat for the play's characters.

In the New York production the actors play as English drawing-room comedians, and though the drawing-room is also a theatrical convention, it is too close to actuality to make the play acceptable to us. If it is taken as real it is slightly offensive; if it is taken as spoof it is too long and arduous to be funny. If the joke is supposed to be on the British upper middle class, as at moments it seems to be in the present production, it becomes unbelievable in any vein.

For myself, I find I can take stage sex for its general human or its sensual, sentimental, violent, and sometimes even obscure values; I cannot take it denatured—as mere entertainment. I find Feydeau's farce "Take Care of Amélie" completely engaging in its mingling of crazy ingenuity, social satire, and wickedly frank sexuality. I find fun in Mae West's vulgarly arch play-acting or lampoon of sex in "Diamond Lil." With a little effort I can be indulgent toward the coyness of "The Moon Is Blue" and benevolent toward the fantasies and fears implied in "The Seven Year Itch," but I have always been bored with "The Little Hut," in which sex is treated as if it didn't matter.

Records

B. H. Haggin

BERLIOZ'S Requiem, listened to again with the score, provided one of the summer's overwhelming musical experiences; and the RCA Victor recording of the performance of Verdi's "Otello" broadcast by Toscanini in 1947 provided another.

In early Verdi we are aware of extraordinary powers—above all the melodic power that produces the succession of wonderful melodic structures in "Il Trovatore." But even in early Verdi we get, in the Sleepwalking Scene of "Macbeth," an astounding manifestation of the art which later—developed, enriched, subtilized—gives us *Ella giammai m'amo* in "Don Carlo," the Nile Scene in "Aida," and from beginning to end in "Otello" the sustained incandescent invention that overwhelms us by the way it fills in moment after moment out of a seemingly inexhaustible source of marvelously wrought details of melody, harmony, figuration, and orchestration—like the orchestral passage which leads, in Act 2, from Desdemona's *Splende il cielo* at the end of the choral interlude to her *D' un uomo che geme* addressed to Otello, or the developing violin figure and subtle harmonic progressions of Otello's *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* in Act 3.

And listening to the records we are overwhelmed by the succession of these

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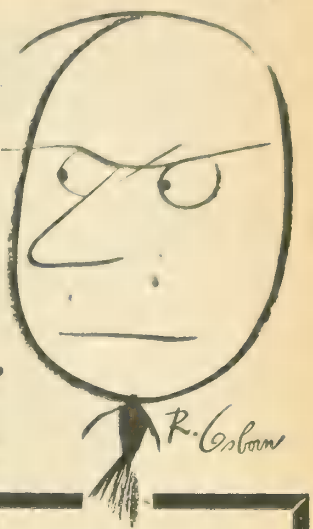

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details not only as they were imagined and set down in the score by Verdi but as they are realized in the living sound of the performance. It isn't likely that the orchestral part has ever been played by an orchestra of the caliber of the NBC Symphony—which is to say, with such precision and refinement of execution, such beauty and refinement of tone (never, I am sure, has the solo cello's introduction to the love duet been played as it is by Frank Miller at the end of side 1). Nor is it likely that—except in other Toscanini performances—the vocal parts have been sung with such accuracy and such refinement of style, in addition to the tonal beauty and subtle expressive coloring of Giuseppe Valdengo's singing as Iago, the purity and loveliness of Herva Nelli's singing as Desdemona (Ramon Vinay, the Otello, on the other hand, achieves delicacy only with disturbing effort, and ringing sonority at times with a disturbing quaver). Nor, finally, is it likely that—except in other Toscanini performances—the vocal and orchestral parts have been integrated so precisely in a progression so completely achieved and finished, so clear in outline and texture, so unfailingly continuous in impetus, tension, shape, and force. It is in fact the sustained operation of Toscanini's powers as well as Verdi's that is overwhelming.

For this experience we must thank not only Verdi and Toscanini but the anonymous Victor engineers who transferred the performance from the original NBC recordings of the broadcasts to the tape from which the LP records are derived, and whose technical skill and patience achieved the remarkably good sound we hear. Victor informs us that in the process of transfer "a number of technical improvements were made"; but unfortunately one of these improvements, the addition of resonance, is carried to the point of a defect—i.e., the point where the voices are coarsened.

And some people have a special reason for gratitude to everyone who made these records possible. The broadcasts of "Otello" in 1947 required an additional quarter-hour; and NBC in New York canceled the program regularly scheduled for 6:15 so that they could begin then instead of the usual 6:30. But not all of NBC's affiliated stations in other cities did the same, as I learned from a reader in Rochester, N. Y., who wrote me that music-lovers there were deprived—presumably both times—of the first fifteen minutes of Toscanini's performance of "Otello" while WHAM broadcast the Answer Man's answers to questions like "Which end of a cow is heavier?" This reader spoke of his "sense of never-to-be-recovered loss"; but the loss has now been recovered.

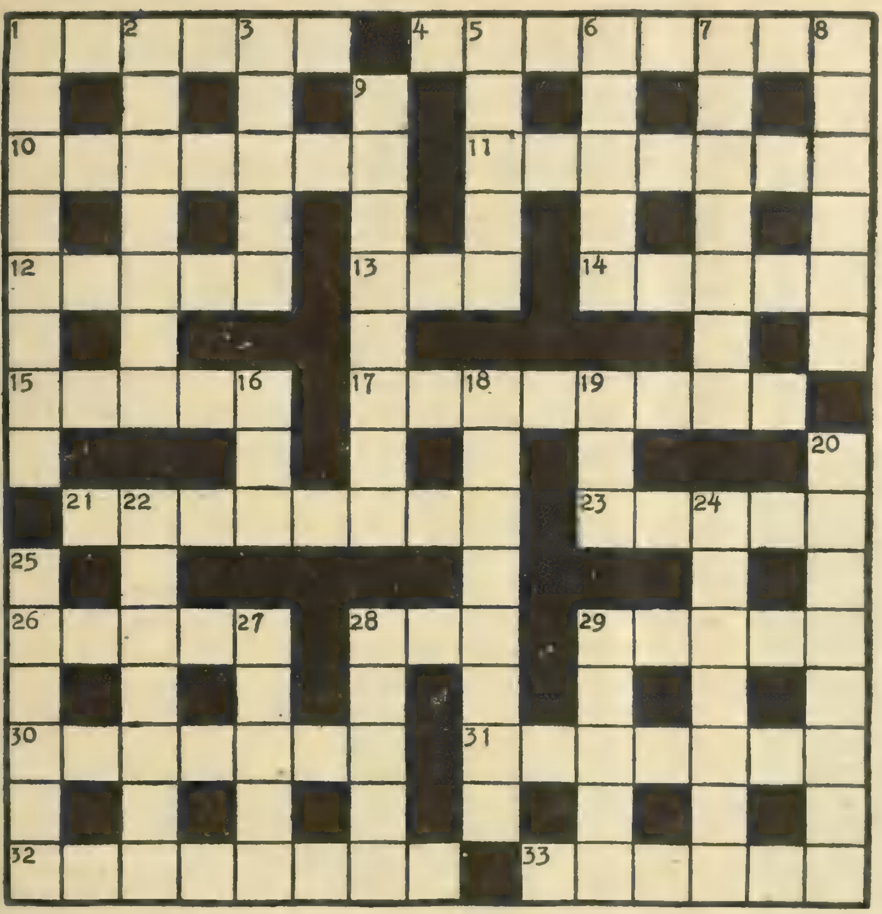
Having issued the shockingly defective recordings of some of Toscanini's performances of Beethoven symphonies in last spring's limited edition (whether the records of this fall's unlimited edition produce better sound I haven't yet had an opportunity to hear), Victor now gives us breathtakingly beautiful reproduction of the marvelous playing of the NBC Symphony under Toscanini's direction in Respighi's "Fountains of Rome"—with reproduction of "The Pines of Rome" that is equally beautiful but includes a broken note at the beginning of the oboe solo in the Janiculum episode, another discontinuity in the clarinet solo at the end of that episode, and a cutting down of the volume that Toscanini builds up in the final crescendo. And with similar perversity Victor, which cannot be persuaded to provide the needed texts with a record of songs or arias, issues the Respighi record in a volume with one double-page and twelve single-page photographs of Roman pines and fountains and accompanying text by Vincent Sheehan—none of which is needed in listening to the music.

Several of the seven Scarlatti Sonatas recorded on the harpsichord by Sylvia Marlowe (Remington) are unfamiliar to me; and of these Longo No. 257 is unusual, strange, and impressive, but No. 206 is uninteresting. The rest are characteristically engaging. Also on the record are Bach's fine Toccata in D and Couperin's "Les Folies françaises," of which I like a few of the pieces, but not others. Miss Marlowe still pounds her instrument at times; but these are more agreeable performances than I recall.

The moment-to-moment invention of Debussy's "La Boîte à joujoux," in his delicate and tenuous ironic style, is so closely tied up with the many incidents of a children's ballet as not to provide a satisfyingly coherent musical experience when listened to by itself. Menahem Pressler's performance of the original piano version seems good (MGM).

Crossword Puzzle No. 538

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Piper cub, useful when business is booming in a small way. (6)
4 Part of a battery which should be associated with Sir Robert Peel? (3, 5)
10 and 11 Made by shutting up at the wrong time? (5, 2, 7)
12 Evidently he dotes on being a playwright. (5)
14 Within the power of either sex to lift. (5)
15 She should turn around lazily. (5)
17 Do tunics get chewed up by moths? (8)
21 Sort of cross, perhaps, so run the wrong direction. (8)
23 He takes the measure of 28 across. (5)
26 The head of 22. (5)
28 Cast down by 23. (3)
30 Absurdly. (7)
31 George Meredith wrote of such a marriage. (7)
32 Musicians costume. (8)

DOWN

1 and 9 Not Sunkist, but might be associated with a definite rule. (3, 5, 2, 6)
2, 29 across, 13, 33 In which misunderstood dialects prove a significant clue. (7, 2, 3, 3, 6)
3 No progress without them. (5)
5 Chalk goes here as the player speaks. (2, 3)
6 Not very fast, certainly. (5)
8 Gammer Gurton's was one of the first English comedies. (6)
16 Reticulations produce a clear profit. (3)
19 Spenser's personification of truth. (3)
20 Allure of living with "ease"? (8)
22 With an eye to them, some think they have no peers. (7)
24 If a terrier was, would that be telling? (7)
27 This is assumed as a token. (5)
28, 18, 7 and 25 What is one in short? A horse, that is! (5, 8, 7, 6)
29 I'm long since an adult, albeit a pretty small specimen! (5)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 537

ACROSS:—1 ATONALLY; 5 ISLAND; 9 POT SHOT; 10 LIMNING; 11 CHANNEL; 12 TERMITE; 13 THIMBLERIGGER; 15 TUESDAY'S CHILD; 21 CUBICAL; 22 RAPHAEL; 23 IMITATE; 24 INROADS; 25 GLEAMS; 26 DRESSERS.

DOWN:—1 ASPECT; 2 OUTLAST; 3 ASHANTI; 4 LITTLE BOY BLUE; 6 SAMURAI; 7 ABIDING; 8 DOGBERRY; 10 LETTER CARRIER; 14 STOCKING; 16 EBB TIDE; 17 DECLAIM; 18 IMPARTS; 19 DIABASE; 20 CLOSES.

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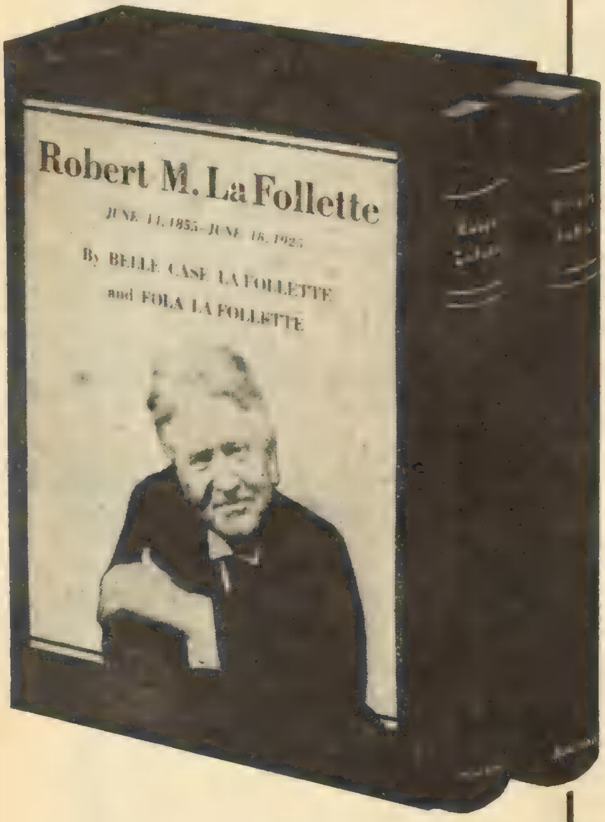
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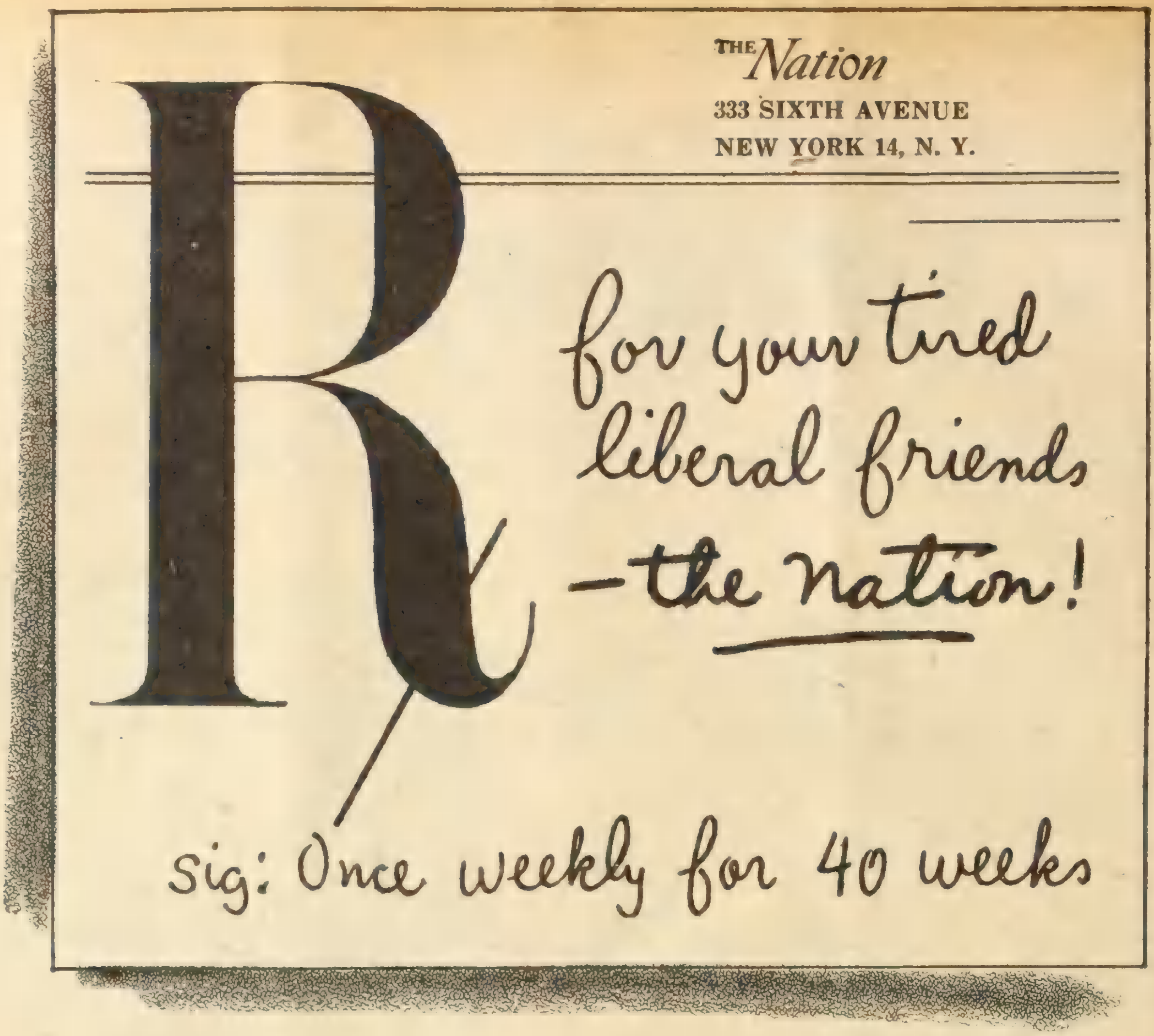

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

There's No Alternative

In its handling of the Middle East crisis the U. N. faces perhaps the most challenging test of its capacity as a peace-maker. Four years of an uneasy truce between the Arab states and Israel have now exploded into the kind of violence which leaves the U. N. no choice except to face the fact that nothing less than negotiations for a permanent peace settlement will serve.

Truce violations have been regular occurrences for years. Since the U. N. consistently failed to take action, it was inevitable that the Arabs should have felt encouraged to persist in their course, just as it was inevitable that the Israelis should resort to reprisal.

The Western powers have the power to bring about peace talks between the Arab states and Israel—provided they can subordinate their own equivocal ambitions to bolster relations with the Arab states to the larger interests of the area as a whole. That the Arab states will resist peace discussions is certain, just as they resisted the truce agreements. But once the United States and Britain, having fumbled for more than a year, made it clear that they would be satisfied with nothing less than an armistice, the Arabs' resistance broke down.

An equally firm stand with respect to a negotiated peace is long overdue. To be sure, Mr. Dulles's recent performance offers little hope of the necessary objectivity. Still, saner councils may force a belated understanding that American and world interests alike are best served by peace—and peace has never yet been produced by appeasement.

Plan for Peace and Progress

Nor is physical violence the only threat to stability in the Middle East. The existence of upwards of 800,000 Arab refugees, subsisting on relief and showing no progress toward permanent rehabilitation, is both a tragic human problem and an explosive political weapon. Here, too, the U. N. for years has refused to admit that the return of these people to their former homes in Israel is impossible, and that their resettlement in Arab lands is the only fruitful solution.

Now a group of thirty-three Americans, of which the president of *The Nation Associates* is glad to be one, has offered the U. N. a new and imaginative approach to the problem. In the interests of peace, the group proposes a six-year program aimed at (1) permanent resettlement of the Arab refugees in Arab lands; (2) the simultaneous development of the "water, soil, oil, chemical, and human resources of the Middle East through a series of regional projects for the benefit of the indigenous populations, the refugees, and the area as a whole." Two international funds would be created: $500,000,000 to initiate the development program, and $300,000,000 to finance resettlement. Each fund would be administered by a U. N. commission.

Terming peace between the Arab states and Israel "an indispensable factor in enabling the Middle Eastern area to be developed and the refugees to be settled," the group calls upon the U. N. to bring it about. "Unless this is done," it points out, "the ensuing demoralization in the context of the tensions in this strategic area could add fuel to tinder with disturbing, if not disastrous, consequences."

We commend these proposals to the U. N. and hope that it will discard the restricting resolutions which currently bind it and embark upon a course serving both the area's people and world security.

The Thankless Puppet

In return for the costly job of keeping the Communists out of Vietnam, France has been expecting that Bao Dai, emperor of the little country, would help keep the French in. But now the dapper ruler, darling of the night clubs and of the French Colonial office, appears to be either unable or unwilling to keep his side of the bargain. Two weeks ago a Vietnam National Congress, hand-picked by Bao Dai, declared that so far as it was concerned, the French have been fighting a seven-year war for nothing; the Vietnamese, the Congress said, want no part of their savior, not even a French Union.

Subsequently the Congress leaders backed down a little, but not before tempers rose to the breaking-point in France. As parliamentary debate on the issue began over the week-end, everyone was in high dudgeon—the liberal elements because they saw here further proof of the futility of the whole Indo-China struggle and the Colonial Office because it felt how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless puppet! In the end the Bao Dai regime will undoubtedly agree to some compromise, just as Laos has done. But the Vietnam Con-

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gress by its defiant gesture has brought Indo-China a little closer to independence, and France a little closer to the realization that if it has to negotiate, it might almost as well do so with Ho Chi-minh as with Bao Dai.

Adenauer's Fifth Column

Victor everywhere—in Bonn, in London, in Washington—Chancellor Adenauer presented his new Cabinet to the Bundestag in an address which was both confident and generous in tone. He even proposed that Russia should participate in a Big Four meeting—after having helped to wreck Churchill's conference plan in London. He was equally generous toward the opposition, knowing well that for the next four years the Socialists will be an impotent minority. And he claimed that the elections had brought the extremists of the right under control.

In fact, the extremists have been brought under control through the simple process of being absorbed into the Chancellor's own following. One of the reasons the Nazis did not make a better showing was that they decided it would be absurd to fight as a separate party when they could work from within the ruling coalition. The Nazis are the real fifth column in the present West German regime, but a tolerated fifth column. The government is placing former Nazis in subaltern posts at an increasing rate: the cadres of the future army, now in preparation, are full of them, and they are reappearing in the press, radio, the publishing houses, and the theater.

Among many tasks they fulfil one very important function. They direct the mass-meetings of refugees from the East who will one day create an irresistible body of opinion demanding the return of the lost provinces.

The Emspak Case

In the Emspak case, which will be heard on November 30, a historic decision faces the Supreme Court. Among other issues, the tribunal has agreed to consider whether the "House resolution setting up the un-American Activities Committee abridges freedom of speech, press, and Assembly in violation of the First Amendment" and whether "the First Amendment protects a witness before a Congressional committee against compulsory disclosure . . . of his political views and affiliations." Thus for the first time the tribunal will pass upon the constitutionality of the inquisitorial committees and on the protection given by the First Amendment.

Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the powerful left-wing United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (U.E.), which broke with the C. I. O. in 1948, was called before the un-American Activities Committee in December, 1949. When asked to identify members of his union, he sharply refused. In the words of the federal trial judge, the witness "quickly made it apparent that concern for his union was uppermost in his mind. . . . He lost no time disputing the powers, the right, and the authority of the committee to inquire into his beliefs, his associations, or, as he stated, anything else." For his part, Emspak said: "I think it is my duty to endeavor to protect the rights guaranteed under the Constitution, primarily the First Amendment."

McCarthyism may well stand or fall upon the Supreme Court's decision in this case.

U. S.-ISRAEL CRISIS

Peace or Appeasement . . *by Lillie Shultz*

United Nations

PEACE between the Arab states and Israel is possible. A firm position, vigorously espoused by the United States, Britain, and France, could assure progress toward that end.

The vehemence of the Lebanese delegate's opposition to any broad discussion by the Security Council of existing tensions between the Arab states and Israel is a clear indication of Arab fears of the power of the Big Three to force at least an approach to a settlement.

Significant is the fact that no Arab state initiated action on the incident which precipitated the emergency session, an Israeli attack on the village of Kibya in Jordan, allegedly causing sixty-six deaths, in retaliation for an attack on an Israeli village by Jordan.

Caught by surprise by the action of the United States, Britain, and France in calling the session, the Arab states made every effort to have the whole discussion canceled. In this they failed. But Lebanon, a member of the Council, did succeed in having the agenda so worded as to bring from China and France the criticism that it was not impartial. Both these countries, it may be assumed, were primarily concerned lest a precedent be established which one day might be cited against them.

The tragedy of Kibya serves to highlight the fact that the Palestine truce agreements are no substitute for peace, and that discussions looking toward a settlement can no longer be delayed.

For five years border incidents have been taking place, increasing in number and intensity under the whiplash of Arab propaganda for a second round against Israel, and in the face of seeming indifference by the Security Council. The fact is that never before has that body been called into session to deal with such incidents, even though in a single year (June, 1952, to June, 1953), the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission dealt with 184 border incidents, in the course of which it ruled 159 times against Jordan and only 25 times against Israel. But the Security Council cannot claim ignorance. In July, 1953, the government of Israel called the U. N.'s attention to increasing border tension. Yet no action was taken by any U. N. body.

WHAT PRECIPITATED the present action of the Big Three? Unquestionably the chief motivation was the hope that each could thereby strengthen its relations with the Arab world.

Britain, which created the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, pays most of its budget, created and trained the Arab Legion, and has base rights there, is nevertheless losing its hold on the country, particularly since Jordan's annexation of Arab Palestine.

France still hopes to return to Syria or at any rate to strengthen its unofficial military relations with that country. Moreover, the Moroccan crisis has imposed the need of giving some token indication at least of a pro-Arab attitude.

The United States wants a Middle Eastern pact, to which the Arab states continue to offer resistance, charging Washington with pro-Israel bias.

The Kibya incident was seized by the three powers to demonstrate by action that they are not pro-Israel, as the Arabs charge. Ignored by them is the fact that for five years the population of Israel has been living in a state of tension provoked by the fear of the sniper and the marauder atop the surrounding Arab hills. Forgotten is the fact that, since 1950, frontier incidents by Jordanians have caused 421 Israelis to be killed or wounded; there have been 128 cases of sabotage, 866 cases of armed attack, 3,263 instances of robbery.

It may be assumed that the Big Three prefer peace to violence. But the United States, whatever its preference, is encouraging violence rather than peace by its pronouncements and action against Israel in advance of the U. N.'s receipt and appraisal of the facts.

THAT THE State Department is seeking to set the stage for a large-scale appeasement of the Arabs is indicated by the sequence of events.

On October 17 the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, in identical communications, sought an emergency meeting of the Security Council and an invitation to the head of the Truce Commission to report personally on the existing tensions. Twenty-four hours later, before the Security Council had time to meet or react, the United States State Department issued a public denunciation of Israel. At no time has the State Department, publicly or privately, expressed the slightest concern for Israeli victims of Arab attacks. Were the State Department truly concerned with peace rather than with appeasement, it might have withheld its criticism of Israel until General Bennike had reported. Then if the circumstances warranted, it could have denounced Israel in the Security Council to its heart's content.

But even more revealing of intent was the announcement by Secretary Dulles on October 20 that the United States was withholding funds allocated by Congress to Israel, on the ground of

Israel's refusal to accept a U. N. decision to share the waters of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers with Syria and Jordan. The language of Dulles's charge was such as to make it appear that Israel is opposed to regional development of the water resources of the Middle East, and in particular has not agreed to a U. N. project for the regional development of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers for the benefit of Jordan, Syria, and Israel.

But no U. N. regional project of this or any other nature exists. What does exist is a preliminary desk survey by the Tennessee Valley Authority, made at the behest of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNWRA), of the possibilities of the unified development of the water resources of the Jordan Valley region. This survey was transmitted to the UNWRA on August 31. Its existence was unknown to the public, the press, or Israel until an official of the State Department disclosed it on October 19 to an important American publication. When this leak became known, the U. N. agency released the document to the press as a whole. Israel received it when it was released.

BUT MORE important, the document is only a working paper. It forms no part of UNWRA's official report to the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is one of many working papers which UNWRA plans to study.

The only official UNWRA project in existence today calls for the development of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers for the benefit of Jordan and to the exclusion of Israel. This project is to cost $40,000,000 and will take five years to carry through, assuming that the preliminary surveys, costing $1,500,000, indicate that it is feasible. The project, intended to serve 150,000 Arab refugees in Jordan, will divert waters from Jewish settlements on the Israel side of the Jordan which for two decades have been irrigated by the waters of the Yarmuk and could lead to their ruination.

For months the government of Israel has tried to persuade both the United States and the United Nations representatives to agree to *regional* development of the Jordan-Yarmuk river system. In fact, in July, 1953, regional development was the subject of an Israeli memorandum submitted to Dulles. This document pointed out that the UNWRA scheme for Jordan-Yarmuk development does not meet the needs of the area and urged that a regional undertaking be substituted.

Israel emphasized that it was ready to discuss such regional plans with the representatives of the countries concerned, without insisting upon a prior over-all peace settlement. Despite these representations, the U. N. agency decided to proceed with the plan for the unilateral development of the Jordan potential for the benefit of Jordanians. It is significant that prior to reaching an official agreement for this development with UNWRA, Jordan last February signed an agreement with Syria covering that portion of the development along the Syrian border.

Although the Yarmuk and the Jordan form a common border also between Israel and Jordan, no attempt was made either by Jordan or by the U. N. agency to secure Israel's agreement—this despite the fact that the diversion of the waters of the Yarmuk not only could destroy a number of Israeli settlements but also cancels out the concessionary rights of the Palestine Electric Corporation. The latter in 1926 received from the High Commissioner for Palestine the concession for the utilization of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers for power generation. A separate agreement was signed with Jordan, validated under its electricity-concession law of January 23, 1928. Subsequently the government of Jordan, in its treaty of alliance with Britain of March 22, 1946, provided under Article 10 that "commercial concessions granted in respect of Transjordan territory prior to the signature of this treaty shall continue to be valid for the period specified in their texts." When in 1948 a second treaty of alliance was concluded between Jordan and the United Kingdom, Article 10 was omitted, but in an exchange of letters the Jordanian Prime Minister indicated that the purposes of Article 10 would be upheld.

On May 14, 1948, when the mandate ended, the Palestine Electric Corporation received from the government of Jordan a list of conditions under which the company would be permitted to operate. These conditions were accepted and complied with by the corporation.

This is the side of the story which Dulles chose to ignore.

Denied access to any regional scheme for the development of the Jordan-Yarmuk potential, Israel proceeded with its own plans for the harnessing of a portion of the Jordan River, with a view to creating more hydraulic power. The project, carried on in an area belonging to Israel but now demilitarized, provoked Syria to complain to the Truce Commission. General Bennike, head of the commission, summarily ordered a stoppage of the project—which involves no diversion of water. Israel informed General Bennike that it was prepared to accept adjudication by the Security Council. The matter was placed on the Council agenda on Syria's complaint, and only on October 23 did the Council decide to discuss it on October 27.

The item has been before the U. N. for weeks. If the State Department considered it important enough to justify the withholding from Israel of $50,000,000 of American appropriations, why didn't it seek emergency action by the Security Council? And if it is so concerned with observance of U. N. decisions, why has it never called Egypt to account for its failure to carry out a Security Council decision providing for the free passage of ships through the Suez Canal, including Israeli ships? The inescapable conclusion is that the State Department is concerned primarily with giving the Arabs proof of Washington's devotion.

WHY ARE the Arabs afraid of peace? First, there is *amour propre:* they simply cannot swallow, even after five years, Israel's victory in a war which they initiated. Second, there is the hope that denial to Israel of normal relations in the region, including trade and travel, may help to produce Israel's economic collapse. Third, there is the fact that propaganda for a second round against Israel serves as a lightning rod to divert the anger of indigenous populations seeking an improvement of their miserable lot.

Israel has made no secret of its desire and need for peace. The Arab world needs it just as urgently. And Western security is tied up with it inextricably. Despite the inauspicious beginnings of the present debate, the Western powers still have a large opportunity to bring about progress toward peace by acting with objectivity and firmness.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Russia's Irrevocable "Nyet"

Paris

After a few months of relative decrease in international tension, new complications have arisen. The great expectations produced in May by Churchill's famous speech have been succeeded by an equally great disillusionment. In London the Foreign Ministers of the Big Three buried the Churchill peace plan without any obsequies. The alternative they offered was very thin. The note inviting the Soviet Union to confer on Germany and Austria on November 9 was certainly couched in more courteous terms than usual, but submitted to the test of practical possibilities its futility is evident.

The last Soviet note asked for clarification of certain points. The Allied reply does not clear them up. Russia asked that China should participate in a big-power conference to end East-West tension before the German question was considered. The Allied reply makes such a conference conditional upon the success of the political conference on Korea. It is no secret that America has but slight hope for the final success of this conference, which is supposed to meet on October 28: the opposing sides have been unable so far even to agree on which countries are to participate in it. There has been talk lately of a non-aggression pact to be offered to Moscow. At the insistence of the West German Chancellor, the three Foreign Ministers abandoned their original intention of referring to it in their note. Finally Churchill's idea of a meeting with Malenkov has been left to a future so vague as to imply renunciation. Some reports from London hopefully stress the fact that Sir Winston tried to regain the lost ground by alluding to his original plan at a Downing Street luncheon on the day the Foreign Ministers left London, and by saying that he was ready to go to Moscow alone. Apparently Dulles did not take this suggestion seriously.

The influence of the absent Dr. Adenauer was strongly felt at the London conference. Dr. Hallstein, his Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stopping off in London on his way to New York to take part in the *Herald Tribune* Forum, saw to it that the reservations of the Bonn government to the Foreign Ministers' reply as originally drafted were immediately put into effect. Since, for different reasons, none of the three Foreign Ministers was particularly enthusiastic about Churchill's proposal, the objections formulated by Dr. Adenauer gave them an additional excuse to avoid the "perilous path" which Sir Winston outlined six months ago.

ALL THIS puts Chancellor Adenauer in an enviable position. He does not have to beg for an invitation to conferences of the Western powers. His interests are best served without his direct participation. A position similar to that in which the bilateral agreement with Washington has placed the Franco dictatorship may, under the circumstances, appear preferable also to Bonn. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 22 commented on the advantages of being "assured an 'individual association' with the strongest power without other and more embarrassing connections."

This is a commentary worth noting. It is by no means unlikely that should the European Defense Community fail to take shape, the United States would establish an "individual association" with Bonn similar to that with Madrid. In such circumstances Bonn would have to be given everything it required for the arming of troops to man Europe's first line of defense. Already rumors are circulating about the existence in West Germany of plants for the manufacture of atomic weapons. However, it does not really matter whether such weapons are made by the Germans or are put in their hands by the Americans. What does matter is the logical probability that, if the other Western nations prove recalcitrant about joining with the Germans in a common army, Germany will be regarded by Washington as the only power except Franco Spain which can be counted upon in the hour of showdown. But this speculation, however logical, does not advance the world in the direction of peace. It certainly does not encourage the Kremlin to agree to negotiations with the West conditioned on the rearmament of Germany. It is inconceivable that the Foreign Ministers in London did not know how the Russians feel on that point.

The grave view of German rearmament taken by Moscow means that the West can offer no quid pro quo which the Russians would judge sufficient—not even the non-aggression pact suggested by Mr. Stevenson. The Russians may in time reach the conclusion—they are still very far from it—that the United States has no intention of making war on them. But as long as the rearmament of Germany is permitted, not even that conclusion would quiet their fears. For they are sure that once Germany is rearmed nothing can deter the new *Reichswehr,* even if dressed in the most democratic of uniforms, from resuming the march toward the domination of Europe initiated in the days of Frederick the Great. Whoever is in power in Germany will inevitably assume the role played today by Syngman Rhee. He will push toward war—to free the lost territories, to reunite Greater Germany, to expand. Just as Syngman Rhee may do within the next few weeks, his German equivalent could create a *fait accompli* by provoking an incident that would force the United States to come to the aid of an ally threatened with the fate of becoming yet another Soviet satellite.

The choice is clear. If we wish to reach an agreement with Russia, the rearmament of Germany will have to be abandoned. If the West insists on rearming Germany, then let us waste no more time in talking but concentrate on preparations for the war which will come sooner or later. Russia can certainly be induced to make concessions in Europe and in Asia. What cannot be expected is that Russia will give way on the question of a rearmed Germany.

WATERFRONT REVOLT

Wanted: A Real Union . . *by Richard Carter*

AFTER decades of intermittent government inquiry and recurrent newspaper exposés the port of New York has become such an embarrassment that Joseph P. Ryan's old friends in industry, politics, and labor have found it necessary to liquidate him. For years they cultivated the myth that reports of harbor corruption were grossly exaggerated. Now that the myth is obsolete, they pin their hopes on a subsidiary fairy tale which casts Ryan as the root of all evil. This is comparable to pretending that Charlie McCarthy is the inventor of ventriloquism.

The theory among the shipowners, stevedoring tycoons, hoodlums, and others who stand to lose most by reform of the port seems to be that elimination of Ryan and some of the well-connected bums who helped him run the International Longshoremen's Association will be sufficient window-dressing for this century. Hopeful of continuing plunder as usual, they are trying to persuade the longshoremen to remain in Ryan's union, without Ryan.

But the effort appears doomed. The most knowledgeable politicians and labor fakers in the port are not having anything to do with it. They realize that you can't give 30,000 tough longshore workers an inch without risking the loss of important yardage. The men got the inch with the scuttling of Ryan, and they are about to move in for some of the yardage. It's a fascinating picture.

First of all, one must understand that the revelations made in the recent cycle of probes did not differ in any major respect from information which has been available for forty years. But this time the working longshoremen had influential allies. Important New York business men had formed the New York City Anti-Crime Committee because they were alarmed at the growth of underworld influence in legitimate industry. As their first target they selected the waterfront. When the longshoremen struck in late 1951 against a sell-out contract negotiated by Ryan, the Anti-Crime Committee was able to arouse the press to a new curiosity about the situation. This curiosity led to publication of numerous stories which, while they misplaced responsibility for harbor corruption, at least described it for mass circulation.

Another ally of the dockers has been Father John M. Corridan, of the St. Francis Xavier Labor School. Before, during, and since the 1951 strike he has given practical guidance to longshoremen and in the process has made it impossible for anyone to use the traditional weapon of red-baiting against anti-Ryan forces.

THANKS TO the general public's new knowledge of the facts, the hearings before Governor Dewey's State Crime Commission last winter became more than another *pro forma* probe. The testimony showed that the rulers of the waterfront are the shipowners and stevedoring contractors; that many of these employ gangsters and stooge unionists so as to keep the work force cheap and docile; that the harbor industrialists bribe the hoodlums to make sure that special anti-labor projects get special attention. Because newspapers often die hard, these bribes were sometimes described in print as examples of "extortion," and images were evoked of turtle-necked bullies forcing helpless millionaires to come across or else. It was largely by this method that Ryan was invested as the arch-villain. Except for one or two slap-on-the-wrist indictments the people who gave Ryan his orders and his spending money got off with red faces.

But even when filtered and refined by interpretation, the testimony aroused public opinion to new intensity. And it produced novel effects in key places. The American Federation of Labor, after booting out Ryan and his crew, set about organizing what it promises will be a bona fide union of dock workers. Governors Dewey and Driscoll, who had accommodated themselves for years to the corruption that ruled the harbor, felt impelled to obtain passage of laws which, if enforced, would drive labor hoodlums off the piers and permit genuine collective bargaining between the longshoremen and their employers.

These laws, identical in the two states and scheduled to take effect on December 1 under a bi-state waterfront commission, are directed against the worst aspects of the port's labor system. As written, they outlaw the inhuman shape-up method of hiring, which has enabled harbor industry to select only the most acquiescent job applicants. Supervisory employees must hereafter be licensed and ex-cons will be ineligible, which means that most of the gangster foremen will be washed up. Only bona fide registered longshoremen will be hired. As in all well-regulated ports, the labor force will be stabilized, and longshoremen won't have to compete for jobs with off-duty policemen, political-clubhouse loungers, and pay-roll padders.

Above all, if the law becomes fully operative, the longshoreman will be free of the threat of violence which has prevented him from asserting his rights. He will no longer have to submit to shakedowns, kickbacks, and a super-speed-up, for his grievance committee will no longer have to fear guns, "knucks," and contrived unemployment. These prospects account for the men's acquiescence in what they might otherwise resist as a novel and possibly unconstitutional effort to regiment them.

BUT THERE IS a difference between passing a progressive law and enforcing it. Dewey and Driscoll have showed political zeal in getting the laws passed,

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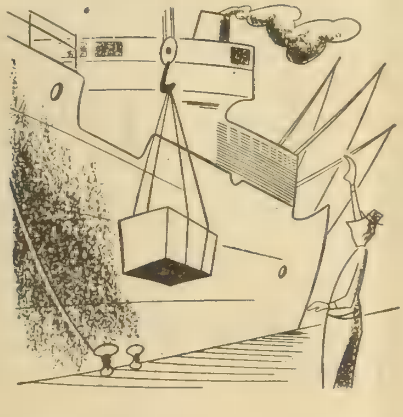
but have been perhaps less vigorous in the enforcement phase. Their appointees as bi-state commissioners are two generals with no first-hand knowledge of conditions in the port. Dewey named Lieutenant General George Price Hays, who used to be General Clay's Deputy High Commissioner in Germany. Driscoll came up with Major General Edward C. Rose, a banker who heads the New Jersey Defense Department.

The laws which these two warriors are called upon to administer are ripsnorters in principle, as we have seen, but somewhat vague about details. Much is left to the discretion of the commissioners, who will have to make up their minds on issues so ticklish as to involve the very survival of the reform program. For instance, how are the employment centers to operate? It can be assumed that longshoremen who are part of regular work gangs will continue to handle cargo on their accustomed piers, without shaping up. But what about extra workers, and what about regular workers whose piers are idle? Will such men be dispatched to jobs in strict rotation by the employment centers, or will the pier bosses be able to order specific men by name, regardless of rotation? What about the personnel of the employment centers? Will they be political hacks, shipping-company stooges, civil-service workers, state policemen, or union men?

If the commissioners were direct representatives of harbor industry, or were men connected with the movement for waterfront reform, it would be easy to imagine how they would answer these questions. But since they belong in neither category, it is certainly not unfair to await their decisions with anxiety. If the stevedoring firms can persuade the commissioners to run the employment centers on some basis other than strict rotation, or if the commissioners can be hornswoggled into hiring incompetents—or worse—as job dispatchers, the laws will be a mockery and the longshoremen will be at least as badly off as they were before.

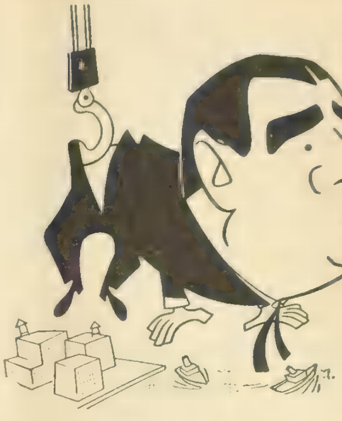


Furthermore, if the laws are permitted to function as a substitute for rather than as an antidote to underworld supervision of longshore labor, they will be put to other reactionary uses. Take the clause which allows the commission to ban subversives from work on the docks. While persons of radical politics are rare in East Coast longshore circles, the shipowners and Ryan have long made a practice of branding as subversive anyone who wants square collective bargaining or opposes the speed-up.

IT IS WELL to remember that the final answer to the waterfront situation in New York lies now, as always, with the longshoremen themselves. They have made all their gains through wildcat strikes, defying the mobsters, the labor fakers, the city and state governments, and the press. They have therefore some appreciation of their own power. They are not afraid of the new law. On the contrary, they hope it pans out. If they have to accept state supervision in order to get rid of Joe Ryan and the mobsters, they accept it. If the state doesn't do the job, they will be at least no worse off.

Their attitude toward the A. F. of L. drive to organize a new longshore union is similar. They seem ready to go A. F. of L. in a secret ballot but are reserved about committing themselves openly. The mobsters are still around, controlling the jobs. The expelled I. L. A. is still functioning under a Ryan side-kick, William V. Bradley. The A. F. of L. has yet to prove it can do anything spectacular, though it is bound to be regarded as a lesser evil than Ryan and the hoodlums.

The A. F. of L. campaign is being handled by Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the Atlantic and Gulf District of the Seafarers' International Union, and Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The jurisdictional battle has reached the head-busting stage, and Hall and Beck have been providing ample man-power and money. So far they have not been stampeded into any deals which might compromise the budding new union. Several Ryan colleagues, among them Anthony (Tough Tony) Anastasio and Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, have made overtures which might have hastened the end of the jurisdictional dispute but would have left the underworld with power in the new union. Their offers have been rejected.



Joseph P. Ryan

Good men among rank-and-file longshoremen have been named as organizers. On the brawling West Side of Manhattan the general organizer is Johnny Dwyer, a courageous and scrupulously honest docker who managed with some of his buddies to wrest Pier 45 from the mob several years ago. Under him Pier 45 has been a pretty good place for a longshoreman to work. His weakness and that of the A. F. of L. leaders is that they offer no program to the longshoremen other than promises that the new set-up will be a democratic one.

This, of course, is quite a promise for the port of New York, but it is hardly a complete trade-union program. Longshoremen are interested in wages, hours, and working conditions and might respond to organizing appeals couched in such terms. For years the men have known that West Coast dockers are better off than they are. They have been taught to believe that this has something to do with a Moscow plot entitled Harry Bridges and that they should ask no further questions. Most of them know, however, that under the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, ex-C. I. O., the base pay is $2.16 an hour, overtime starts after six hours, premium rates are paid for work on more than thirty varieties of difficult or obnoxious cargo, slingloads are limited to a safe 2,100 pounds, monthly pensions of $100 are paid on retirement, medical and hospital care is given free to active and retired workers and their families, and the average docker makes around $5,000 a year.

In the port of New York the base pay is higher—$2.27—but a day's work brings in less, because overtime does not start until after eight hours. Premium pay is called for on less than a dozen kinds of cargo and often is not paid at all, work gangs of as few as fifteen men are required to do the work of twenty-two, there is no limit on slingloads, pensions are only $65 a month and are virtually impossible to get because of all the qualifications required under the prevailing Ryan contract, and fewer than 25 per cent of the men make $3,000 a year.

Nobody familiar with the longshore industry has ever been able to explain why a properly organized port of New York union could not get a contract at least equal to that of the West Coast union. The suspicion persists that if the A. F. of L. fails to provide leadership toward such a goal, the longshoremen, freed at least partially from underworld fetters, will go out and achieve it themselves.

Father Corridan said to me: "The situation can't be corrected overnight by a wave of the wand, but at least we now have strong factors operating in behalf of the men. At last they have a chance to organize an authentic union. All sorts of obstacles will be placed in their path, but the important thing is that they are on the path and nothing is likely to push them off. Given a real union, it makes little difference how the new laws operate or how they are administered. My own feeling happens to be that the bi-state commission can do a good job, can help clean up the port, and can thereby remove the need for its own existence in a few years. But if, for one reason or another, the law and its administration don't work out so well, the important element will still be the union. If the men control that, they can handle anything else."

Most of the waterfront workers share Father Corridan's views.

MODERN MARRIAGE

The Danger Point . . *by Margaret Mead*

[This article is based on an introduction written by Margaret Mead, noted anthropologist, for "Women: The Variety and Meaning of Their Sexual Experience," edited by A. M. Krich, and just published as a soft-cover original by Dell Books.]

THROUGH the ages, women's lives have centered about their sex role. Little girls have been told as soon as they could toddle that some day they will be brides, and a little later, mothers, and, finally, if they live, grandmothers. Every other activity—learning to spin and weave, cook and bake, dance, sing, and skate, whatever the current accomplishments of young girls are—has been directed at achieving a lifelong career as wife and mother. Where for men actual sex activity, however insistently it may intrude upon attention, is a matter of a few minutes, for women each of these few minutes is laden with commitment before and commitment afterward.

But men and women are also human beings, and although their sexual equipment and roles are so different, in many other respects they are extraordinarily similar—differences may go across sex lines, as artistic gifts, executive ability, body skills are found in each sex. In both sexes we find high intelligence and dull mentality, great emotional responsiveness and apathetic indifference to other people. As long as human beings have been elaborating their lives—building houses that were more than shelters, conducting courtships that were more than a prelude to an immediate sex satisfaction, composing music, inventing new ways of producing and preparing food, developing ways of worshiping God and political systems that bound them to one another—the question of how much and how little men and women are to share equally in these discoveries and inventions has been an important one. How much of the economic load of fishing and hoeing, carrying and marketing, how much of the personal load of sexual pursuit and courtship, how much of the religious load of prayer and sacrifice, was to be put on women, how much on men?

With the change in woman's economic position that came with her frontier role in the United States, and in the Western world with freedom to work outside the home, there has come within our own history a change in the expectation of what a woman ought to appear to be like. In coeducational schools girls and boys are educated alike and taught to be individualistic, assertive, active, eager to make something of themselves. Boys learn to dislike girls who are "silly" and unlike themselves, and the term "sissy" is applied to girls as well as to boys. We have developed as our ideal of human sex relationships one between a girl and a boy of almost the same age, with the same education and the same interests: if he skis, she should ski; if he likes sailing, she sails.

With this demand that the perfect girl should also be a perfect companion, have come early dating, a preference among boys for the company of girls far earlier than is usual in most other countries of the Western world, a picture of marriage as a relationship in which one does what one wants to do together with the other. The boy wants the girl to be independent, to have something to say for herself, to be able to make her own living whenever it is necessary before marriage, before the children come, when there is a pinch, or after the children are grown, to keep her from wearing him out because she herself is bored. As he expects to stand on his own feet, to get along by his own efforts, after his parents have given him an education, so he wants a wife who can do the same thing.

THE SHIFT in styles of marriage away from the European pattern of the much younger wife, chosen in consultation with relatives for her suitability for a home-bound role in which the experienced husband initiates his wife into sex, has been going on for a long time in America. Where the tendency in Europe is to emphasize man's ungovernable impulses, in the United States it is feared that men will not be assertive enough. Where the emphasis in Europe is upon man's skill as a lover in playing on woman, who is pictured as a delicate responsive instrument, in the United States positive sex response has come to be regarded as something women ought to have, like the ability to read.

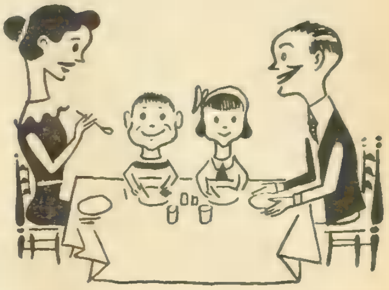
To respond positively includes the ability to say no, to postpone, delay, repulse without offending, during the long years of dating. The whole pattern places heavy demands upon both men and women, not the least of which lies in the contrast between the role of play without completion, appropriate for dating, and the shift to complete sex satisfaction in marriage. As experiencing a positive sex climax is probably no more congenial to the whole female sex than was the passive, unemotional role demanded of their great-grandmothers, these demands force some women to learn to simulate, as they have always had to simulate through the ages, in order to conform to the current style in sex behavior.

But meanwhile, as the shades of Victorian taboo and restriction on speech and knowledge have cleared away, a new approach to sex has become possible. As young people learn how very differently sexed human beings are, how different their timing, their intensity, each couple may begin to explore and test their own innate rhythms. This leads to more experimentation, more frank recognition that sexual compatibility is at least in part something that cannot be produced at will, that may not be present even with every other sort of congeniality and suitability between young people. It leads to willingness to study each other's moods, to pay positive attention to sex in a type of marriage within which sex is regarded as an important but not as the only essential component.

Other things have happened too, as the American girl has learned to stand on her own feet, to drive a car, to earn her living like the American boy. Twenty-five years ago it looked as if this tendency to make women independent might inaugurate a trend away from marriage, in which women, independent and unwilling to accept the drudgery of a home, would take lovers but refuse the continuous responsibility of husband and children. But quite the reverse has been the case. As women were given a chance to move about freely, to set up for themselves, they have more definitely and actively chosen marriage and children. Their freedom has made them more critical of their husbands, more intolerant of an unsatisfactory marriage, but not less desirous of marriage.

Girls have become more like boys; both "do things," and their goals as human beings have steadily approached each other. The male who sought and the female who waited to be sought, the male who achieved and the female who waited to be courted, the male who was actively sexed and the female who was passive and uninterested—these old models have gone out of style. Instead, we have boys and girls both of whom want to get married, both of whom want children, both of whom regard caring for little children as interesting, both of whom regard marriage as something to be worked at, something worth keeping.

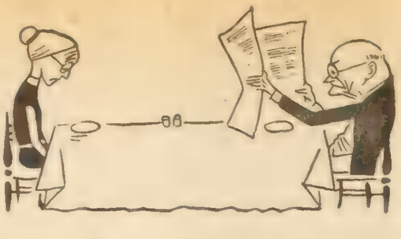
SINCE WORLD WAR II a new kind of marriage has developed in America, a marriage with greater frankness, greater articulateness, greater sharing than any we have known before in this country—an early marriage, focused on having children in comradeship. Women, frightened by the possibility that a career might interfere with marriage and motherhood, have gone out in active pursuit of mates. Men, weighed down by the uncertainties of the cold war and the heavy income taxes, have relinquished the task of preparing for a secure old age for that of giving the five a.m. bottle and taking the children to the beach.



The principal threat to the success of such a marriage comes from the timing. Girls who marry at twenty-one, even if they have four children, may expect to have the children fairly well off their hands by forty, to be grandmothers at fifty. And then come the next twenty-five years, the years which hang like a cloud over the mother who sees her children taking advantage of the independence which she has so sedulously cultivated. Two people who built their whole relationship on a cheerful, frank partnership in rearing children, and enjoying mountain-climbing picnics, now face each other for the first time in all these years across a dining-room table, alone. Here the lack of complexity in their relationship, the lack of erotic sophistication in the male, who has substituted the demand that his wife show "normal sex feeling" for any demand on himself for elaboration of love-making manners, begin to show. The male technique which depends on zest and urgency rather than upon sophistication and attentiveness is likely to flag altogether, or to cause him to turn to younger women who show him, as in a mirror, the lost spring-like vigor of youth. Women who have learned to combine sex and motherhood with an ego-driven search for success are restless and discontented, feel unwanted and rudderless.

So it seems at present that the most serious challenge to our mid-twentieth-century style of marriage, with all its gaiety, its gallantry, its comradeship, lies in this last third of life. As a people we have always moved on to new things; we have had little practice in enjoying a circle that turns back upon itself.

One way of resolving this difficulty in the middle age of marriage, a difficulty the anticipation of which throws a shadow over the gayest young marriage, is the historical American answer: change—a new job for the husband, a new community for the wife, new friends in a new landscape. This is perhaps the easiest, and the husbandly kiss and the wifely response may be activated in the new home, where magnolias replace maples and dogwood. Another solution is the conscious cultivation of the more complicated pleasures—whether of cooking, gardening, collecting—of middle age, introducing a little of the minuet into the athletic tempo of the mambo, the good-humored, unelaborated, brisk relationships normal in early adulthood.



Another solution, but a solution that to some degree solves a sex problem by dodging it, is for women to prepare for more definite work after their children are grown, so that for them, as for their husbands, home and sex become only a minor part of life, not the whole of it. This is perhaps the surest way of preventing women from becoming unbearably demanding as wives, asking for a kind of romantic satisfaction which men do not know how to give.

Perhaps most of all there is a need for both partners, but especially for the woman, to individualize their marriage, to think more about each other's rhythms, each other's capacities for change and fulfilment. The kind of sex literature which merely gives statistics on frequency of sex relationships and reported types of satisfaction, so that a man or woman can compare his or her record with some national norm, is the least fitted to inform. Rather women—and men—need to know how infinitely varied the sex capacities of human beings are, how complex the patterns which release emotion, how various and wonderful the ways that lead to ecstasy. As they come to realize the extent and depth of sex feeling—in the feelings of the young child and the parent, in the young lover who lives on in the middle-aged, and the vision of old age which makes the kisses given by the young already falter in uncertainty—the place of sex in the world, the importance of understanding sex, should take on a new dimension.

EVE OF DECISION

The South and Segregation . . *by Bernard Crick*

FOR a student of so-called "political science" a long summer spent traveling and teaching in the South was bound to be unusually interesting this year. Everywhere I went I heard anxious speculations about what will happen if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation in the public schools. The decision of the court, which has been put off until November, will touch the region in its most sensitive spot.

It is apparent that the court will not wrap itself up in *Plessey* v. *Ferguson,* the "separate but equal" decision of 1896, but will rule specifically on the validity of that decision. It has actually invited argument as to the historical meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and as to the probable effect of any judgment it may hand down, thus recognizing more explicitly than ever before the unavoidably political nature of its mandates. But this victory of the "new jurisprudence," it should be noted, may equally well result in calculated political caution. The question will soon be settled; I wish to consider here only the context in which the decision will be made.

BERNARD CRICK taught political science last year at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and is now a teaching fellow in government at Harvard.

Even if the Supreme Court retains "separate but equal," it will do so in such a way as to serve notice that separate but unequal must soon be forever abolished. In the five cases brought before the court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on behalf of Negro parents in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia the complainant argued that even though the Negro schools were equal to the white schools, segregation on ground of race was in itself an act of discrimination contrary to the federal Constitution. Since these cases were picked as examples—all too rare—of equal facilities, the main issue of segregation is not likely to be confused again, though the court may choose to delay its judgment for months or years. While the court may reject the N. A. A. C. P. plea, it will probably order that the Negro schools must *in fact* be made equal within a certain reasonable period of time.

In that case the cost of compliance would itself lead to a crisis, particularly in the deep South. Georgia, straining to pay $74 a head for its children as compared with a national average of $123, and spending 30 per cent more of this on the white than on the colored child, simply could not afford a fully equal dual system. From a financial point of view integration becomes politically preferable in the poorer states, especially now that segregation is increasingly on the defensive. Diehards like Governor Byrnes may threaten to close down the whole public-school system if the court decides on integration; South Carolina may frighten us with a constitutional amendment that will erase, whenever the legislature so desires, the state's legal responsibility to support a system of public schools; Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama may follow suit hopefully; but is the faithful poor-white democracy of South Carolina going to pay the whole cost of educating its children? The cry will go up from poor communities for a state subsidy, and then the Supreme Court will be back in the picture. The gallery play of the South Carolina politicians will in the long run be unacceptable to the gallery itself.

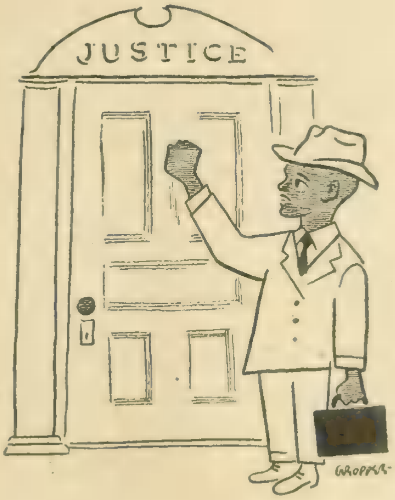
IS THE SOUTH prepared for integration of its schools? For expert opinion I turned to the yearly Institute of Race Relations on the Fisk University campus at Nashville. The institute draws together leaders from all kinds of national organizations engaged with interracial problems and itself furnishes dramatic testimony to the possibility of full integration. The pleasure of white and colored people in mixing so easily was wonderful to observe, even if it could not be taken as entirely typical in view of the nature of the delegates' work and their high educational attainments. But even the tough-minded professional social scientists agreed with the rest that "the time is now as ripe as it ever will be." Veteran workers were vastly impressed by the record and trend of the last ten years. That record may be briefly summarized as follows:

Last year Negro votes in the South totaled about 1,350,000, compared with 250,000 in 1940 and a courageous 70,000 in 1920. The Negro vote in Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, the Carolinas, and West Virginia was greater than the margin in each case that kept them in the Democratic column for Stevenson.

The Texas Law School case of 1950 opened up professional and higher education to Negroes. A disappointing number of applicants, however, have come forward, and there have been many attempts at evasion. These are being fought in pending cases.

In the last ten years segregation has been legally forbidden in all interstate travel, but enforcement lags far behind, and intrastate travel may prove the hardest nut of all to crack. So much depends on custom rather than law. I noticed, for instance, that those attending the institute at Fisk had to travel into town at different ends of the bus ("white people to the front," "colored race to the rear"), as required by the Nashville city code, and eat in different restaurants, as required by custom, unless they were of approximately the same color. However, ten years ago the institute itself needed police protection, a condition that now seems incredibly remote.

A delegate this summer, a Canadian Quaker, went to a drive-in movie with a Negro woman journalist and was threatened by two youths who stopped his car—"We don't stand for this sort of thing down here in Tennessee." But a telephone call from a bystander swiftly brought the state police, who actually asked the Canadian to charge the youths—"You can carry what the hell you like, sir, in your car in Tennessee." Ten years ago, everyone agreed, the police would have been very busy elsewhere.



The average income of the Negro worker is still only 54 per cent of that of the white worker, but the figure is double what it was nineteen years ago. Though Southern Senators have blocked all moves for a federal F. E. P. C., the idea has made progress among local business men, who are convinced that "it must come sooner or later." The example of the International Harvester Company has been formidable: since 1919 it has followed a policy of non-discrimination which it has applied in its recent expansion into the South. In opening its Memphis plant in 1948 the company explicitly announced that it would hire Negroes for the same work and the same pay as whites. Other firms settling in Memphis have followed suit, for instance Firestone Tire and Rubber—and this in Memphis, where Boss Crump's tenantry have kept themselves largely union free.

At present "checkerboard" employment patterns—that is, no segregation in the actual work area—are found in New Orleans, Louisville, Memphis, and Baltimore. Field workers agree that most business men recognize the economic advantage of using the whole labor market and are held back less by genuine prejudice than by fear of being the pioneer in a particular community. The big national company moving into the South for the first time is less inhibited than the local manufacturer subject to social pressures. Many churches urge local firms and community organizations to resist this pressure. Also the C. I. O. organizers and unions brought in by the industrialization of the South insist generally on complete racial integration in hiring, promoting, and the fixing of wage scales. If the A. F. of L. would discipline the Switchmen's Union, and the Railroad Brotherhoods would discipline themselves, American labor would have won a notable victory over itself.

One of the greatest changes running counter to Southern opinion has been the abolition of segregation in the armed forces. Admittedly the army exercises considerable tact in selecting which units to send where, but integration has been accepted as a *fait accompli*. The intense emotion generated by the Korean war made General Ridgway's reversal of MacArthur's personal policy of segregation in Korea especially valuable as a sign of change.

LITTLE OF THIS, of course, has come about by chance. To get a clear legal issue before the Supreme Court has required a long and carefully planned campaign which was drawn up in outline as long ago as 1932 by the late Charles Houston, a Negro lawyer, then chief counsel for the N. A. A. C. P. The campaign reached a temporary climax in the recent pleas before the court by Thurgood Marshall, another brilliant Negro lawyer.

There is still a long road to go. Integration means more than the formal ending of the laws or even the customs of segregation; it means more than mere tolerance. If there have been no lynchings in the South for three years now, there have been bombings a-plenty when the Negro has tried to occupy property in "white" neighborhoods. Moreover, it is by no means only a Southern problem; the crudest discrimination and violence often greet the Negro migrant to the Northern city.

Nevertheless, the old stereotypes are becoming less clear-cut even among the most conservative Southerners. Argument has broken out in the politest circles as to whether the Negro is in fact always lazy, unhealthy, fanatically religious, flatfooted, spendthrift, thieving, and lascivious. The Southern press by and large is preaching "constitutionalism"—an acceptance of whatever the court may be misguided enough to hand down. The international outlook of the "better elements" in the South, stemming largely from the old cotton market, is a restraint on their racialist ways. The influence of the churches in the "most church-goingest nation in the world" is not negligible. Ministers in general are heartily sick of the hypocrisy of segregation in Christian churches—perhaps the Southern Baptists less so than the Methodists and Congregationalists. Confronting the fine hats and conformist manners of their congregations some ministers may hesitate to assert a human right against an existing law, but they will be lions for the truth with the law behind them. If the court moves to abolish segregation in the schools, the churches will be a considerable force for acceptance. Archbishop Rummel's opening of the Catholic churches of New Orleans to all races markedly lessens the chances of violence there. The National Council of Churches (Protestant) and the Catholic Welfare Council are unequivocal on the issue. Interracial clubs and projects have been sponsored by churches, above all by the Society of Friends, in many Southern towns.

Curiously, the race problem is merging more and more into the growing class problem; as American society becomes more and more stratified, it is easier for the Negro to integrate at his particular income level. The educated American Negro, despite the insults he suffers, the limitations to his dignity as a man, is firmly attached to middle-class America and to the democratic creed of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. He is not a rebel against American democracy but its conscience. The Negro as scapegoat is being replaced by the "Red"; instead of "nigger lover" an aroused Southern business man calls his enemy a "Communist."

No sane man would take bets on merely passive resistance in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and above all Mississippi, but elsewhere—I venture as a stranger to predict—there will be only isolated violence when the schools case breaks. Industrialism and rising standards of living have cut away much of the basis of the old conflict between Negroes and poor whites. Of course the transition to racial coeducation will be difficult and marked by many personal tragedies, but by and large the South is waiting for its fate to be decided in Washington with notable calm. Talk of "putting the nigger in his place" that one overhears occasionally on small-town courthouse steps on market days has a kind of nostalgia about it. One old farmer said to me sadly: "I guess the old days of the Klan are gone. If the army could do it the teachers can. Guess there ain't much we could do about it if we wanted to—and most of the young men don't seem to care."

SUNFED

Weapon Against Poverty . . *by Fern Hadley*

THE inability of underdeveloped countries to find the capital necessary for basic but non-profit-yielding construction projects has long been a matter of increasing concern to the United Nations. Last January the General Assembly requested ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Council) to prepare plans for the creation of a special U. N. fund for this purpose and appointed a committee of nine experts from various countries to examine the technical aspects. ECOSOC heard and discussed the experts' report at its recent Geneva meeting. This debate laid the groundwork for the current discussions of SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) in the General Assembly; it also foreshadowed the stand of the United States against the fund.

The necessity behind the SUNFED plan is clear. A great many people in various countries will certainly starve unless the economic development of those countries is speeded up. The population of the world increases annually by about 30,000,000—80,000 new mouths every day to be fed. World food production is increasing at a less rapid rate. People in the Far and Near East, Latin America (excluding Argentina, Cuba, and Uruguay), and Africa live on the margin of subsistence. Domestic consumption in the traditionally food-exporting countries is rising, and the quantity of food available for export has already fallen and may drop still more. Existing stocks in some countries would cushion, at least for a year, reduced yields due to unfavorable weather, but a succession of semi-droughts would probably cause widespread starvation.

The solution of this neo-Malthusian problem appears to be to raise productivity, which is already being done in the highly developed countries and can be carried farther. But the food requirements of the less developed countries can

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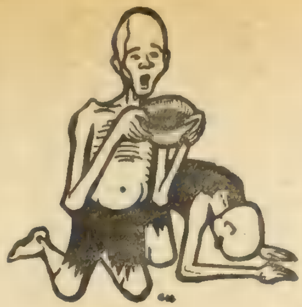
only be met to a very limited extent by imports; their own production must be increased. They have a tremendous potential output, but ignorance, lack of seeds and fertilizers, outmoded systems of land tenure, and deficient basic services like transport have prevented its development. (Economic aid would not be exclusively agricultural; mineral resources would be exploited and secondary industries fostered in the name of a balanced economy.)

PROJECTS that would bring only low and slow returns, like transport and communications, fuel and power, and irrigation, the overhead costs of development, have come to be called "non-self-liquidating" projects. There is no hope that private capital will be interested in financing them. But plenty of labor is available for these projects, and a so-called surplus agrarian population can contribute to raising output only by being utilized in that way.

Some delegations have taken the position, both at Geneva and New York, that underdeveloped countries should shun foreign capital because it imposes such severe burdens of interest and amortization and may bring political interference by the capitalist powers. The Soviet and Polish delegations have declared that those evils could be avoided by planned economies on the Russian model; governments, they said, could enforce sufficient domestic savings to finance development. The obverse of this argument is that if underdeveloped countries are to preserve free economies they must have external financing. There is an association between the maintenance of a free economy in the underdeveloped countries and external aid which those who are fighting communism would do well to consider. Yet the flow of private international capital to these areas has dried up for reasons which it will be extremely difficult if not impossible to overcome. This has even had the effect, in some cases, of producing an outflow of funds from underdeveloped countries: interest on and amortization of previous loans exceed the current receipt of foreign funds.

ECOSOC and the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly have been given startling figures showing the increasing discrepancy between living standards in the underdeveloped and developed countries. In 1949 per capita income in the United States was $1,453; in Indonesia, $25. Using an index based on the agricultural resources needed to produce various foodstuffs, the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization places the diets in North America and Oceania at 145, in Argentina and Uruguay at 125, and in Northwestern Europe at 105, as compared with 45 in the Near East and 30 in the Far East.



IT HAS BEEN explicitly accepted by both the General Assembly and ECOSOC that self-help must be the basis of economic development. Domestic savings, however, have proved quite insufficient, though their flow would increase quickly if development could only by some means be started. The experts at Geneva came up for the first time with a proposal which seemed to the underdeveloped countries within the bounds of possibility and to which the developed countries were unable to make any effective objections. This was that when circumstances permitted, an international fund formed by voluntary contributions in local currency from member nations should be set up within the U. N. to provide grants-in-aid and loans at non-commercial rates of interest. Those projects would qualify for assistance which in the opinion of the governing body would contribute most to a country's economic development. Afterward they would be required to show that the funds made available were in fact being used in such a way as to assure the maximum contribution to development. The acceptance of local currency and the provision that donor countries could refuse to have their contributions used to buy commodities they needed themselves showed appreciation of the economic problems confronting some developed countries. The success of the fund would not be measured by the amount of money it made available but by the extent to which it primed the pump of economic development. The experts recommended that at least thirty countries make a relatively modest initial contribution of $250,000,000.

The wealthiest potential contributors, including the United States, responded only half-heartedly. They granted that an additional source of capital for economic development was needed but referred to the aid they were already giving to the underdeveloped areas on a bilateral basis and cited as grounds for their inability to contribute at present to such a fund the disequilibrium of trade payments and the burdensome demands on their domestic economies made by rearmament. As an alternative, they asked that ECOSOC should recommend the General Assembly to invite governments to join in a declaration that once international disarmament took place they would, following the lead of the President of the United States, invite their people to devote to economic aid a substantial proportion of the funds so freed.

In the view of the underdeveloped countries this was equivalent to burying the proposal. Rearmament, they argued, was necessitated by international tension; tension was aggravated by world poverty; world poverty could only be lessened by economic development. And for the wealthy countries to refer to their budget difficulties as a reason for not contributing to SUNFED was not very convincing to the poor countries.

The tone of the debate altered little in transfer from Geneva to New York. At the outset the United States delegate, speaking in the Financial and Economic Committee of the General Assembly two weeks ago, reiterated sharply the American position: disarmament first, SUNFED second. Once the United States stand was made known, the representatives of the underdeveloped countries knew that they were fighting a losing battle. As this is written, it is practically certain that the General Assembly will eventually approve a resolution based on the views of the United States. SUNFED, temporarily at least, can be chalked up as another casualty of the cold war, but the underdeveloped countries are seeing to it that the subject will come up again before the U. N. in one form or another.

BOOKS

One-Woman Crusade

OUT OF THESE ROOTS. The Autobiography of an American Woman. By Agnes E. Meyer. Atlantic Monthly Press–Little, Brown. $3.50.

By Mildred McAfee Horton

THIS is truly the "autobiography of an American woman," an American who considers it an honor to be a woman, a woman who is clearly and intelligently proud to be an American. She knows the roots and fruits of her Americanism and "absorbed throughout childhood the great gifts of a young, strong, hopeful democracy, faith in humanity, and the spiritual fortitude, the love of liberty, and the confidence in the triumph of good over evil that are inherent in this noble heritage." But it is more than the story of one person.

"Out of These Roots" is an excellent reference book for informed comments on a startling variety of interests. Turn these pages for news about Paris in 1908—the artists, the critics, the musicians, the suppers, the conversation, the rivalries. Look through them for the doorbell-ringing beginnings of Westchester County's recreation program, the activating of its County Center. Learn about the life of an American hostess in Washington after the First World War. Stretch your mind by reading about Chinese art, Chinese philosophy. Admire pen portraits of men and their messages—Paul Claudel, Thomas Mann, John Dewey.

Read about war-torn Britain as observed by a doughty American woman who decided she and her nation should know how the British were organizing the machinery of production and protecting themselves against bombs. Take a look at conditions nearer home. See Leesville, Louisiana, and the problems its social disorganization presented to the army and to army dependents. See what happened in Mobile, in Cleveland, in the mining towns of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, company towns, shipyards coast to coast. Get the feel of war-stained labor-management relations, agricultural independence facing federal controls, communities rallying their resources to make democracy work, the Back-of-the-Yards movement for self-respecting participation in community welfare, the migrants and their struggle to be men and not cogs in a harvesting machine. Take a look at the T. V. A. Get acquainted with Washington bureaucrats, with the local boss in Westchester County, with pressure groups forwarding or thwarting legislation about public health, public welfare, public schools. Find here the story of "the battle to improve public education," to provide "health for all Americans"—topics claiming chapters of their own.

MILDRED MCAFEE HORTON was president of Wellesley College from 1936 to 1949 and director of the Women's Reserve of the United States Navy during the war.

Read all about women and how they are not men and what that means for young women, for families, for happy or unhappy married life. Find here a most interesting self-analysis: what makes a modern crusader out of a self-styled "priggish, introverted, and . . . not uncommon type of self-centered American girl."

Don't be scared away by the idea of a reference book on such a wide variety of subjects. Remember this is all first person singular, the personal reminiscence of someone who quite obviously cannot be *slightly* interested in anything. Her experiences in all these areas of human activity are intense and vivid. The energy with which she throws herself into her causes must make her the despair of apathetic colleagues. But could anyone be apathetic in her vicinity? The magnificent lift she gives to those organizations which challenge her interest makes others yearn to be the object of her concern. At one point Mrs. Meyer says of the Catholic poet, Claudel, "Nor did I remain untouched, arrant Protestant that I am." Protestant churchmen can hardly help wishing that her dynamic energy might have moved as inexorably through the church as it has moved through secular organizations. Any reader can name a few favorite social projects which patently need contact with Agnes Meyer's mind.

It is a distinguished mind. The breadth and depth of its activity belie the criticism of the college which helped to train it. Mrs. Meyer recalls her undergraduate experience in these grim terms:

> . . . the academic atmosphere made me feel as if I were at a perpetual funeral service without being able to discover who was being buried or where the corpse was concealed. All I knew was that the whole place smelled of death and that the faculty was rather inept at conducting the obsequies.

Observers of Agnes Meyer as the product of that type of educational atmosphere will be tempted to perpetuate the obsequies, for surely something, somewhere, taught this product of Barnard College to discipline and manipulate her mind with an incisiveness and power which are a legitimate ambition of any educational institution.

STOCKED AS her mind is with learning—for which I am sure Barnard would not claim all the credit—it is a refreshingly decisive instrument. There are few if any expressions of debatable opinions in the account of Agnes Meyer's journey through controversy. Her dicta in areas where people violently disagree are reminiscent of Luther's famous remark, "Here I stand, I can do no other." Mrs. Meyer knows what she thinks and is not hesitant about expressing herself.

> It is high time we realized that many of our own plans for civil-defense units manned by amateurs are inexcusably silly, and economically wasteful.
>
> Whoever has attempted to pry a board of trustees away from some outmoded charitable program to some greatly needed preventive work knows what a difficult task it usually is.
>
> Every new scientific discovery, whether sound or not, results in new professional or lay organizations. If we add to this appalling conglomeration of agencies and organizations, the fact that most of them are staffed with experts and administrators jealous of their professional status and the control of their budgets, then you have a situation that is bound to intimidate any sensible person who would like to serve his community. . . . These experts . . . console themselves with innumerable national conferences where they take in each other's intellectual washing and talk a jargon which is often ridiculous because it is devoid of life.

Mrs. Meyer's talk will never be devoid of life. A reader is left vicariously weary as he follows this vigorous proponent of good works through her crusades. Moving with her own articulate logic from one sphere of human endeavor to another, she sweeps her readers along to her concluding statement of the "main features of the program" she has "outlined for the spread of justice and freedom and human happiness," no small or dull objective in anybody's language. The program includes a public-school system worthy of a democracy, federal aid to public schools (and *not* repeat *not* to sectarian ones), a nation-wide, locally controlled health program, the elimination of slums and expansion of housing programs, a carefully devised system of hospitals to cover the country, no socialized medicine but voluntary health- and hospital-insurance programs and state-wide programs of medical care for the indigent, all kinds of wisely administered and financed federal security programs (to be thoroughly studied), a review of voluntary welfare programs and their adequate integration with public ones, and "equal opportunities for the Negro in our political, economic, and social structure."

ONE OF THE delights of becoming acquainted with Mrs. Meyer by means of this book is that one discovers a really independent person, one who fits into no standard package. In the light of her general philosophy of life one would expect to find this social-minded woman worried about barriers to immigration into the United States: it would seem natural for her to be among those urging fuller participation by women in business, government, the professions. Her apparent lack of concern about the religious institutions of the country seems a bit odd since so many people who share her other interests are found in these groups. But the subject of this book is no "joiner," though she has been the dynamo in many an organization. She is no "drifter" going along with the crowd. She is herself. She is a thoroughly happy wife, a properly modest and properly proud mother, a person generous in friendship, unafraid to speak her mind and well-equipped to speak it effectively.

The book has a curious quality, a kind of undogmatic dogmatism. Its argument represents the concentrated conclusion of a lifetime of thoughtful living. One gets the impression that at one time or another all the conclusions have been challenged, but that after she has thought her way through to a conviction, it is hardly worth Mrs. Meyer's time to stop to argue. There is little doubt that if she chose to argue, it would be more comfortable to be on her side than in opposition.

The chief value of this spiritual and political autobiography at this particular time in human history is its reassuring confidence in the strength and fruitfulness of the roots of our culture.

> . . . by working together with our fellow-citizens to create external improvements, we shall recapture through actual service to humanity the moral values of democracy, the love of freedom, the respect for the individual, and the spiritual significance of brotherhood. His own freedom can mean nothing to the just man as long as his fellow-men are oppressed. Our own freedoms are not even secure unless they are shared by our fellow-citizens. They can only be preserved by their constant extension to more and more people in our own country and throughout the world.
>
> My life has thus become a rational, yet inspired pursuit of the promised land, a journey of which this book is all too pedestrian a record. But the end is not yet. This is no valedictory.

For that assurance all friends of the America this distinguished woman has helped to create and maintain will be deeply grateful.

Psychopath

Oh, lovely dark!
Oh, three times blessed night
That snuffs the burning and unwelcome light
And mutes the lark;
That lets him coddle in its shielding murk and shadow
His secret woe.

He does not want
The probing of the sun
To search his flimsy grievances—one by one.
He wants to hunt
For surcease that he really does not wish to find
In dark and wind.

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YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEBREW HISTORY

by Louis Wallis

Young people in college and high school have easy access to scholarly books on the history of non-Hebrew nations; but they are kept from knowing what scholarship has discovered about Hebrew history. This appalling cultural situation is the outcome of a hush-hush policy which permits the general public to carry in mind a fantastic, artificial idea of the Jewish historical background.

From Harvard University, the Chairman of the Semitic Department writes as follows to the author of this new book on Hebrew history for young people:—"You have brilliantly clarified a very complex and often obscure situation. The conflict between Baalism and Yahwism, involving a struggle for social justice, and the conflict between Ephraim and Judah, are shown in your admirable summary to have been basic in Hebrew history. At the same time, the reader learns many a lesson of great value for solving the problems of our own day."

(Signed) Robert H. Pfeiffer.

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"I got mad"

Ruth Chatterton

wrote this explosive Washington novel about a Congressional investigating committee, a hot-headed Senator, a woman lawyer, and a young nuclear physicist, because she "got mad." This is what the reviewers are saying:

Chicago Tribune:
"Only close observation could produce so impassioned a novel . . . terrifyingly credible."

N. Y. Herald Tribune:
"It lies so close to the news that it is almost impossible to read it without entangling its characters with one's views and emotions about actual persons and events."

The Betrayers

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New Books in Brief

In Wildest Assam

THE HIDDEN LAND. By Ursula Graham Bower. Morrow. $4.

The hidden land is a twenty-square-mile hill section of Assam, on India's wild, beautiful, and dangerous northeast frontier. This is the story of its penetration during 1946-47 by a British army officer and his wife, the latter being the author.

Miss Bower (Mrs. Tim Betts) had lived nine years among the Nagas, an Indian tribe farther south in this same general area, and had written an earlier book on that experience. She was therefore prepared for this expedition, which was in the nature of a rugged and uncomfortable honeymoon. The mission was to set up an outpost of government and trade among the Apa Tanis and other people of the Subansari River area.

At first the Apa Tanis appeared to be "ill-mannered, thievish, mean, dirty, inhospitable, and xenophobic." But as the British couple worked with them, affection and interest grew. By the end of their stay Miss Bower is writing that "these wild and naked savages . . . were our own people, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh." The coming of independence meant the end of the mission and the conclusion that "across the barriers of caste and custom and color human beings are one."

Baker Street Game

HOLMES AND WATSON. A Miscellany. By S. C. Roberts. Oxford. $3.

It has been pointed out often enough that the Sherlock Holmes stories are feeble in plot and platitudinous in sentiment. Also that when the great detective pulls a rabbit out of his hat he frequently does so with all the virtuosity of an eight-year-old who got "How to Be a Magician" for Christmas. Yet the fact remains that, next to Robinson Crusoe, Holmes is probably the best-known fictional character created since the age of myth. This is a greater mystery than any he ever solved, but the secret probably has something to do with the utter innocence of the stories morally and intellectually as well as technically. You cannot forget Holmes because he is so obvious, and he sometimes appeals as strongly to those who are tired of sophistication as to those who are unsophisticated. This little book by the Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, plays with mock solemnity a favorite game of the Sherlockians. You assume that the careless chronology and other inconsistencies in the legend as Conan Doyle gradually evolved it are resolvable and then apply to them the classic methods of historical scholarship. Mr. Roberts is one of the best of the fanatics, and as Lincoln said, if you like this sort of thing this is the sort of thing you will like.

Defense and Inflation

DEFENSE AND THE DOLLAR. By Albert G. Hart. *ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND DEFENSE.* By Donald H. Wallace. Twentieth Century Fund. $2 each.

The outbreak of the Korean war and the subsequent large and sudden expansion of defense appropriations led to a scramble for goods and a rapid mounting of inflationary pressures. Once more our economy proved ill prepared for a crisis.

Seeking ways and means to insure that we should not be caught napping yet again, the Twentieth Century Fund at the end of 1950 set up a committee on economic stabilization to consider how to protect and maintain the civilian economy in a period of defense mobilization. Two reports—"Defense without Inflation" by Dr. Hart and "Financing Defense" by Dr. Hart and E. Cary Brown—were published in 1951, and now we have the two concluding volumes of this admirable series. In the first Dr. Hart discusses the various monetary measures that can be taken to offset in part the effects of a rapid expansion in defense expenditure. Such measures, together with suitable budgetary and fiscal policies, constitute "indirect controls."

Are such controls, provided they are courageously and efficiently administered, sufficient to hold inflation in check in any circumstances short of full military mobilization? Since this is a matter of great debate among economists, the Fund's committee, not surprisingly, proved to be divided. However, Dr. Wallace, while agreeing that indirect controls are "the iron men of stabilization," argues that "there are times when direct controls are indispensable," and this view is backed by a concluding chapter to his book written by Professor John Maurice Clark, chairman of the committee. In the light of the events of the past three years, this reviewer feels that the Wallace-Clark thesis is hard to refute.

High-Class Mystery

THE BROKEN PENNY. By Julian Symons. Harper. $2.75.

The British have a flair for high-class cliff-hangers. Ambler and Greene set the the pattern; the lesser writers carry on. In general they are better written than their American counterparts, suaver and more mannerly. What they lack is precision. The American story tends to be machine made and neatly fitted together; the British, loose jointed with a tolerance that runs to sloppiness. The Symons novel is true to form—a story of intrigue behind the Iron Curtain that is always exciting, never quite convincing, and with a climax that shows the true-blue British spirit at its most muddlesome.

Catnip for Devotees

THE PRESENT AND THE PAST. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Messner. $3.50.

"You are too fond of the sound of your own voices," said Miss Ridley. "It seems that this afternoon will never end." How singularly appropriate, the impatient reader will exclaim when he comes to this passage. And yet, to her devotees, Compton-Burnett's novels are catnip. Sententious, stilted, wryly amusing, cruel, and unreal, her interminable drawing-room dialogues with their distorted echoes from below stairs have a curious fascination, and her characters, silhouettes without body or color, finally achieve a sort of macabre reality. "I cannot think what has come over you." "Then you cannot think at all. But I daresay that is the case. A good many people can't." "And are you one of the fortunate ones who can?" "I am one of the unfortunate ones who do. That is how I should put it." "It is perhaps rather a bold claim." "It is not a claim. It is merely a statement of fact." Improbable as it may seem, the second speaker in the conversation quoted above is aged thirteen.

Unreconstructed Liberal

LOBBYIST FOR THE PEOPLE. By Benjamin C. Marsh. Public Affairs Press. $3.

The late Benjamin C. Marsh belonged to the seemingly vanishing group of Americans who were dedicated to an ideal and fought for it with iconoclastic courage. Like William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown he spoke his mind frankly and fully—and he was heard. For fifty years he was active in various fields of social reform, first in slum clearance and city planning, then as lobbyist for the Farmers National Council, and for more than thirty years as director of the People's Lobby. In the latter capacity he prodded Congressional committees and government officials on matters of public welfare.

As a devoted democrat Marsh was severely critical of communism and favored socialism only so far as it coincided with his basic individualism. He had no use for capitalism either, and his frankness on this point cost him many a large donation which he needed badly. Always the realist, he had no illusions about the early success of the reforms he advocated. "Reform," he wrote in this pungent autobiography, "comes hard in a nation where most of the 'have-nots' are extremely anxious to get into the class they are most vigorously damning."

Like all crusaders for reform he manifested little tolerance. As a pacifist in both world wars he was highly critical of those who defended war as necessary. Nor did he hesitate to condemn New Deal policies as ineffectual palliatives. Favorable as he was to the claims of labor and farmers, he considered their leaders among the most conservative of Americans.

"Lobbyist for the People" is a full if terse account of his career. It is Ben Marsh talking about himself—frankly, forthrightly, wittily, but sometimes ramblingly. Those who knew him personally or are interested in the activities of an unreconstructed liberal will find this small volume of unusual merit.

Thoughts of German Youth

THE INWARD JOURNEY. By Doris Peel. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Doris Peel went to Germany for the *Christian Science Monitor* "to discover what the young people there were thinking and feeling about the world confronting them." The reader who believes that the salvation of the world lies in the brotherhood of man will be grateful to Miss Peel for her confirmation of his belief and her eloquent expression of his hope. The skeptical and disillusioned reader will find it a shining mist of words.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE "Teahouse of the August Moon" by John Patrick—based on a novel by Vern Sneider—is a hit at the Martin Beck Theater. Of some plays there seems to be little more to say than this. Public and press are so pleased to come upon something agreeable, or at least totally unburdensome, that the sound of their rejoicing renders any further manifestation practically unnecessary, not to say undesirable.

My own reflections on this are only supplementary to the fact. "The Teahouse of the August Moon" is a hit because it is entirely pleasant, benign, and sweet. Didn't William Dean Howells once say that the smiling aspects of life seemed to be the more American? There is something almost traditionally American, or rather American theater, about "The Teahouse." It is about the army in a state of peace, it shows us friendly to the innocent natives of a remote culture (occupied Okinawa), its satire of army brass is gentle in the vein of a *Saturday Evening Post* cover caricature—it is good-natured, liberal, and constantly indulgent.

In addition to this, it is delicately colorful: the exoticism lies not only in the subject matter but in the manner of presentation, which is loose, easygoing, and vaguely reminiscent of Oriental tints and pictures, which—one cannot be sure—are either authentic or merely decoratively conventional simulacra. Robert Lewis's direction is playful and relaxed. A good company—David Wayne, John Forsythe, Paul Ford, William Hansen, and Larry Gates—acts neatly within the scheme designed by the director.

What I like most about the show is that it has a fresh or at least a different look. The clean, almost empty stage with its few odd props and the piquant countenances of a largely Japanese cast are a nice relief from the usual well-made light comedy located in the penthouse of a chic apartment.

The show, in short, is entirely un-

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objectionable. I do not agree with some of my friends who found it obliquely patronizing to the obscure folk it deals with. It has a story-book and American picaresque tone in which reality is kept at a greater distance than in a fairy tale: its flavor is that of a kindly and limply bemused joke. The writing is journalese, the fable almost immaterial, and the creative content minimal. It is candy concocted with some originality, and easy to take.

What worries me—and this, I repeat, after the fact—is that when it is recommended as a hit, one wonders why so little else is said about it. One asks oneself whether the audience which applauds it doesn't really prefer above all else the totally unobjectionable, uncontroversial, undisturbing, the thoroughly bland.

We used to talk about plays for the tired business man, which perhaps implied that only business men were tired. One begins to suspect that now we are all tired. We agree with those who insist that the theater should be primarily entertainment. But one is a little perturbed by the thought that we are mostly entertained by things that give our faculties so little exercise. It is perfectly normal to like what is sweet; but must our pabulum contain nothing more than what might please a child? There is a point at which the youngest and tenderest among us must work a little to grow and be healthy. Entertainment and sugared pap ought not to be considered synonymous.

OUR REVIEWERS are not to blame. They praise plays like "End as a Man," they are not generally unkind to things like "Take a Giant Step" or "The Strong Are Lonely," and though they frown severely at the inadequacies, presumed and real, of plays like Lillian Hellman's "The Autumn Garden" or Odets's "Rocket to the Moon," there is something in the way our theater audiences receive the reviews which makes it seem that there are two sharply contrasted categories of dramatic entertainment—hits and other shows. The second category may include the work of our best writers: these are discussed with all their shortcomings soberly detailed, so that serious people may go to see them if they care to (with due forbearance in regard to the "faults"), while the hits are apparently something that everyone *must see*. The audience that attends the first kind of play goes forewarned; the audience that sees the second goes with the comforting assurance that what it is about to see is hardly to be questioned—it is in fact beyond criticism. The first kind of play usually struggles to keep on the boards; the second is celebrated as a "smash" the moment the press has given the signal, that is, defined the category.

It may be humorless of me to say so, but I am convinced that such a situation spells death to the theater. The critic is not necessarily an educator, and he probably should not be a propagandist; yet I would be grateful to the man who would constantly tell his readers that while the "faulty" plays—such as those by O'Casey, O'Neill, Odets, and the like—are part of the essential theater, a great number of the hits, though good to have, are expendable. For entertainment in the sense of titillation is more readily and cheaply come by outside the theater.

Films

Manny Farber

HOLLYWOOD, often scolded by the critics for exploiting a child's cuteness until the spectators are ill from sugar-poisoning, has seldom gone so far as the "amateur" film "Little Fugitive." The movie sends a seven-year-old (Richie Andrusco) "on the lam" via BMT to Coney Island's amusement park, the victim of a practical joke which made him think he had murdered his older brother. At the end of the subway line he suddenly doffs his dependent character and becomes a pocket-sized version of Robinson Crusoe operating on a crowded beach—calmly and ingeniously carving out a new life for himself, making a living off soda-pop-bottle deposits, and sleeping wherever his tired body slumps. The film pleased me for about five minutes, even though the plot seemed manufactured to permit yet another documentarist to shoot his favorite run-down American environment; then it disintegrated into a compromise with the truth about the world of a small-fry Brooklynite.

The producing team (Orkin-Engle-Ashley) obviously feel Andrusco is an acting fire-ball, a kid Brando, but they are probably wrong. His chief traits are provoking enough—a phlegm-inclosed Brooklyn dialect that makes him sound as if he were talking through a tin can, a purposeful expression achieved by searching eyes and sullen mouth, and a style limited to those childish mannerisms that make fatuous mothers squeal with pleasure. Moreover, his personality seems to lack a core: the more the camera searches for a miniature Chaplin, the more vague and boring Andrusco becomes. He is best as a sort of incidental figure—playing with a pail and shovel, drifting out of the subway with a crowd of adults.

"Little Fugitive" has been a moneymaker on the art-theater circuit. It pleases the people who go for "Rashomon," Rossellini, and Cocteau because it offers a modern view of a child's psyche, plus the preciously naturalistic technique of a European film. This camera man is too skilful and sincere to be branded a mere eclectic, but his contribution is unhealthily close to what is generally popular in avant-garde films. The camera work on Andrusco is always "significant" and "creative" in that it is constantly telling a story of New York at the same time that it fastens on the drooping lines of the boy's face or the lonely wiggle of his walk. The view of his ball game in the street is "canyonized" by an angle shot from the roof top; his lonelier moments on the beach are played against patterns that shriek Big City—the cracks of the boardwalk, the wired garbage cans on the empty beach, lovers' silhouettes on the sand.

The film's idea is to show how easily a child throws off the emotions of a tragic situation, and how he out-adults adults in a new and trying experience. This point, along with the ultra-sensitive photography, makes the film seem too refined and optimistic for the subject it deals with. The consistently fortunate turn of events makes life around Brooklyn unrecognizable, particularly, no doubt, to the kids who live there.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE few Sadler's Wells Ballet performances I saw offered again the pleasure of richly mounted and carefully prepared productions in which the large well-rehearsed company danced with easy, unostentatious assurance and precision and engaging sweetness and good manners. This was in fact the only pleasure from the new works I saw—Frederick Ashton's "Sylvia," "Don Juan," and "Daphnis and Chloe"; and it was mixed with the pain of the dull, empty works themselves. Perhaps because Ashton's earlier "Les Patineurs" followed "Don Juan" and "Daphnis," and certainly because it was danced so well by Brian Shaw and the others, I enjoyed it this time much more than ever before.

As for other older works, I had no opportunity to see again the company's most beautiful production, "The Sleeping Beauty," but did see "The Swan Lake" with Leslie Hurry's new scenery and costumes and Ninette de Valois's revision of the Sergeyev production. I couldn't tell whether it was the deadening choreographic hand of Dame de Valois that made the groupings and movements of the corps unimpressive, and even some of the movements of the Swan Princess unattractive, this time, or whether they seemed so after what Balanchine had contrived in his version of Act 2. However, the brilliance and elegance of Margot Fonteyn's dancing imparted distinction to the performance I saw; and Act 3 suddenly came to life with a Neapolitan dance which turned out to have been contributed by Ashton, and which was danced superbly by the company's finest male dancer, Alexander Grant, with Julia Farron.

RCA VICTOR, which a few years ago issued the Schnabel-Fournier performances of Beethoven's Cello Sonatas Opp. 69 and 102 No. 1 but not Op. 102 No. 2, has now done music-lovers the service of issuing all three on an LP record. They are better-balanced than the old Casals performances, giving us not only the cello parts played very beautifully, though with less powerful tone and style than Casals's, but the piano parts with a revealing clarity and force that are lacking in Schulhof's and Horszowski's playing with Casals. But if it is from Schnabel that we get fully effective playing of the piano parts, it is the powerfully sustained tone and phrasing of Casals that give the cello parts meaning and force they don't have in Fournier's playing—most remarkably, perhaps, in the wonderful slow movement of Op. 102 No. 2: in the cello's comments on the piano's statements when the opening section returns, and a few moments later, in the cello's first announcement of the theme of the concluding fugue. And so it is to be hoped that Victor will do music-lovers the further service of re-issuing the Casals performances of these sonatas.

For several years I have had a copy of the Kreisler-Rachmaninov performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 30 No. 3, in which excitingly powerful playing by Rachmaninov is integrated perfectly with beautifully lyrical playing by Kreisler; and it has led me to call for the re-issue of their recordings. But what Victor has done is to re-issue not the Beethoven performance but the ones of Schubert's Sonata Op. 162, in which Kreisler feels free to indulge in sugary slides (to say nothing of faulty pitch) while the imperturbable Rachmaninov continues to play magnificently, and Grieg's Sonata Op. 45, which is not the only work of little consequence that Kreisler and Rachmaninov wasted their gifts on.

Technically and musically flawless playing by the great Russian violinist Oistrakh is heard in Dvorak's melodious Violin Concerto, with Kondrashin conducting the State Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. (Vanguard). The recorded sound is not first class, and occasionally not pleasant; and it acquires a hash of distortion near the center of the record.

Stravinsky's "Pulcinella" Suite is played by Rother with the Radio Berlin Symphony (Urania). Except for the Vivo with its notorious trombone glissandos—whose effect is like that of a raucous intrusion of Mack Sennett slapstick into high comedy—the piece is charming, witty, and discreet in its modernizing treatment of the Pergolesi music. The orchestra plays beautifully in a performance that seems to me slow-paced. Also on the record is Respighi's Suite No. 3 of Old Dances and Airs for the Lute—lovely melodies, but weighed down by the luxuriant scoring—played well by Matthieu Lange with the Radio Berlin Chamber Orchestra.

VIRGIL THOMSON once observed that the Boston Symphony's performances under Koussevitzky seemed to be about nothing but the beautiful playing of the Boston Symphony; and I think one could say the fussy Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of Stravinsky's 1919 "Firebird" Suite (Columbia) is about the ear-ravishingly beautiful playing of the Philadelphia Orchestra rather than about Stravinsky's piece. There is some of the same fussing with nuances of tone and phrasing in the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" on the same record; but this performance is on the whole more effective.

Beecham's performances of Beethoven's Symphony No. 8 and Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony (Columbia), and Liszt's "Dante" Symphony, played by the Vienna Philharmonia under F. Charles Adler (Spa), I advise skipping.

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Letters

The Farm Bloc

Dear Sirs: That piece on the Farm Bloc and Your Food Dollar by Robert Engler in your September 19 issue was superb! It should be reprinted widely and made the basis, perhaps, of a radio or TV program.

New York CLYDE R. MILLER

Big vs. Big

Dear Sirs: Leland Traywick's article in your October 17 issue is timely, perceptive, and vital. Among those serving big business it was fashionable to deny the decline of competition, freedom of opportunity, and the free market so long as there was no answer to the problem presented by the facts. John K. Galbraith, former editor of big business's *Fortune Magazine*, in his "American Capitalism" was surprisingly outspoken in his positive statement that privately exercised economic power has become the new rule in our society. He made it crystal clear that the use of prices as a weapon of competitive warfare has been substantially outlawed by big business itself. "In principle," he said, "the American is controlled livelihood and soul by the large corporation. . . ."

These frank admissions from a conservative economist were alarming to the big interests. But they found a new rationalization in his theory of "countervailing power." The theory had some appeal also to liberals, who had to admit that in a sense big labor does compete with big business. Big Sears, Roebuck and A. and P. do indeed contend in the market place with giant producers and manufacturers, and big buyers are able to deal on something like even terms with big sellers. Thus, Galbraith insisted, a kind of acceptable competition in a land of powerful giants remains. And so he was apparently contented.

For all the reasons Mr. Traywick so well presents, "countervailing power" is a false solution. It would accept undemocratic, bureaucratic concentrations and the exercise of private power regardless of the public interest. It would commit the American citizen to the position of a helpless, non-participating onlooker—a victim of the colossal. Wherever the big contenders find common ground and interests they satisfy each other at whatever cost to society. The individual is trampled on and left at best to big government—if that also is not taken over by the dominant economic interests. This means the end of democracy and of all our freedoms, the totalitarian pattern.

Karl Marx would see in "countervailing power" a milestone on the road to his ultimate predictions.

New York T. K. QUINN

David Hyun's Deportation

Dear Sirs: We have known, worked with, or been associated with David Hyun for approximately five years. To all of us this association has proved one of the richest experiences of our lives.

Approximately three months ago David surrendered himself to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for deportation. If this deportation is carried through, he will be sent to South Korea and will face bodily harm and possible death. He will be in such danger because of the relationship of David's father, Soon Hyun, to the present government of South Korea. Soon Hyun was a signer of the Korean Declaration of Independence and an outspoken critic of the Syngman Rhee government. Two of his former colleagues, Lyuh Woon Hyung and Kim Koo, have been assassinated by this government.

For the month preceding David's voluntary surrender to the immigration authorities we worked with him soliciting letters to Herman R. Landon, District Director of Immigration, from architects, engineers, draftsmen, and so on, whom he had worked for or with. Over forty letters from leading professionals and colleagues attesting to his character and high professional competence were sent to Mr. Landon.

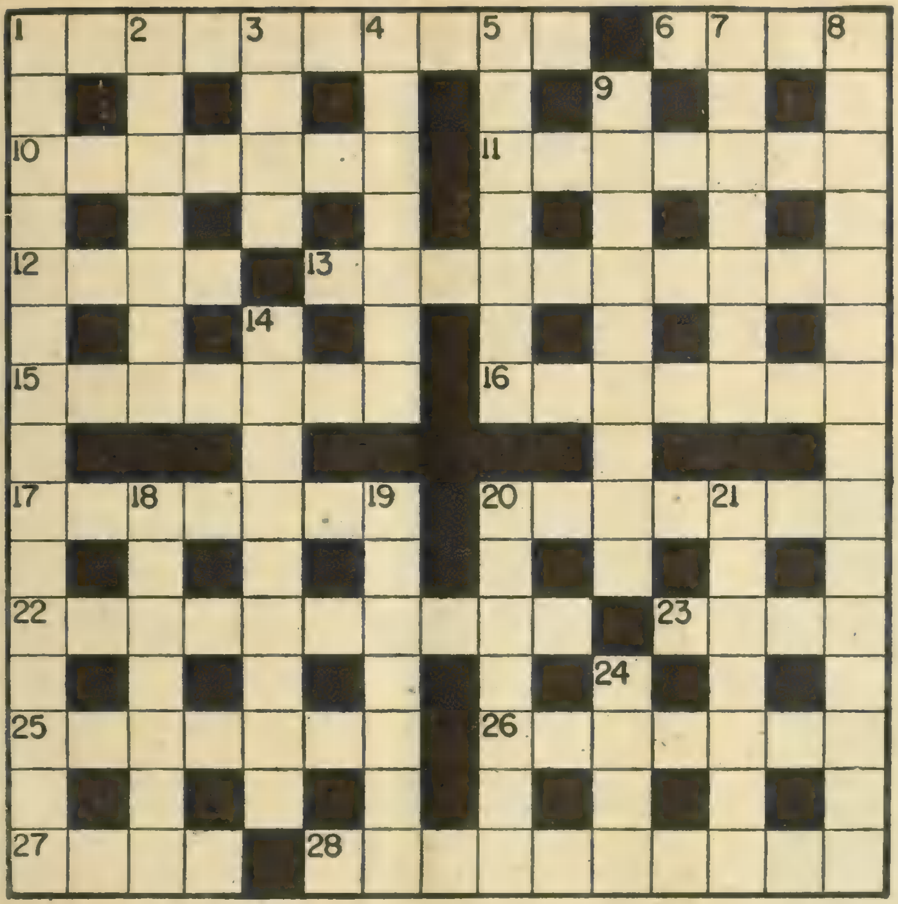
Since David's surrender information is still being mailed out to members of his profession; new protest letters have been sent to Attorney General Brownell, Federal Commissioner of Immigration Mackey, and District Director Landon; funds are being raised for both his defense and the welfare of his family, whose means of support have been greatly diminished.

JOHN R. POINTER AND
ROBERT MALINOFF
For the Professional
Committee for David Hyun

Los Angeles

Crossword Puzzle No. 539

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Deposit a prison camp parasite here. (10)
6 See 4
10 Pelagic. (7)
11 How things will be presented in court shortly. (2, 5)
12 Praise everything overseas? (4)
13 Only one way to keep references of Indian fashion? (6, 4)
15 Retreating? (7)
16 The determination to get the answer again? (7)
17 Wine of recent vintage is perhaps not as fashionable as it used to be. (7)
20 A biblical writer who was a turner of the soil. (7)
22 A bad result, obviously, of being near the well often. (10)
23 Cossacks display such prominence. (4)
25 Dodgers might have such an epithet applied to them. (7)
26 You usually get it with olive 'r twist. (7)
27 No longer available with repeating action. (4)
28 It didn't necessarily come from a nest of thieves! (7, 3)

DOWN

1 Nelson's version involves a first of the first, but this is more literally complete. (10, 5)
2 You're familiar with such ways as getting around the scene of the crime. (7)
3 This should be a very funny river to New Yorkers. (4)
4 and 6 across Parrot? (11)
5 Its release might cause the kick of a cowboy's horse. (7)
7 Particularly involved in illumination. (7)
8 Gain it, as a description? You might be, if you're choosey! (15)
9 Midwives' conference? It's a persistent thing! (9)
14 Child's clothing which only half the time is black? (5, 4)
18 Good and wet, as a way of the Canadians. (7)
19 Sort of prod with the toe as a signal, perhaps. (7)
20 Peculiar to particular people. (7)
21 Not exactly the point of Paul's signal, but it's the way to give one hope. (7)
24 Before most of 26, it's usually sterile. (4)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 538

ACROSS:—1 TOMTOM; 4 BOB LEMON; 10 and 11 ERROR OF CLOSURE; 12 ODETS; 14 EXTOL; 15 SUSAN; 17 NOCTUIDS; 21 SOUTHERN; 23 AARON; 26 OVERT; 28 ROD; 30 INEPTLY; 31 AMAZING; 32 ENSEMBLE.

DOWN:—1 and [illegible] THE HOUSE OF ORANGE; 2, 29. 13 and 33 MURDERS IN THE RUE MORGUE; 3 OGRES; 5 ON CUE; 6 LOOSE; 8 NEEDLE; 16 NET; 19 UNA; 20 INVEIGLE; 22 OPENERS; 24 RATTING; 27 TOTEM; 28, 18, 7 and 25 ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE; 29 IMAGO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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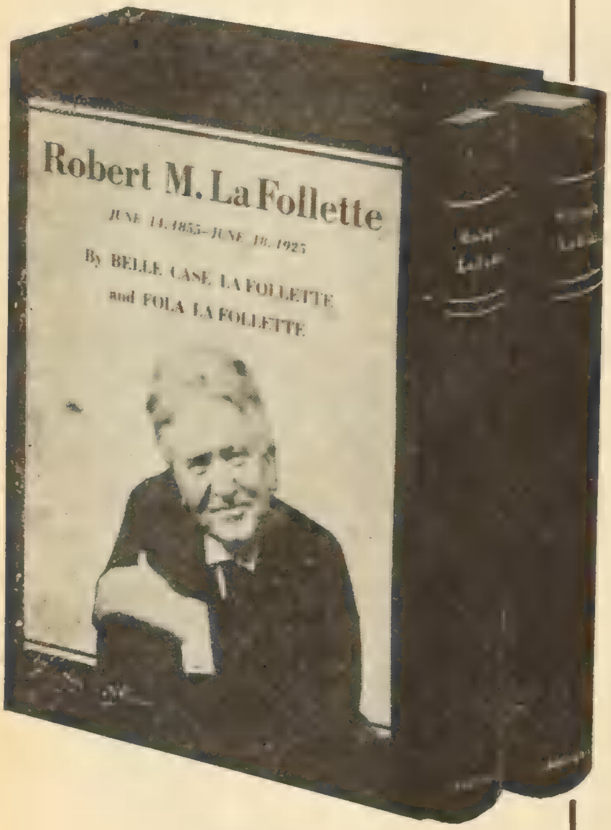

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Volume 177, Number 19
New York, Saturday, November 7, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Debate Leading Nowhere

Sure enough, the Communists began it. They charged the United States with carrying on germ warfare in Korea, backed the charge with confessions signed by captured American airmen, blew it up into a world-wide propaganda campaign, and filed a complaint in the U. N. American denials were generally believed outside the Communist countries, but since the investigating committee appointed by the General Assembly was boycotted by China and North Korea, no evidence could be gathered during the war to support them. Last week Dr. Charles Mayo, of the American delegation at the U. N., brought some countercharges before the Political Committee. He presented sworn affidavits of grueling interrogations, threats, and physical torture to force "confessions" of germ warfare from war prisoners. A second report, this one a horrifying catalogue of brutalities against U. N. prisoners of war in general, was issued by the army with the obvious purpose of fortifying the first and presenting an over-all indictment of the Communists to world opinion and specifically to the United Nations. Mr. Lodge has formally asked the General Assembly to take up the charges.

War crimes can seldom be proved, and these will not be even though the evidence may be true and be widely believed. If they come up in the Assembly, the Communists will deny them and then produce similar crimes committed by the U. N. forces. These will also remain unproved but will have their effect. For the world knows that brutalities were practiced on both sides. The North Koreans and Chinese were probably more systematic but could hardly have behaved with greater ferocity than the South Koreans, especially in the early period of the war. To swap atrocity charges is a poor way of approaching peace in Korea, even when one side has the better case. We think the U. N. would be well advised to shelve the matter and begin looking for bases of agreement.

Guilt By Blood

McCarthy's investigatory antics at Fort Monmouth must leave every objective observer baffled and resentful. For more than a week the Senator held daily closed sessions with witnesses, and followed each session with a press conference at which he dealt exclusively in innuendos, insinuations, and implications. Since his unhappy experience with "statistics" on subversion in Acheson's State Department, McCarthy has apparently decided that it never pays to be specific. So, in his press talks, Rosenberg spy rings were hinted at but never documented; mysterious Fort Monmouth papers had turned up in East Germany, but were never produced; witnesses were found who had "spilled all," but obviouslyly not quite enough to discourage the search for further witnesses. He has been so careful that no one at this stage can call him a liar; one can only remind him that a sincere investigator doesn't gossip and keeps his facts for the duly constituted authorities.

But McCarthy got more than headlines out of Fort Monmouth; he got twenty or more heads, too. How good a case was made against most of the dismissed personnel we have no means of knowing, for again nothing has been publicly documented. In several instances, however, the victims are fighting back, asserting that they have been fired—as Lieutenant Milo Radulovich was dismissed from the Air Force—solely because they are related to people alleged to be subversive. Neither the army nor McCarthy has denied these charges, and judging by the Radulovich case, we may assume that guilt by blood has been added to guilt by association as part of the *mores* of our time. Did we say "our time"? Alfred Rosenberg, the philosopher of Nazism, once said of all people of non-Germanic blood: "Their guilt was to have been born at all."

Bonn Gets Tougher

The general expectation has been that the Bonn regime, while maintaining a rigid attitude towards Russia, would seek to improve its relations with France. Sharing that impression, Bidault has been confidently awaiting some conciliatory move by West Germany on the Saar question, the settlement of which France considers a sine qua non for French ratification of the European army agreement. Adenauer, at a recent press conference, dashed all such hopes. He demanded nothing less than the abrogation of the present Saar constitution and the reestablishment in the territory of "political liberties"—a euphemism for permitting the anti-French Saar parties to get financial support from Ruhr industrialists who are plotting against the autonomous Saar region.

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Apparently resigned to a delay in the ratification of the E. D. C., Adenauer is using the Saar to pressure Paris into signing the all-important second agreement which would restore full sovereignty to the Bonn Republic. Once this was achieved, the Chancellor would no longer have to reckon with the French Parliament, which is showing itself to be increasingly hostile to a European army; he could turn directly to Washington in search of a military treaty similar to the one the United States has already signed with Madrid.

It may be that Adenauer's sudden anti-French policy is due in part to the former Nazis whom he has drawn into his new cabinet: Kraft, Oberlaender, and George Schreiber, the new Minister of the Interior. In any case, Adenauer's increasing arrogance should surprise no one. In the course of two days last month, the British High Commissioner paid him no less than three visits, seeking his approval of the Allied reply to the latest Soviet note.

No Free Masons Allowed

Once upon a time a certain Thirty-third Degree Mason named Harry Truman was told by a Spanish confrère about the continued persecution of Masons in Spain. Horrified, he swore that that "bastard" at Madrid would not get a nickel from the American Administration. The pledge was soon forgotten, with results only now coming to light. Word from Spain reveals that when the recent pact between the Franco government and Mr. Truman's successor was nearing completion, Foreign Minister Artajo told Ambassador Dunn that Spain must have the same right as the United States to scrutinize the records of members of missions entering the country. Mr. Dunn replied confidently that he need not worry: no Communists would be sent to Spain. Señor Artayo replied: "I am not thinking so much of Communists as of Free Masons." The Ambassador demurred, explaining that in the United States, Masons were rather respectable people, well placed and politically influential. The Foreign Minister was adamant: "We don't want a single Free Mason here," he repeated. And the American Ambassador yielded. At least that is the story from Madrid, and we see no reason to doubt its truth.

Generous Uncle Sam

It often seems that public relations, which is commercialized diplomacy, operates in every area of American life except diplomacy. There, the preferred way of attracting world attention is to put your foot in your mouth. A painful example occurred recently, when Washington announced that it had decided to withdraw from, and thus probably put an end to, the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations agency which for seven years has been operating a network of weather ships in the North Atlantic. The official explanation of our withdrawal reads: "The Government of the United States . . . has determined that the services provided by the ocean stations in the North Atlantic are no longer required by the United States and that the benefits derived by the United States are no longer commensurate with the cost."

The I. C. A. O. has been a successful and picturesque demonstration of cooperation among nations. Six countries operate its ships and nine others contribute money to its upkeep. In addition to providing detailed hour-by-hour information on weather over the ocean, the ships have been used for on-the-spot rescue work and have already saved more than 150 lives. We supply 15 of the 25 ships needed to man the stations; it is said to cost us a million dollars per ship per year. That may be more than we can afford and it may be more than our proper share. But the announcement doesn't go into such matters. It merely states that we are quitting one of the U. N.'s pitifully few working examples of cooperation because we find it isn't profitable. Suppose now that someone in Washington discovers that the Children's Emergency Fund does precious little for American kids?

STILETTO INTO ISRAEL

The State Department Plot . . *by Lillie Shultz*

United Nations, November 2

NOT PEACE, but a sword, may be the new watchword of the United Nations in the Middle East. The answer to violence in that area may be a promise not to utter the word peace—let alone seek it! According to authoritative sources, this is the gist of a secret covenant, secretly arrived at, with the Arab countries.

A promise not to seek any action by the Security Council which could *compel* the Arab states and Israel to negotiate a peace settlement is the price allegedly paid by the Big Three for the withdrawal from the Council's agenda of an Arab proposal that there be a discussion of "aggression in Jordan by Israeli armed forces."

Was the withdrawal of the Arab complaint designed to set the stage for the more authoritative allegation along the same lines by General Bennike—challenged to be sure by Israel, but more difficult to refute—or just general appeasement? One thing is certain. The extraordinary rush on October 17 by the Big Three to invoke Council action to "prevent a possible threat to the security of the area," is now exposed as a shoddy maneuver against Israel which is backfiring badly.

No fundamental discussion has yet taken place, although two weeks have elapsed. At the most, the Council at its next meeting will lay the groundwork for a resolution to save face for the Big Three. In all probability it will call for an increase in the number of Truce Commission observers in the Middle East, and possibly place mobile units at their disposal. Whether or not Israel is to be censured for the tragedy at Kibya is still a moot question. Britain is seeking strong criticism—no doubt as a form of self-absolution for its own casual killings of Egyptians at Ismailia.

Despite ample evidence of tension revealed in General Bennike's cautious report, apparently there will be no move in the current debate to impel the conversion of the armistice into a formal settlement, even though General Bennike has stated that the armistice agreements "have lasted too long not to have lost part of their effectiveness." Unless, of course, public wrath compels a different course.

The failure to act would represent a retreat from the position of a year ago when the Big Three supported a resolution in the General Assembly asking the parties concerned to discuss a peace settlement. Arab intransigence, aided by the Soviet bloc, prevented this resolution from securing the necessary majority. But it did represent recognition that U. N. initiative is required to put a formal end to the Palestine war.

The Big Three, forced in full public view to produce a policy which will at once satisfy justice, the Arabs, the objectives of the United Nations, and still advance their own goals, admittedly have a complicated job. Small wonder fissures have appeared in their solid front.

That there is a large-scale move to appease the Arabs, with the State Department as its principal proponent, has become even clearer since the Security Council took up the Syrian complaint against Israel's construction, on Israel territory, of a canal to provide hydroelectric power.

The purpose of Mr. Dulles's policy is to satisfy the Arabs by destroying Israel's viability and independence. In withholding economic aid to the Jewish state on the basis of the Syrian complaint, the State Department proposed to cripple Israel's power to become self-sustaining, to make it completely dependent on United States dollars—and thus to assure its greater amenability to United States pressures.

The speciousness of the Syrian complaint was easily exposed in last Friday's presentation to the Security Council. Small wonder General Bennike hesitated for a month before bringing it to the Security Council—and the United States never wanted it to reach there.

What is the Syrian complaint? It is that the canal violates the armistice agreements, invades Arab property, and increases military tensions.

What are the facts? On July 31, 1953, General Bennike was told orally by the Israelis about the project. Detailed plans were submitted to Colonel Tilletson, acting head of the Israel-Syrian Mixed

Armistice Commission, on September 2 and 3, 1953, and received his concurrence. The project accordingly proceeded. About a week later Syria complained to the Mixed Armistice Commission. Not until September 23 did General Bennike ask Israel to stop work pending an agreement with Syria. Not until October 16 did Syria ask that its complaint be put on the agenda of the Security Council. But on September 18 or 19 Israel learned from the State Department that aid would be suspended. In other words, the State Department penalized Israel *before* the Chairman of the Truce Commission had ruled against the Jewish state.

WHAT justification is there for Syria's complaint? None, except a desire to harass. The canal is entirely in Israel territory, although part is in a demilitarized zone. Arab lands are not involved. Two to three years are expected to elapse before the canal can be completed. Then the water required for the power plant will be diverted from the Jordan into the canal and thence into Lake Tiberias. No alteration of the general course of the river is involved. Syria has no boundary with the Jordan, which enters Arab territory for the first time *south* of Lake Tiberias, forming there a frontier with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Since the waters of Lake Tiberias empty into the Jordan, obviously there will be no diversion of water from Arab territory. As the canal runs parallel to the river, it interposes a further barrier between Israel and Syria and presumably lessens, rather than aggravates, the possibility of military advantage accruing to Israel.

Further, Syria claims that an area known as the Buteiha Farms in its territory, deriving its irrigation waters from the Jordan, would be denied their use. But as far back as September 24 the Foreign Minister of Israel confirmed in writing to General Bennike prior assurances that, although Israel challenged the allegation, it was prepared to give juridical pledges which would cover Syria's complaint. Israel offered to sign a special agreement covering the area, and even to complete technical arrangements which would enable Syria to have a reservoir on its own soil, insuring that Israel would not be in a position to control the supply of water. This offer was not accepted.

That Syria, an avowed enemy of Israel should persist in its obstructionist tactics is understandable. That the State Department should have seized this flimsy complaint to begin an economic boycott of Israel to prevent the building of the canal is understandable only as part of a nefarious purpose. For the canal is central to an eighteen-year Israel project designed to develop the potential of its limited water resources, to secure 2,400,000,000 cubic meters of water per year, to bring water to the Negev, and ultimately to make self-sufficient a population of 4,000,000. Half of the 8,100 square miles of Israel territory are desert. With a present population of under 2,000,000, Israel is producing only half of the food which it requires. The importation of the remainder is a strain on its economy. When completed, the project will provide water for irrigation, create hydroelectric power, accelerate agricultural and industrial development, *and make Israel self-sustaining*, at least in food. The plan in no way conflicts with Arab interests.

Admittedly a difficult undertaking in view of the terrain and Israel's limited resources, it is nevertheless a feasible one and is being carried out with the help of some of the most distinguished experts on water development, a number of them Americans. They include such outstanding authorities as J. L. Savage, consulting engineer, former chief design engineer of the United States Bureau of Reclamation; H. Bashore, consulting engineer, former Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Reclamation; Dr. A. Wolman, former Chairman of the President's Committee on Water Resources, now a professor at Johns Hopkins University; J. S. Cotten, consulting engineer, expert on water and power schemes and a former member of the Federal Power Commission of the United States; and Dr. F. A. Nickel, a consulting geologist, specialist on reservoirs and dam sites.

The State Department is familiar with every aspect of Israel's needs and economy, perhaps too familiar. It is certainly familiar with the central water-development scheme. One might have assumed that the dynamism of Israel would have excited admiration and help. That it provoked instead the weapon of economic boycott can only mean that the State Department desires, if not exactly the economic strangulation of the little country, at least its economic dependency.

WHY has the State Department embarked upon this meretricious course? Obviously out of a desire to strengthen relations with the Arabs, but also as a form of self-vindication by certain permanent staff members who never liked the U. N. partition resolution. In 1947 only the intervention of the White House prevented the success of their maneuvers against it. Many of the persons responsible for the obstructionist tactics of that crucial period are still in office. They have now come to the fore as the principal advisers of the Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles may be only their tool, but obviously he is a willing one.

In September and October members of the Department were very active in setting a stage which would invite public resentment against Israel. To cushion himself against political repercussions, Mr. Dulles tried to sell Adlai Stevenson a bipartisan policy on the Middle East. But Stevenson wouldn't buy. In line with this campaign against Israel there occurred:

1. On October 17, the harsh United States condemnation of Israel in the Kibya incident without waiting to hear the facts.

2. On October 18, the planting of an exclusive story with the diplomatic correspondent of the New York *Times*, attacking Israel as obstructionist to the United States and the U. N., and most particularly for being non-cooperative "with the United States or the U. N. in developing the water resources of the Israel-Arab states area for the benefit of the largest number of persons on both sides of the frontier." This in the face of a year of unsuccessful pleading orally and by memorandum, by Israel for United States initiative in behalf of regional development schemes, and in the light of a public statement on September 17 by the Foreign Minister of Israel, expressing the hope for regional agreements for regional development of the Arab-Israel area.

3. The leakage through the same correspondent of the suspension of economic aid to Israel, despite an understanding that this would not become public.

4. On October 19, the leakage by a State Department official to the U. N. correspondent of the *Times* of the now-famous "T.V.A." story.

The "T.V.A." working paper, prepared at the request of the State Department by persons who had never been to the area, and described by its authors as a desk study, was published as if it were a mature project. The plan was pushed in the hope that it would provoke Israel's rejection, strengthen the State Department's flimsy case, and thus also win Arab approval. The hope was based on the fact that the working paper, which Israel never saw before its publication on October 19, fails to provide for Israel's basic need, which is to bring water from the north to the Negev; allocates only 32½ per cent of the water to Israel; and envisages construction of a key dam in Lebanon, thus giving that country an important measure of control over Israel's water and power. The last is the more remarkable in that Lebanon itself is no beneficiary of the plan.

The State Department T.V.A. objective has already misfired in three respects: press reports indicate it has been rejected by all the Arab states involved; it has failed to produce a rejection by Israel; it has created new tensions in Jordan, which had been counting on a Yarmuk-Jordan development scheme for its own exclusive benefit and for which an agreement exists between Jordan and U.N.W.R.A. But this scheme is being abandoned as too costly, and the United States intends the so-called T.V.A. plan as a substitute.

Mr. Dulles's other schemes have also boomeranged. He has been compelled by the pressure of public condemnation to restore aid to Israel with no resultant popularity to himself or the United States. He is not likely to get a Security Council decision permanently holding up the Israel canal project. He has widened the rift between himself and Ambassador Lodge, the U. N. representative, and between himself and President Eisenhower.

When on October 27 the representative of Israel, in agreeing to the temporary suspension of the canal project pending a Security Council discussion, stated that his acceptance did not represent new policy, he was telling the truth. Official records show that as far back as September 28 Israel had expressed such a willingness. Actually the device by which Israel's agreement was made known to the Council was to save the face of Mr. Dulles. Overwhelmed by public condemnation, Mr. Dulles sent a frantic S.O.S. to Ambassador Lodge to take prompt action to facilitate rapid restoration of aid.

It is no accident that the restoration of economic aid to Israel was first announced by the President and not by Mr. Dulles. It may be assumed that for this Mr. Lodge was responsible. And there is a running battle now between Mr. Lodge and Mr. Dulles's representatives, who still want Israel chastised. Nor is Eric Johnston's presence in the Middle East adding luster to Mr. Dulles's reputation. Mr. Johnston was sent as the personal emissary of President Eisenhower to feel out the situation, not to sell the "T.V.A." scheme released by Mr. Dulles's underlings.

IT IS too early to say whether these rifts indicate disagreement on fundamental United States policy in the Middle East or merely tactics. Lower echelons of the American delegation in the U. N. have not hesitated to spread the allegation that those who oppose appeasement of the Arabs are only half Americans—as appeasement is tied up with Western security.

Since maneuvering has failed, has not the time come to give statesmanship a chance? Real statesmanship would include a forceful insistence that discussions for peace be arranged; and an equally forceful, generous plan to make U. N. and American resources, once peace is achieved, available for the development of the entire Middle East, including both the Arab states and Israel. An honest quid pro quo would be very difficult for even the Arabs to reject.

SOLUTION IN KOREA

Unity and Neutrality . . *by Channing Liem*

THERE were five causes of the Korean war—Soviet expansionism, communism, the upheaval going on throughout the continent of Asia, the partition of Korea, and the unpopular regimes in both zones. Russian imperialism in the Far East is a historical reality. As pan-Slavism once proved a helpful tool for czarist imperialism, communism now serves the Soviet rulers. However, if Russia finds communism an effective way to expand the offensive in the Far East, and particularly in Korea, it is because the Soviet has been aided by other factors, one of them the widespread revolutionary fever. With increasing fury millions of Asians, aroused by poverty, resentful of foreign domination, and stirred by Western thought, are clamoring for what the late Sun Yat-sen termed "the three principles of the people"—nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. Their experience of these things is limited, but they know enough to realize that they are not only desirable but theirs by right. No power is strong enough to silence these people. The only way to deal with them is to sympathize with their aspirations and help them to help themselves.

Unfortunately, after World War II the Western powers were slow to realize what great changes were taking place in

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Asia. Some returned to their old trade of imperialism; others were undecided about the course they should follow. Meanwhile dire poverty and desire for self-rule made the Asians easy prey to Communist propaganda.

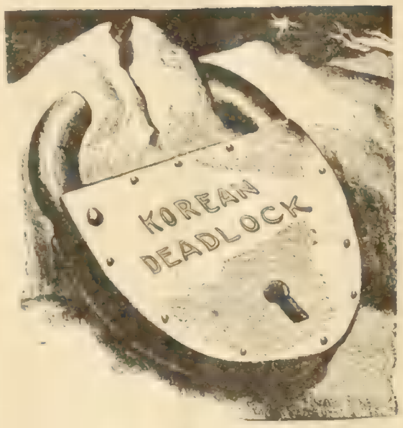
The Communist North Korean regime is sustained largely by intimidation and deception. Cho Mansik, whom the North Koreans elected as their leader in the wake of Japan's surrender, was arrested shortly afterward because of his unbending patriotism and is now thought to be dead. The late Dr. Kiusic Kimm, a South Korean political leader who went to Pyong Yang in the spring of 1948 to persuade the North Korean regime to agree to the unification of the country, was reported by the Communist radio as having praised the Pyong Yang regime for its "great accomplishments." As a matter of fact, Dr. Kimm was given no opportunity to make any kind of statement. I was told this by Dr. Kimm himself and by others who were in Pyong Yang at the time.

ONE WISHES one could speak differently of the government of South Korea today. To be sure, it has the appearance of a democracy, if only because of the presence of its allies. Some of the mistakes it has made were due to causes beyond its control. But the grim fact is that it persists in undemocratic practices and that the people, though they find the situation intolerable, dare not speak out. To be convinced one need only look at the record. At the elections to the National Assembly in May, 1950—which, incidentally, were held only at the prodding of the United States—the government candidates suffered a smashing defeat. At that time the people dared to vote as they did because they were not yet thoroughly intimidated by the government; the Korean war had not yet broken out and the presence of foreign powers preserved a measure of freedom.

Dr. Rhee's open defiance of the Constitution in his campaign for reelection last year, his use of strong-arm tactics against the warning of the United States and the United Nations, and his more recent threats to resume fighting prove him a dangerous ally. If he is unchecked, a third world war may result that will destroy both victor and vanquished. A man so contemptuous of the policies of the friendly powers on whose help his country depends cannot be expected to heed the will of his own people.

This is not to say that Rhee's views are all wrong. One cannot help sympathizing with his reluctance to sit down with the Communists or to agree to an arrangement which will leave his country divided. What makes him dangerous is his blindness to the fact that the Communists are already so powerful that we cannot destroy them without destroying ourselves in the process. The longer we allow Rhee to have his way, the more the masses of the people will turn against the free world.

It is little wonder, therefore, that the United Nations had tough going in Korea. The war was unifying Asia against us and thus playing into Russia's hands. Now the democracies must either declare war on Soviet Russia or wage a peaceful campaign to help the Asian peoples to realize their just aspirations and thus liberate them from Communist influence.



Herblock in the Washington *Post*

THIS INTRODUCES the question: How can such a peaceful campaign be conducted? I submit the following points in the earnest hope that they will receive careful consideration:

1. Before the opening of the Korean Political Conference the free world should agree on a plan for Korea consistent with the principles of peace, justice, and democracy, a plan on which it is prepared to stand.

2. This plan should require (a) that Korea become a unified and neutral state; (b) that the unified democratic government of Korea be chosen in a nation-wide election supervised by the United Nations Commission on Korea, which should consist of representatives of neutral states; (c) that the election be delayed until economic rehabilitation has reached such a level that those in power cannot exploit economic misery for their selfish ends; (d) that the rehabilitation program be administered by the United Nations Commission on Korea; (e) that within a minimum necessary period of time all foreign troops in Korea be replaced by security forces supplied by the neutral nations; (f) that these security forces be under the direction of the United Nations Commission on Korea, whose decisions shall be determined by majority rule; (g) that these forces be withdrawn from Korea when the unified Korean government has, with the help of the United Nations, created its national defense force.

3. If the enemy accepts the plan, the United Nations members of the Korean Political Conference should agree to receive the Peking regime as a member of the United Nations as soon as all foreign troops have been withdrawn from Korea, and recommend a conference of the great powers to produce an over-all agreement on all major issues, including the neutralization of Germany, a guaranty of security for Russia against German aggression, and the like.

THE PLAN outlined above may not be perfect, but it includes all the points that must be dealt with. It seeks to eliminate the causes of the tragedy in Korea and to restore peace with justice in the Far East and elsewhere. Last but not least, it puts the whole question of war or peace squarely in the lap of Moscow and Peking.

If the enemy persists in intransigence, how should the free world respond? This question must also be faced, for it is entirely possible that the Communist leaders may prefer an indefinite crisis. The partisans of the North Korean regime are already bitterly denouncing those whom they call "neutrals," which can only mean that they are not interested in a peace that disallows the Pyong Yang dictatorship. So the world is witnessing the curious spectacle of Pyong Yang and Seoul singing the same tune.

In such case the surest way to ultimate victory is to emphasize once again that the United Nations' proposed plan may still be accepted and to concentrate upon turning South Korea into a model free nation by bringing economic well-being to the masses, instituting political reforms, and setting up an adequate defense force along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. This program would not only clarify the West's position but prove its sincerity through positive action. It would force the enemy to make concessions, for he knows that without the Asian millions to mislead and exploit he cannot hope to win the war. To many in the free world it may seem an admission of defeat, for it is a departure from traditional warfare. But there is only one alternative—to enter upon a war of annihilation in which everything we fought for would vanish.

A WORLD I'D LIKE

An Unprophetic Vision

by Bertrand Russell

THE technical advances of the last 150 years have brought about a new possibility of general well-being such as has never existed before since there first were men on the earth.

Primitive man suffered from the cold in winter and the heat in summer. He lived in terror of wild beasts. In good times he obtained just enough food to keep him in health. In bad times he died of hunger. There were terrific visitations of plague and pestilence in which whole tribes were wiped out.

It was a furtive, painful, and precarious existence, owing, at that time, not to the folly and wickedness of man but to natural facts with which he could not yet cope. Gradually his intelligence transformed the scene. He made weapons which enabled him to fight lions and tigers, rogue elephants and furious rhinoceroses. He acquired the art of agriculture, which made his food supply fairly secure for about four years out of every five. He learned to keep warm by the use of fire and dry by the building of houses.

By these means men in ancient Egypt, 5,000 years ago, reached a level of well-being—if it can be so called—which until our own day has scarcely been surpassed among Chinese and Indian peasants. But if this is well-being as compared to the life of primitive man, it is utter misery as compared to the life of ordinary men and women in the West.

In the East the peasant and his wife, and their children as soon as they have the muscular strength, toil from morning till night to obtain the food the human frame requires, and get that only in good years. In bad years immense numbers die. At all times most children die before they are grown up. Bubonic plague, pneumonic plague, typhus, smallpox, and other diseases sweep through the population, leaving behind them a great swath of death. All this misery is now unnecessary. Given a little wisdom and a little good-will, there need not be anywhere any abject poverty, there need not be great destructive epidemics, there need not be more than a very low child mortality, there need not be excessive hours of labor.

HOW COULD this be brought about? Let us for a moment forget all about politics and assume some benevolent dictator, sufficiently trusted for men to obey him willingly and sufficiently wise to make use of all the best technical possibilities. What would such a dictator do? He would realize that hitherto the increase in the productivity of labor has not been used to lighten human burdens. It has been used for two purposes—to increase the welfare of one's own group and to improve the means of killing members of other groups. He would point out that with our present techniques we could without excessive labor produce enough food for everybody, provided the population did not increase up to the limits of subsistence.

I think food would be the very first problem that he would tackle. He would see to it that the best methods of agriculture were taught everywhere, that the most destitute were assisted to achieve some kind of economic security, and that the benefits to be derived from better agriculture were not all swallowed up by an increase of population. He would, at the same time, use medical instruction and public hygiene to cut down the death rate. Having secured a population free from abject poverty, overwork, and premature death, he would have leisure to think about the problems of what those who have never been hungry call the higher life.

I do not wish to seem in any way to belittle this part of his task. On the contrary, I think that if the existence of human beings has any value it is not because they are born and eat and sleep and finally die but because of mental achievements for which some degree of physical well-being is a condition. I do not think that in the modern world it is possible for the mental and moral life, even among the fortunate, to be what it should be while the greater part of mankind still suffers totally unnecessary misery.

Suppose you were a visitor from another planet, able to observe the actions of men but ignorant of their language and therefore impervious to their propaganda, their thinking, and their myths, And suppose that you could only observe them in large masses, so that your view of their proceedings would be summary and statistical. What, broadly speaking, would you see? You would see two vast collections of human beings, the one on the whole prosperous, healthy, not overworked, more or less educated, the other very poor, often starving, usually dying in infancy, and working such long hours at purely physical toil that no leisure remained for anything mental. You would observe, after a time, that these two opposing groups hated and feared each other and were preparing, with extraordinary skill, schemes of mutual extermination only too likely to be successful.

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If, after a time, you learned their languages, you would be told by the richer group that the poorer group have no idealism, that they care only about material things, that they are destructive from envy, and that all we hold precious can only be preserved if the poorer group lives in constant terror of extermination. On the other side you would be told that all the troubles of the world spring from the greedy possessiveness of the richer group, and that if they were willing to share equally with the victims of poverty, all would be well.

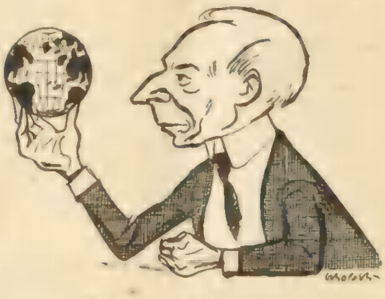
Neither side would be telling you quite the truth. It is not *merely* greed that makes the richer group cling to its advantages. If there were sudden economic equality at the present moment, the result would be that happy populations would be reduced to the level of the unhappy, not that the unhappy would be raised to the level of the happy. To raise the level of the poorer populations is a task that must take time and that requires skills only likely to be developed where there are many people not on the verge of starvation. It is true, however, that so long as glaring economic inequality exists between one part of the world and another, there will be envy on the one side and fear on the other, so that genuine cooperation will remain difficult.

WHAT I MOST wish to emphasize is that the obstacles to universal happiness in the present day are, at bottom, psychological, not physical, and that this is a new fact in human history. If it were possible for the poorer groups not to feel envy and the richer groups not to feel fear, a rapid advance on the part of the poorer groups would be possible without any damage to the well-being of the richer groups.

At the moment a fundamental change in the existing psychology may seem no more than a utopian dream. The psychology of ordinary individuals becomes accumulated into the policy of great powers. The mutual hate and fear are embodied in armaments which, in turn, increase the mutual hate and fear. In a kind of blind fatalism the human race marches on toward a universal disaster which it foresees but imagines to be inevitable.

But it is not inevitable. There is no need to march toward disaster. There is no need to permit mankind to be politically dominated by hate and fear to the virtual exclusion of all other emotions. I will agree at once that it is not easy to see how to emerge from the tragic impasse in which we seem lost. Especially for us of the West it is not easy, since we are met with a hostility and suspicion which, so far, it has not been possible to break down.

I do not think the way out is either easy or dramatic. The process required is more like the gradual subsidence of waves in the sea after a great storm. If the cold war stays cold long enough, something of the sort may happen. But if it is to happen we must remain aware that there are rational hopes not based on violence and that if only mankind would realize it, there is no conflict between the real interests of one group and the real interests of another.



Bertrand Russell

Happiness is not to be secured by politics alone, but there are certain political conditions without which, in our modern world, happiness must be precarious and temporary. The first of these is that all the major armaments should be under the control of one single authority, so that great wars would no longer be possible. The second is that there should be a continual approach in the poorer parts of the world toward that level of prosperity which has already been achieved in the West. And the third is that the habits of populations everywhere should be such as to prevent a rapid increase of population. Given these three conditions, fear might cease to dominate our daily lives, and with the disappearance of fear other more generous and more creative emotions would take its place.

Once these political problems were solved I should expect an extraordinary renaissance in art and literature, in the joyousness of daily life, in kindliness, in social relations, in thought and science. I should hope to see man at last come into his kingdom—the kingdom that he has deserved by his intelligence and hitherto forfeited by mutual suspicion. The human race has become integrated as it never was before. The Mexican and Peruvian civilizations flourished in complete isolation from other continents until the time of Columbus. The Chinese, except in their conversion to Buddhism, suffered little foreign influence until the nineteenth century. The Russians went their own way until the time of Peter the Great.

Gradually all this has changed. One part of the world inevitably has effects on another part, and what these effects shall be depends enormously upon the dominant feelings in the different parts. Where the feelings are hostile, one part can bring death to the other and the other can probably reciprocate. Where the feelings are friendly, they can bring each other prosperity. The older competitive doctrines which have come down to us from the time of tribal warfare are no longer true. Two powerful groups can always prosper more by cooperation than they can by competition. During the first Great War many English people imagined that after victory England would be prosperous because German trade would have been destroyed. It did not work out so. Two successive victories, though complete in a military sense, have brought us to the verge of destitution, and a third can only complete the process.

I AM NO prophet, and I cannot tell what mankind collectively will decide. It may decide that it has existed long enough and that it is time to yield place to the animals we have hitherto called "lower." This is the view of most practical statesmen and of those who are called realists. People who like myself think that it would be a good thing if the human race continued to exist expose themselves to liquidation if they are Russians and to accusations of fellow-traveling if they are Western.

I do not pretend that while the existing tension continues either side can be expected to relax its war-like preparations. What I do say is that the way out of the trouble is psychological and consists in making men realize, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that neither side can hope to win any good thing until there is mutual rapprochement. And in bringing about such a lessening of tension I can think of nothing more effective than the realization of the happiness that the whole human race might enjoy if only it would allow itself to do so. I have spoken mainly about material goods and political measures, but as I said before and as I must repeat, these belong only to the mechanism and not to what has value on its own account. The things that have value on their own account can, however, hardly flourish, or can flourish only with extreme difficulty, in such an atmosphere as that in which we now live. To take one great example: liberty of thought and speculation, without which there can be no mental or moral progress, is continually hampered where there is an atmosphere of fear. There comes to be a general belief that the only thing worth doing is to increase the fear until it becomes hysteria and to silence the few who refuse to be carried away.

In smaller disasters people know that this is not wise. When a ship is sinking, the captain is expected to remain calm, and those who fail to execute his orders are thought ill of. In politics people do not act in this way. If the captain remains calm he finds himself surrounded by a yelling mob which tells him that he does not realize the peril. In their excitement they refuse to do what he advises and rush hither and thither complaining of the sea. In the end they all drown because they did not have the sense to remain rational in the face of danger.

For this reason, in times of political danger men adopt foolish and destructive doctrines and fail to think straight. They persecute those who do, in a greater or less degree according to the intensity of their fear. How far this process has been carried in Russia we all know. There is some reason to apprehend that in a milder form something not wholly dissimilar may happen in the West.

If, however, the reign of fear can somehow be ended on both sides of the Iron Curtain—or if not ended, at any rate be made less virulent—intelligence and skill, which have never before been so great as they are at the present moment, and which are, in fact, the very cause of our present dangers, may be turned into fruitful channels, and our grandchildren may look back to our time as the last moment of the dark ages from which, as from a long tunnel, mankind will have emerged into the sunshine and happiness of mutual harmony.

EMERGENT AFRICA

And the Negro Press . . *by Armistead S. Pride*

A READER of the New York *Amsterdam News* wrote that paper recently: "I have just finished reading your article on the proposed African Federation and want you to know that I am interested in what is happening in Africa. Is there any way that we can get more news? The white newspapers carry their sides. As Negroes, what happens there affects us too. I am most interested." A week later another reader wrote: "I like the international news and would like to see even a wider coverage. Our people are doing things in Africa and the Caribbean Islands and all over the world." The paper received four other letters to the same effect that week.

A month later the *News* ran the headline "W. White Blasts U. S. Ignorance on Africa" over a report of a summer institute on Africa. The N. A. A. C. P. executive secretary had said among other things, "Career men in the State Department still think of Africa as a hot, humid, unhealthy, tropical area, and not an area to be won for the free world."

It is perfectly natural that the American Negro should have an interest in Africa, though in culture he has progressed far from the African native. On a Sunday morning he may be asked by his bishop to chip in ten dollars to provide industrial training in West Africa. Once a year Negro History Week brings Sierra Leone, Lagos, and Ubangi out of the misty clouds into the church and school. There are courses on the Negro in Africa at many Negro colleges; Lincoln University in Pennsylvania holds a summer institute on Africa; Texas Southern University has an African Affairs Week. After every Presidential election a Negro is appointed minister to Liberia. And the deaths of Marcus Garvey, John Rankin, and Tom Heflin did not check the forces pushing for the mass exodus of American Negroes to the Dark Continent; just a few weeks ago New York City observed "Marcus Garvey Day" with speeches and the crowning of "Miss Africa."

The African news story has been a staple item in the 2,900 Negro newspapers that have been put out since John Russwurm, editor of the first one, *Freedom's Journal,* was "captured by the Colonization Society and sent to Africa" in 1830. Russwurm and his partner, Samuel Cornish, announced in their initial issue, dated March 16, 1827: "Useful knowledge of every kind, and everything that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns; and as that vast continent becomes daily more known, we trust that many things will come to light, proving that the natives of it are neither so ignorant nor so stupid as they have generally been supposed to be." But for the white press Africa is just coming alive and stories about it are a recent innovation.

The practice of some of the leading Negro publications with respect to African coverage is illustrated by the fol-

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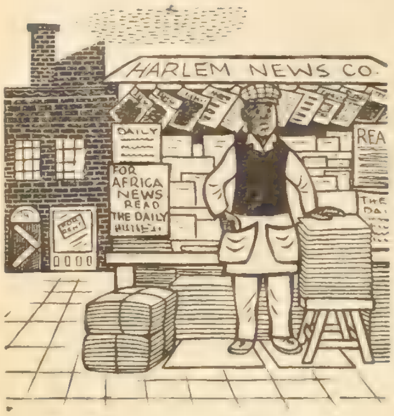
lowing items. The Pittsburgh *Courier*, second in circulation among Negro weeklies, devotes six or more inches of each issue to a column, Facts About Africa, by Harold L. Keith. The Chicago *Defender*, third in circulation, departmentalizes its African intelligence under the heading Foreign News and lets it run to as much as a page. The *Amsterdam News* heads its African stories Global Roundup. *Jet*, a weekly news magazine with a circulation of 354,000, takes care of African items in a two- to four-page Foreign Section. In the Cleveland *Call and Post* the managing editor, Charles Loeb, includes Africa in his weekly comment titled World on View; the paper's new magazine editor, Ralph Mathews, featured in his first issue a half-page spread with pictures captioned Why Did Britain O. K. Nancy's Wedding but Banish Sereste?



LAST YEAR the *Courier* ran a four-part series on Africa by Horace Cayton; this year it has printed two articles by Homer Jack called South Africa—Uncensored and two by J. A. Rogers on Murder in Kenya. Rayford Logan, professor of history at Howard University and an African specialist, serves the *Courier* as foreign-affairs consultant. Weekly dispatches from Bankole Timothy, assistant editor of the Accra (Gold Coast) *Graphic*, began in the *Courier* last summer, and recently Paul Davis has been contributing signed articles from the land of Prime Minister Nkrumah. In April the *Defender* started George F. McCray's Notebook on Africa. *Ebony* has covered Negro angles in Japan, Paris, Mexico, and Jamaica. *Our World* ran Mission to Africa in May. *Color*, most clairvoyant of the lot, published last December A Nigerian Boy Speaks, Mau Mau Warriors, Haile Selassie Takes Over, and Will Colored Races Kill the U. N.?

The *Crisis* keeps up an unrelenting flow of African material. In its first issues in 1916 the quarterly *Journal of Negro History* discussed The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization, The Mind of the African Negro as Reflected in His Proverbs, The Attitude of the Free Negro Toward African Colonization, and reviewed a book, "Negro Culture in West Africa"; its content is similar today. A visit last year to the Gold Coast and environs by Attorney Elsie Austin produced A Brief African Look at the African Woman in the April *Telefact*, official organ of the National Council of Negro Women. In addition to articles of this type practically every book and important magazine article on Africa is reviewed in Negro publications.

The smaller weeklies such as the *Future Outlook* of Greensboro, North Carolina, the *Long Island Call*, the Savannah *Tribune*, the *Illinois Times*, the Indianapolis *Recorder*, the San Antonio *Register*, and the Omaha papers emphasize community matters and may for a long period seem completely unaware of Africa. And of course even the big Negro weeklies cannot compete with the general daily newspaper in day-to-day coverage of African news.

The chief source of such news for the Negro press is the Associated Negro Press, a Chicago news-gathering agency. The A. N. P. has correspondents at Freetown, Accra, Monrovia, and Durban. It devotes about one-fifth of its output to African news. Negro papers obtain other news about Africa from United Nations dispatches, American travelers, National Negro Press Association stories, and the publicity office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A few subscribe to the International News Service. Another source of information is the African publications which have limited circulation in this country—the *Drum* of Johannesburg, the quarterly *Liberian Review* of Monrovia, the Sierra Leone *Observer*, one of the thirty-four aggressive West African newspapers.

EVEN SO, it must be said that the American Negro Press could do much more to bring the Africa story to its readers. The Mau Mau developments, for instance, failed to prompt a single Negro paper or press organization into sending a staff member to Africa. In contrast the general dailies have been so impressed with the African vogue that they have competed for fresh material and on-the-spot reports. The New York *World-Telegram* featured Robert Ruark's columns on Africa. The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* sent its own Morley Cassidy to South Africa for a June series. Ed Lahey spent two months on the Dark Continent last spring for the Knight chain. Last spring entire issues of *Life* and the *Saturday Review of Literature* were devoted to Africa. *Time*, *Harper's*, *U. S. News and World Report*, *The Nation*, the New York *Times Magazine*, and *Collier's* have featured African stories in the last six months.

George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, explains the mushrooming interest in Africa of "many of the big white-owned newspapers and magazines that previously ignored or dismissed Negro Africa" as follows: "The loss of many Asiatic colonies and the probable loss of others have turned the Western world's attention to this black land of fabulous economic resources and tremendous labor potential. It has dawned upon the more intelligent Nordics that without Africa, Western Europe will be in duck soup."

As if to emphasize the kinship between the United States Negro and his African brother the prefix "Afro" or "Africo" has appeared in the titles of no fewer than fifty-eight Negro publications. The nameplate of the Negro weekly with the highest circulation of all, the *Afro-American*, shows the title superimposed upon two hemispheres—Africa and America.

When National Negro Newspaper Week was observed here last spring, British Togoland organizations sent the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, the sponsor, a message of congratulation that included these lines: "Greetings to the Negro press and public of America on the anniversary of the founding of *Freedom's Journal* by John Russwurm. . . . The Negro press has fought consistently to bring about the true liberation of peoples of color from all forms of colonial oppression. We in Africa want to point out the keen sense of kinship we have for our brothers in America. Our fight as Africans is for self-government and independence."

J. Alvarez del Vayo

France's Reluctant Vote

Paris

THERE has been no debate in the National Assembly for some time so important or so depressing as that last week on Indo-China. The evils that afflict France are many, but none of them can be cured unless the war in Indo-China is brought to an end. It is not only that it imposes an intolerable financial burden and that, year after year, the newly graduated officers from Saint Cyr, the French West Point, have to be sent to Indo-China to fight and die for France. More than that, this war represents a psychological and moral insult to the critical sense of the French. It is impossible, for example, to pretend in France that one is fighting for a "free world" with the fascist dictator of Spain as an ally. And so on the day the Indo-China debate began in the National Assembly not a single French newspaper urged continuation of the war.

Everybody, in fact, hates the war in Indo-China. Apart from a natural abhorrence of war in general, nobody can see any reason for the awful sacrifices this particular war entails, unless it be a fear of offending Washington. The conviction, which found no direct expression in the Assembly speeches but was freely voiced outside the Chamber, is that the war in Indo-China is continued mainly because the Americans demand it.

"Dupes in Indo-China and dupes in Europe. How long will the French let Adenauer conduct Western policy by exploiting American ignorance?" asked the Gaullist deputy, Philippe Barrès, in *l'Information*. Those who accuse America of forcing France to go on with a war which it has not the slightest chance of winning base their views on the official communiqué published on October 30, after the conclusion of the Washington talks on Indo-China. To be sure France received an additional $385,000,000 to make the cost of the war more bearable, but obviously it had to pay for this aid by assuming an obligation to continue the war. The interpretation of the communiqué by enemies of the Laniel-Bidault policy, including some members of the Cabinet, is that France agreed not to enter upon any negotiations with Ho Chi-minh without the approval of the United States.

But the French people cannot see the logic of not being allowed to negotiate with Ho Chi-minh when the Americans have concluded an armistice with North Korea and Communist China. Nor do they see how they can ever put an end to the war without negotiating a peace with their enemy. Now there is the additional and cruel irony created by the refusal of the Saigon National Congress to be part of the French Union as presently constituted—a decision whose gravity is not diminished by the qualifying interpretation placed upon it by Emperor Bao Dai. This rebuff is being compared with the attitude displayed by Ho Chi-minh in 1946. On March 6 of that year, after negotiations with the French Commissioner, J. Sainteny, the Vietminh leader signed a convention under which he agreed that "the Vietnam Republic forms part of the Federation of Indo-China and of the French Union as a free state." In other words, he accepted then what is today being refused by Bao Dai's Assembly.

TO MAKE matters worse there is on the one hand a lack of public confidence in Bao Dai, who some believe is quite capable of doublecrossing France and making a direct deal with the Americans in order to become the Syngman Rhee of Indo-China; and, on the other hand, there is suspicion that the recent operations around Tonkin were inspired less by military than by political and financial considerations, the purpose being to "justify" the new American aid in American eyes. French observers fear that the operations led to a serious deterioration of the French military position on the eve of what may be a new, large-scale Vietminh offensive.

These reflections and considerations occupied the minds of the majority of the deputies. And yet one could observe, as the debate went on, that few of them would vote for a resolution that might bring down the Laniel government, complicate the position of the various parties and personalities with regard to the French presidential elections next December, and, above all, produce a bad effect in Washington. Daladier, in a great political comeback, was easily the dominant figure in the discussions. He opposed both the war and the European army, making clear his belief that French opinion is turning to the left.

In an impartial appraisal of the Indo-China problem American policy cannot be blamed exclusively. In 1946 it was not Washington which kept Paris from coming to terms with Ho Chi-minh. Other factors were dominant—reluctance to see the old French empire still more diminished, fear of the repercussions that retreat from Indo-China would have on other protectorates and colonies, a feeling that those who had given their lives to defend Indo-China should not be let down and that the efforts of famous generals like De Lattre should be crowned with success. But at present it is strictly true that one of the few possible solutions for the war in Indo-China—a conference of the Big Five, including Communist China, to discuss all Asian problems—is blocked by the United States.

In the end the Assembly passed a resolution which showed clearly enough that it wanted to end the war but could come to no agreement on the means. Assuming continuation of the conflict, the text asks for the replacement of French troops by Indo-Chinese as quickly as possible, demands that the Indo-Chinese states remain within the French Union, and makes a vague reference to the desirability of negotiations for peace in Asia. But so long as a Five-Power Conference is opposed by Washington, France's prospects remain unchanged: the continuation of a senseless war which is draining the country of its youth and treasure.

BIGGEST REACTOR

And Canada's Own . . *by P. Dempson and T. A. Kerr*

[*As the British test new atomic weapons in Australia, London is manifesting increasing resentment toward what it terms Washington's stubborn refusal to yield a reasonable quid pro quo on atomic-energy development. Recently Ritchie Calder, science editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *gave readers of* The Nation *the behind-the-scenes story of Anglo-American relations in this field. In the following article two Canadian newspapermen tell something of their country's point of view and outline its atomic-energy program.*]

Ottawa

THE CHIEF of the chemistry and engineering division of Canada's atomic-research center at Chalk River, Dr. George C. Laurence, was very definite about the lack of United States-Canadian cooperation in developing atomic energy:

> Canada [he said] has not received from the United States any engineering information related to the production of atomic bombs, such as information on the separation of Uranium 235, nor methods for extracting plutonium, nor the design and manufacture of the bomb itself. The engineering design of the Chalk River plant, the development of the methods used there for the extraction of plutonium and other products, was done in Canada entirely independently. . . . But full information has been made available to the United States on all research and development in atomic energy in Canada.

Of course under the McMahon act the United States is forbidden to furnish atomic-energy information to a foreign country. Though Canada probably feels less strongly about the matter than Britain, it has on several occasions protested to Washington against the resulting duplication of effort and is at present clinging to the hope that some day the McMahon act will be amended to permit a freer exchange of information. Despite the lack of help from the United States, Canada has today the world's most powerful atomic reactor, will shortly put one of even greater power into operation, and plans to move into the field of producing commercial atomic power in about five years.

Chiefly because the undertaking is such a huge drain on the public purse, private industry will be asked to be a partner in it, and may become the dominant partner. But in addition the government takes the position that people with experience in electric-power plants should have at least some say about atomic plants. C. D. Howe, head of the Department of Defense Production, which is in charge of Canada's atomic-energy program, told Parliament last February that production of commercial atomic power was the concern of the power companies, both private and public, and suggested they take on the assignment with data furnished by Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., a government-owned corporation which operates the country's two existing reactors at Chalk River and is building a third. In April Mr. Howe invited private industry to participate in the construction and initial operation of a fourth reactor, an actual atomic-power plant, which was to be built whether or not the invitation was accepted.

OTHER STEPS taken recently by the government show that it intends to lose no time in trying to obtain the cooperation of the power companies in producing commercial atomic power. Early in September a three-day symposium on "the prospects of using nuclear energy for generation of electric power" was held at Chalk River and was attended by representatives of power companies and of firms manufacturing generators and other heavy equipment. Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, who retired as president of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., on October 1 but continues as chairman of the Atomic Energy Control Board, explained that the purpose of the conference was "to allow power companies to become better acquainted with the research results obtained at Chalk River, and our staff in turn to become more familiar with the many problems of power production and distribution."

Dr. Mackenzie spoke on the subject last March 4 to a special committee of the House of Commons on government operations in the field of atomic energy. "As you know," he said, "the world picture today is very serious; the world demand for power is going up at a terrific rate, and known sources are diminishing. Therefore within not too long a period of time a scarcity of power, from a world point of view, is going to occur." He also said: "I think the best opinion today would feel that atomic energy is not going to compete economically with central-station power of the hydro type, or the coal type where coal is cheaper; and that probably its greatest use will be in an area of power scarcity or to implement these other sources when they run low."

But Dr. Mackenzie recognized that utilization of this new power—one pound of fissionable material is the equivalent, in heat value, of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons of coal—might open up new concepts of living. "My own feeling is—and it is purely a personal matter—that atomic energy will develop probably somewhat in the way that internal-combustion power developed and that it will open up new areas. The internal-combustion engine in its infancy was thought of as a substitute for coal, but it never was. It opened up the whole field of automobiles and aircraft and changed the whole complexion of the world."

CANADA has never produced an atomic bomb and does not plan to do so, though it has the technical know-how. In this field it was in partnership with the United States during the war and is still, supplying uranium first to the Manhattan Project and then to its successor, the United States Atomic Energy Commission. With its resources and skilled personnel relieved of the pressure to produce atomic weapons, Canada has been able to give more intensive effort to research and to the industrial development of atomic energy. As a result, important strides have been made in the use of radioactive isotopes in medicine, agriculture, and industry.

Says Dr. Mackenzie: "These radioisotopes have been hailed by scientists as the most important analytical discovery since the invention of the microscope; they are recognized by industrialists as valuable aids in the measurement and control of many plant operations; and they are looked on by doctors as the treatment of choice for certain diseases. Indeed, the advantages resulting from the use of radio-isotopes are already so great that many people are convinced the ultimate benefits accruing from their use will alone be worth all the money spent on atomic-energy developments."

An important example is the Cobalt 60 radio-isotope, known as the "cobalt bomb," which Canada has used very successfully and sold commercially. A Cobalt 60 beam-therapy unit for the treatment of cancer costs about $50,000 and is the equivalent of $50,000,000 worth of radium. The commercial-products division of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., supplies not only the radioactive source but the operating equipment and installation service. The largest amount of radioactive material ever put to commercial use was the Cobalt 60 shipped this year to the University of Michigan to be used in research work on sterilization of foodstuffs, drugs, and other problems. It had a total activity of about 10,000 curies—a curie has the strength of radiation of one grain of radium, and hospitals with three grams of radium have been considered very well equipped.

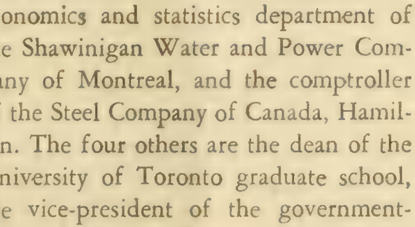
It is because Canada has the most powerful atomic reactor in the world that it can produce the cobalt and other radioactive isotopes. From a small beginning six years ago the distribution of isotopes for use in universities, hospitals, and industries has steadily widened. In 1952 more than 1,100 shipments of about 80 different isotopes were made. The figures will be higher this year.

Graphite reactors, the principal type used in the United States and Britain, cannot produce Cobalt 60 of as high a specific activity as can be made in the heavy-water "NRX" reactor of Chalk River. For this reason the United States has made use of the NRX reactor for certain experiments in atomic energy.

Canada has spent about $30,000,000 on two reactors—"ZEEP" and "NRX"—at Chalk River. The cost of the more powerful reactor now being built there, "NRU" is placed at about $40,000,000. NRU was especially designed to lend itself to the research and development needed to produce the fourth reactor—the "power pile." It is expected to go into operation early in 1954. The time necessary to complete the "power pile" has been estimated as anywhere between one and ten years. Defense Production Minister C. D. Howe has been saying an atomic-power plant would be ready in Canada in five years.

REPRESENTATIVES of private industry have played a prominent role in Canada's atomic-energy program from the start. Among the nine directors of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., are the head of the Hydroelectric Power Commission of Montreal, the president of Calgary Power, the general manager and chief engineer of the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission, the manager of the economics and statistics department of the Shawinigan Water and Power Company of Montreal, and the comptroller of the Steel Company of Canada, Hamilton. The four others are the dean of the University of Toronto graduate school, the vice-president of the government-operated National Research Council, Dr. Mackenzie, and W. J. Bennett, who has succeeded Mackenzie as head of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., and is president of the government-owned Eldorado Mining and Refining Company, the only uranium refinery in Canada.

In the years before the war the Eldorado Company, then privately owned, switched its attention from gold mining to the production of radium from the great pitchblende beds on the southeast shore of Great Bear Lake at a point now called Port Radium. A plant to refine the concentrates was built in 1933 at Port Hope, Ontario. In June, 1942, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met at Hyde Park and decided that the United States would embark on the great Manhattan Project, and later that year Eldorado was given a contract to produce uranium for the undertaking. In January, 1944, the government of Canada expropriated the shares of the company.



In the same year it was decided that Canada should build a heavy-water reactor as a pilot plant for production of plutonium, and work was begun at Chalk River. Defense Industries, Lt., government-owned, handled the engineering design and construction, and the National Research Council the research and scientific studies. In September, 1945, this first pile, known as "ZEEP" (zero energy experimental pile), came into operation, the first nuclear reactor outside the United States.

Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., also a government-owned company, was set up in 1952 and took over the Chalk River establishment from the National Research Council. "The industrial aspects of the Chalk River establishment have been increasing," says Dr. Mackenzie, "and there has been a growing feeling that large-scale industrial application of atomic power is closer than had been expected. For these reasons it was considered desirable that the project be segregated from other government activities and operated by a staff without outside responsibilities."

Further work in the atomic field is supported at Canadian universities through the National Research Council. Thus there are several "atom smashers" in operation—the cyclotron at McGill University, Montreal; a synchrotron at Queens University, Kingston; a betatron at the University of Saskatchewan; a Van de Graaff generator and linear accelerator at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

For a country of 15,000,000 people, Canada has gone a long way in investigating the peace-time uses of atomic energy. If it accomplishes as much in the next nine years as it has in the nine years since it embarked on this project, the government—and the Canadian people—will be satisfied.

BOOKS

The War That Haunts Us

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH. By Francis Butler Simkins. Alfred A. Knopf. $7.50.

THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR. By Benjamin Quarles. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

STANTON: LINCOLN'S SECRETARY OF WAR. By Fletcher Pratt. W. W. Norton and Company. $5.95.

By Bruce Catton

AMERICA is still haunted by the ghost of the Civil War. The ha'nt has been roaming the corridors for nearly a century, and it will go on doing so for a long time, a quiet reminder of a tremendous event which persists in remaining contemporary.

For the war was not merely a gigantic pageant, splashed with fire and laden with high tragedy, and it was not simply a prodigious mistake that might have been avoided if men had been a little cooler and wiser. It was a profound turning-point and its legacy is an unending challenge; the whole meaning of our democratic experiment is bound up with it.

So we continue to get books on the subject, and we need them because our understanding of it is by no means complete. The three under consideration here, widely dissimilar as they are, help to focus attention on the central, haunting question: What did the whole business mean?

It meant a good many things of course, but basically it meant that the nation had committed itself, once and for all, to the attempt to apply unvarnished human freedom all across the board. By immeasurably broadening democracy's scope the war revealed that it was going to be much harder than optimists had supposed to make democracy work.

The war was evil, ugly, tragic—yet it left the national destiny pinned to a star. It pledged us to live by the affirmation "All men are created equal," even though most of us don't really believe it. Values growing out of the Mayflower compact must be proved good for men whose origins trace to the fearful hold of the slaver or the crowded steerage of the immigrant ship. Blindly, clumsily, and for the most part subconsciously we affirmed through the Civil War that somehow this can be done. The job will be completed probably only on the eve of the millennium, but we can never stop trying.

IN "A History of the South" Professor Simkins studies "those political and social traits that make the region between the Potomac and the Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity." Basic to this cultural distinctiveness he sees the ancient doctrine of white supremacy, a doctrine weakened by war and Reconstruction less than many people believe: "The bonds of caste by which the Negro was kept subordinate and underprivileged were weakened in few respects."

It is generally believed that the South will finally bring the Negro into the mainstream of its social, economic, and political life, but Dr. Simkins confesses that he sees few signs of such progress. "The South in 1952," he says, "was almost as complacent as when it was attacked by the Abolitionists or the Reconstruction radicals." The distinctive culture of the region, he holds, was never destroyed.

And yet—what is the South? It is the Negro as well as the white man, and in "The Negro in the Civil War" Professor Quarles examines the part that the three and one-half million Southern Negroes played in the conflict. If they refused to revolt, and rendered the Confederacy an immense service by hewing its wood and drawing its water while its whites went off to war, they nevertheless struck valiant blows in their own behalf. Upward of 200,000 of them served in the Union army and navy, and a rough time they had of it too, with racial prejudice striking at them from above and below.

Their story is a tragic one, and Professor Quarles tells it very well. In the end he finds that the whole of it was somehow greater than the sum of its parts. The real significance of the war as he sees it was "the momentum it gave to the ideals of freedom and the dignity of man. It made easier every subsequent battle for human rights." This is the first comprehensive account of what the colored man did in the Civil War. A work of fine scholarship, it is written with uncommon urbanity and objectivity.

LASTLY, we have Fletcher Pratt's "Stanton: Lincoln's War Secretary," a long-overdue attempt to get the enigmatic figure of Secretary Stanton into focus. As Mr. Pratt points out, Stanton's fame has suffered because biographers of so many other Civil War notables, from Lincoln to McClellan, have cast him in the role of villain. He has been presented as coarse, treacherous, dictatorial, and erratic, a vengeful busybody who finally became the willing instrument of the most unscrupulous and vicious leaders of the attempt to reduce the late Confederacy to the level of a conquered province.

Mr. Pratt offers a logical and persuasive defense. He sees Stanton as a man with a burning passion for human freedom and as an administrator of uncommon talents—one of the select group of Northerners without whom the war would not have been won. He denies that he tried to dictate strategy and tactics to professional soldiers. Stanton, he finds, was a conscientious driver who insisted on prosecuting the war to victory in spite of appeasers and faint hearts and who never lost sight of the lofty values which lay in the balance.

Clearly the present drift is away from the "revisionist" doctrine that has been so popular in recent years. The war, says Mr. Pratt, did mean something; it did buy something, and what it bought was worth getting. In sum, from all three of these books we get the sense that the war was only a beginning. It left us with a tremendous job to do, and we are still working at it.

BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of three volumes on the Army of the Potomac. The final one, "A Stillness at Appomattox," will appear later this month.*

A Gentleman in Politics

HENRY CABOT LODGE: A BIOGRAPHY. By John A. Garraty. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

By Keith Hutchison

ALTHOUGH Henry Cabot Lodge died more than a quarter of a century ago, he remains a controversial figure. Shortly after his death two brief biographies appeared, both by friends and both laudatory. More recently, in 1943, Karl Schriftgiesser wrote "The Gentleman from Massachusetts," characterized by the author of this new life as "marred by a partisanship as extreme as that of its subject."

A trained historian, Mr. Garraty himself has sought to avoid "the twin perils of the whitewash and the tar barrel" and on the whole has succeeded. This does not mean that he has achieved merely a colorless neutrality. He praises some of Lodge's actions, condemns others. But primarily his aim "has been to show [his] subject's point of view." Pursued with thoroughness and objectivity, this course promotes justice, but, the record being what it is, Senator Lodge's admirers will probably regard it as lacking mercy.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Governor John Davis Lodge showed a sense of obligation to history when they placed their grandfather's papers at Mr. Garraty's disposal without imposing conditions. Both read the manuscript but acted as critics, not censors. At the author's suggestion Ambassador Lodge has expressed in footnotes his disagreement with some of the book's conclusions.

Henry Cabot Lodge was a Boston Brahman of the bluest hue. Henry Adams, his history teacher at Harvard and life-long friend, persuaded him to adopt a historico-literary career while dabbling in politics. As things turned out, he dabbled in history while making a vocation of politics, although he always resented classification with the professionals.

In his youth Lodge had nothing but contempt for those who made party loyalty a first principle. At that time, in association with men like Carl Schurz and E. L. Godkin—he was a contributor to *The Nation* in the late seventies—he appeared to be a conservative reformer in bitter opposition to the old, corrupt Republican gang and such wavers of the bloody shirt as James G. Blaine. But independence paid no dividends, and by 1884, when he was chosen chairman of the Massachusetts Republican Central Committee, his full devotion to the G. O. P. was no longer suspect. "He is the gentleman and scholar in politics," the Boston correspondent of the New York *Tribune* noted at the time, "without the guilelessness and squeamishness of the said gentleman and scholar."

One aspect of his new approach to politics was his changed views on protection. In his reforming days he expressed strong free-trade opinions, but by 1886 the tariff issue had become for him "simply a question of expediency," and thereafter he always found it expedient to support higher rates of duty.

Lodge showed more consistency in his support of a big navy, and he became a foremost advocate of American imperialism. As such he took a leading part in the great battle for ratification of the Philippine treaty, concerning which he wrote to Theodore Roosevelt: "I confess I cannot think calmly of the rejection of that treaty by a little more than one-third of the Senate. It would be a repudiation of the President and humiliation of the whole country in the eyes of the world, and would show that we are unfit to enter into great questions of foreign policy."

After victory was secured, he described the struggle as "the closest, hardest fight I have ever known." Almost exactly twenty years later he captained the opposition in the even harder fight over ratification of the Versailles treaty and succeeded in engineering the "repudiation" of another President. Lodge was on record many times as approving the League of Nations idea, but, Mr. Garraty asserts, "he was unwilling to devote himself to positive action toward creating a workable one."

In one of his footnote comments Ambassador Lodge challenges this statement, claiming that his grandfather was ahead of his time in that the League Covenant plus the Lodge reservations add up to the United Nations constitution. This is a rather naive piece of special pleading, since the problem of creating an *effective* international organization that does not compromise the sovereignty of the United States—or that of any other nation—has still to be solved.

One element in the League fight emphasized by Mr. Garraty—with the Ambassador entering a not very convincing demurrer—was Lodge's hatred of Wilson. Another and possibly even more important one was the Senator's fear of his colleague Borah, an all-out opponent of the League who was not the least interested in making it workable. "If Lodge pursued a policy with which Borah disagreed, the Idahoan would go his own way—and probably take a significant fraction of the party with him." A party split! Possible loss of leadership to the wild man from the West with whom Lodge disagreed on most other issues! Such things were unthinkable, and so, with a powerful assist from the obstinate Presbyterian in the White House, world unity was sacrificed to party politics.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.*

Old Spanish Song

Estos mis cabellicos, madre;
Dos á dos me los lleva el aire.

Leaf and old paper race by together,
The edge of the year is beginning to fray,
And these fair hairs on my head, mother,
Two by two the wind blows them away.

Promise and dream whirl off in tatters,
The fading sun slants to the gust,
The shutter bangs, the weatherboard clatters,
The gourd on its vine scrapes in the dust.

This is it, there will be no other:
The tempest tears at the ends of the day,
And these fair hairs on my head, mother,
Two by two the wind blows them away.

SAMUEL YELLEN

New Books in Brief

Utopia with Profits

ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By Margaret Cole. Oxford. $3.50.

The world has always wondered how Robert Owen turned an early-nineteenth-century factory community into a kind of Utopia without sacrificing his profits. Owen said he did it by providing his workers with decent living conditions and explaining very clearly the advantages of moral behavior. It seems too simple, but too many observers have praised his work to leave any doubt of his success. The rest of Owen's career, like almost all social reform since his time, was an unsuccessful attempt to repeat his miracle. This new biography describes Owen's rise to wealth and fame, his failures at New Harmony in Indiana and elsewhere, his relations with the British trade-union movement, and his declining years as an admired but ineffective patriarch of reform. It describes a man who was both egotistical and selfless, a visionary and a bore, an inspired leader and a hopeless collaborator. Wherever town planning, progressive education, or industrial "human relations" are thought of, the influence of Owen is at work, for he was the first to suggest them. The theme of all his thought was the doctrine of human perfectibility, the fundamental idea of democratic government. In spite of Owen's many faults and confusions, Owenism remains the most confident expression of that idea.

All About Icons

RUSSIAN ICONS. Introduction by Philipp Schweinfurth. Iris Books (Oxford). $6.50.

Although the price of this small book is high, its fourteen full-page color plates are of superb quality, and they are supplemented by twelve others in monochrome, two of them details. The accompanying essay is a good if brief introduction to the nature and meaning of these icons, their source in Byzantine and earlier classical art, the composition of icon screens—which sometimes contained as many as eighty icons—and questions of technique, schools, and individual masters. The color plates, inserted in the text with detailed commentary on the opposite page, interrupt the flow of the text, but no publisher can be expected to group color plates at the end of a book.

Six of the plates, including three in color, are taken from originals in the magnificent collection of George R. Hann in Pittsburgh, which contains probably the finest concentration of Russian icons in the United States. Their rich reds, bronze greens, and parchment whites are wonderfully well reproduced.

Parable of Sin

BROTHER TO DRAGONS. By Robert Penn Warren. Random House. $3.50.

In 1811 Lilburn and Isham Lewis, nephews of Thomas Jefferson, butchered a slave who had smashed a pitcher prized by their dead mother. The murder (the flaw in man) and Jeffersonian idealism (the perfectibility of man) form the opposite symbols of Warren's long poem, a conversation piece occurring beyond time and place and involving all those whose lives were touched by the crime. It is, however, Jefferson and Robert Penn Warren, speaking in his own voice, who emerge as the principals. Warren concludes that one must accept the flaw in man as a starting point.

The poem, that is to say, is a parable of original sin. Even more interestingly, it may be read in terms of the Southern cavalier tradition, which, like Jefferson (as Warren interprets him), set its ideal so high that to subscribe to it was to fail. The intellectual attitudes consequent on that failure may well be the history of Southern thought. Lilburn's violence is certainly the violence of a Poe. Lilburn's desire to have a hurt to resist is common to Faulkner characters—or, sweetened, it could become Captain Carpenter. The way Warren's characters take refuge in alcohol, in bitterness, in intuitive certainties, or in wild sentimentality, is familiar behavior in Southern fiction. One is tempted to think that Warren has accomplished a précis of practically every Southern literary type in a single book.

Technically the poem seems loose, despite Warren's narrative skill. It may be that discursive poetry requires by its very nature some one element of formality, whether a tighter line or a tighter pattern. One must regret also a recurring echo of Eliot, and an amazingly direct sound of MacLeish in the long Meriwether Lewis passage.

Remembrance of Things Past

IN THE TWILIGHT OF SOCIALISM. By Joseph Buttinger. Praeger. $6.

This is a curious "history" of the Social Democratic Party of Austria by an astute participant-observer. It covers the period from the bloodshed in Vienna in February, 1934, to the Nazi conquest of the Ostmark, with a brief and confused sequel on the underground and the post-war resurrection. Its curiousness resides in a total absence of documentation and in the author's consistent ambivalence. He can never quite decide, even after 577 pages, whether he is writing an indictment or a eulogy of the Austrian Socialists and their leaders. E. B. Ashton's translation is competent, but the author's pseudo-dramatic style and heavy irony are tedious. With the exception of a handful of Ph.D. candidates, few Americans will wade through these turgid chapters—unfortunately for author and publisher. Yet the dilemmas and frustrations of European socialism deserve far more attention than they are currently accorded in America. Buttinger's book offers light, for those with patience to seek it out.

American Protestantism

THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES. By Winthrop S. Hudson. Harper. $3.75.

Dr. Hudson's book emphasizes the fact that "as the vigor and vitality of the churches decline, the pressure to call upon the state for help becomes almost irresistible." Its purpose is to define the Protestant American tradition historically. This is done with skill and brevity. It is good for Americans to know more of their indebtedness to seventeenth-century English Puritanism for a heritage of voluntary church membership and separation from the control of the state. The book is marred by its preoccupation with the claims of neo-orthodoxy and the alleged bankruptcy of the "new" theology. The social, economic, and scientific advances of the twentieth century are treated as secular threats rather than as allies of a free church.

The cure suggested by Dr. Hudson for the present spiritual poverty of American churches will seem unconvincing to millions of ethically sensitive Americans; it is a return to evangelical Christian doctrine divorced from any consideration of the great moral dilemmas of this century—poverty, hot and cold wars, fear and hatred on a planetary scale in a day of unsurpassed technological know-how that could build a good life for all. Even after a fairly sympathetic chapter on Walter Rauschenbusch, the social prophet, Dr. Hudson writes in a later section: "The work of Christ is not primarily to bind men together into one universal family but to relate men through faith to God."

An Italian Maugham

DINNER WITH THE COMMENDATORE. By Mario Soldati. Translated from the Italian by Gwyn Morris and Henry Furst. Knopf. $3.50.

"Dinner with the Commendatore" is made up of three stories as narrated by the Commendatore P. G. C., a retired opera impresario of international repute. The book introduces a new Italian author to American readers, Mario Soldati, who is well known in his own country as a director of mediocre films. Mr. Soldati is a better than average story-teller, a kind of Latin Somerset Maugham, and presents us with some curious and interesting people, but he rarely probes very far below the surface and when he does he is not convincing. The best of these tales is the last one, The Window, which gives a sharp portrayal of a charming, weak-willed ne'er-do-well who, for that very reason, is devastatingly successful with women. Soldati writes pleasantly and without effort, but this book is a far cry from the best Italian post-war fiction. The translation is excellent.

CORRECTION: In the review of "The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud," in *The Nation* of October 24, it was stated that the book was the first of two projected volumes. It is the first of a three-volume work.

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Theater

Freda Kirchwey

THE Ladies of the Corridor" (Longacre Theater) has so many merits that its one major fault should be disposed of at the start. This grim and interesting study of women alone, aging in well-padded frustration in a genteel New York hotel, seemed to me too pat and neat to establish fully its inner truth. The truth is there, but you long for a few loose threads, an ambiguity or two, some human inconsistencies to rumple up the pattern. The authors would scorn the contrived happy ending, but their multiple unhappy endings seemed contrived too. Perhaps all I'm saying is that Dorothy Parker and Arnaud D'Usseau are not Chekhov.

Their fault is, one must admit, almost wiped out of mind by the brilliant characterization of the three chief "ladies" by Edna Best, Frances Starr, and Betty Field, and by Harold Clurman's crisp, subtle direction. Every member of the cast performed well, singly and in the difficult coordination of action broken up into a succession of episodes in a series of rooms and halls. Not an easy business to integrate, either dramatically or physically.

But the play is the important thing. However constructed and presented, it has a theme and one that seems to me to have been missed by most early reviews. Of course it is about empty lives and the desperate expedients, the sad, frightening abnormalities that dominate and may destroy people who lead such lives. This is the obvious theme. But the authors were up to something more; I suspect them of having written a well-camouflaged morality play, a comment on a society that enjoins upon intelligent, energetic women a quarter-century or so of idle uselessness. What kind of a system is this, they seem to be asking, that makes it the normal, expected thing for men to spend their days piling up funds to enable the wives who outlive or divorce them to survive without any effort except that involved in "filling" empty time? One reviewer described Mrs. Nichols, played by Frances Starr, as "a character that looks colorless in the early scenes" but "becomes an admirable human being with strength of mind" as the play develops. This seems to me a misreading of the character which implies a misreading of the play itself. Surely Mrs. Nichols is not admirable or even quite human. She is a symbol of power and sharp intelligence narrowed to a ruthless, unscrupulous, sadistic concentration on the single object it can control—the son who is also attendant and nurse. Without overtly doing more than expose the corroding nature of this relationship, the authors were surely suggesting that both son and mother would have led effective, satisfying lives in a society that provided normal outlets for such ability as hers.

In a quite contrary sense, the "leading" lady, Lulu Ames—played with immense sympathy and imagination by Edna Best—was another example of conspicuous and unnecessary waste. Widowed, rich, and still possessed of good looks and all her faculties, she arrives on the scene prepared to enjoy the great city. But she too was defenseless. Having missed love, she demanded far too much of the pleasant facsimile of it that came her way. Her defeat was not just the end product of an unsuccessful marriage. It was invited also by her lack of any other relationship to life, any achievement or function or interest or devotion. No wonder love hurried out the door and Lulu went back to needlepoint.

The lurking presence of social criticism just off stage lends a necessary added dimension to what would otherwise be little more than a series of lively portraits hooked together by a rather obvious idea. It goes some way toward justifying even the "contrived" aspect of the people and their fates. What bothers me is the question whether I have arbitrarily injected this presence—this ghost of August Bebel—into the proceedings, since it seems to have been invisible to other witnesses; and the further question whether, if it is actually there, it could not have been made a little more manifest without going against the dictates of "good theater."

Records

B. H. Haggin

AT THE New York City Opera's performance of Von Einem's "The Trial," based on the Kafka novel, I found myself understanding as little of what was happening to Joseph K. as he did—only that he was being destroyed by a relentlessly hostile world for reasons and in ways beyond rational comprehension. It didn't matter, therefore, that I couldn't hear half or more of the words through the orchestra: what the music gave expressive force to was not the particular incidents or words but the terrifying general situation. And it did this not with the vocal recitative but with the powerful orchestral commentary—the effect of the work, for me, being that of a long orchestral crescendo which reached a shattering climax in the last scene. The staging of the work by Otto Preminger, the scenery of Rouben Ter-Arutunian, the lighting by Jean Rosenthal, the vocal and dramatic performances of John Druary, Phyllis Curtin, Lawrence Winters, and the rest of the cast, the playing of the orchestra under Rosenstock's direction added up to a production that is one of the company's most successful and distinguished achievements.

TWO SECULAR cantatas by Rameau, "Diane et Actéon" and "L'Impatience," are sung by Hugues Cuenod, tenor, with Robert Brink, violin, and Alfred Zighera, viola da gamba, under the direction of Daniel Pinkham, harpsichord (Lyrichord). The music is no more than pleasant, but Cuenod's sustained inflection of his unusual voice in the phrases is again an exciting experience. The French texts have many mistakes and are incorrectly translated.

The excerpts from Handel's opera "The Faithful Shepherd" performed under Lehman Engel's direction (Columbia) also are pleasant—especially the ones in which one hears the lovely soprano voice of Genevieve Warner. The lighter soprano of Lois Hunt also is agreeable; but the voices of the others are not; their sharp American t's in the Italian words are disturbing; and at times they are inadequately supported by nothing more than the cello's bass-line.

From London comes another of those objectionable LP medleys—this time of old Italian arias and German lieder sung by Irma Kolassi, mezzo-soprano. The Italian arias include the lovely "Amarilli mia bella" of Caccini and "Intorno all'idol mio" of Cesti, the moving "Lasciatemi morire" of Monteverdi, and charming lighter pieces by Falconieri, Paisiello, and Alessandro Scarlatti; the German songs Schumann's "Widmung," "Die Lotosblume," and "In der Fremde," and Schubert's "Der Musensohn," "Du bist die Ruh'," and "Der Erlkönig." I found the limited color of the voice monotonous in the German songs, but not in the Italian arias; and I suspect this was because of the greater life in the phrasing of the Italian pieces. No texts.

The baritone Fischer-Dieskau sings Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" cycle and some fine songs—Schubert's "Nacht und Träume," "Der Doppelgänger," "Du bist die Ruh'," "Fischermädchen," and "Der Erlkönig," Schumann's "Mondnacht"—in addition to a few of less consequence (HMV). The singing is very beautiful except in loud passages, in which the voice gets unpleasantly hard; and Fischer-Dieskau indulges in a melodramatic non-legato in "Der Doppelgänger," a whispered *war tot* at the end of "Der Erlkönig." The sound of his voice is distorted in the last song on each side.

The Songs of England sung by Jennifer Vyvyan, soprano (London), include several fine folksongs, of which "I Will Give My Love an Apple" is especially lovely and "Sweet Polly Oliver" is delightfully arranged by Benjamin Britten, and several fine art songs by Purcell, Arne, and the contemporary Antony Hopkins. Two by Michael Head and Herbert Howells are pretty; the rest by Liza Lehmann, Vaughan Williams, and Quilter I don't care for. They are sung well.

A London record of some of the music performed at the 1953 Aldeburgh Festival (England) offers an orchestral piece, Variations on an Elizabethan Theme by six contemporary English composers—Arthur Oldham, Michael Tippett, Lennox Berkeley, Benjamin Britten, Humphrey Searle, and William Walton—played by the Festival Orchestra under Britten, and three vocal works conducted by Imogen Holst: Arne's "Now All the Air Shall Ring," sung by Arda Mandikian and Gladys Whitred, sopranos, and the Festival Choir with the orchestra; his Ode in Honor of Great Britain, "Rule Britannia," sung by Alfred Deller, counter-tenor, Peter Pears, tenor, and Norman Lumsden, bass, with the chorus and orchestra; and Purcell's anthem "O Lord, Grant the Queen a Long Life," sung by Pears with the chorus and orchestra. The Arne pieces are pleasant; the Purcell is more impressive; the orchestral piece I don't care for. The performances are good, except that Pears's voice now has a strong quaver in its upper range. There is a strong hum on the side with the orchestral piece.

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Letters

Old Stock Illusion

Dear Sirs: Here is my commentary on the assumption, held in certain quarters, that only "old-stock" Americans have a true concept of what is good for America and must band together to keep it pure:

ANY "OLD STOCK" TODAY?

Join the party that is select,
Whose attitude remains correct
Toward the evils of intellect.
It's head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

Old-stock American plan
Relieves the feeling of also ran,
Reserves the vote for the gentleman.
It's aged in the wood, bound to be good
Head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

As leaders of society
We're models of propriety
In hypocritical piety.
It's hundred proof, wrong to spoof,
Aged in the wood, bound to be good,
Its head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

MARIE SIEN HALPENNY
San Antonio, Tex.

In Defense of S. D. A.

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be commended for publishing reports [issue of October 3] on three recent youth conferences in which the "silent generation" proved that it too has a voice which wants to be heard. As a delegate to the sixth annual convention of Students for Democratic Action in Philadelphia, I would like, however, to take exception to some points made by Mr. Smitheman.

Mr. Smitheman declared that the convention represented in microcosm the weaknesses of contemporary liberalism. He referred to the prevailing sectarianism, negativism, and lack of inspiring leadership. While these charges may apply to certain segments of the liberal movement, I feel that they unfairly characterize the deliberations of the convention and the programs evolved there.

It is true that since its founding six years ago S. D. A. has consistently adhered to a policy of non-collaboration with totalitarian groups of the far left and the far right. But regardless of the merits of such a policy, it has never bred the kind of confused sectarianism Mr. Smitheman describes.

His charge of negativism cannot be dismissed off-hand. Yet I was surprised that Mr. Smitheman failed to mention S. D. A.'s new Labor Cooperation Program, "Operation Brotherhood," and the educational program designed to encourage a critical reevaluation of "basic liberal values and long-range objectives." The Labor Cooperation Program is a bold attempt to pave the way for an eventual organic connection between the labor movement and the liberal youth movement; it ranges from summer projects for labor students in various industrial centers to student aid to striking unions. "Operation Brotherhood" was launched as a nation-wide drive to eliminate discriminatory clauses in fraternity and sorority constitutions and to remove other forms of bias from American campuses. To insure maximum success, S. D. A. is going to cooperate with other campus and national organizations, such as N. A. A. C. P. and A. D. L., wherever possible. The new educational program was given by its authors the significant name "Beyond the New Deal" and directly refutes Mr. Smitheman's contention that S. D. A. is merely repeating the rhetoric of the old New Deal days.

The leadership of an organization which originates such programs can hardly be accused of negativism. On the contrary, I was impressed with the leaders' and the delegates' conscious attempt to explore new ways to make S. D. A. a positive and inspiring liberal force on the campus.

Orange, N. J. CHARLES R. NAEF

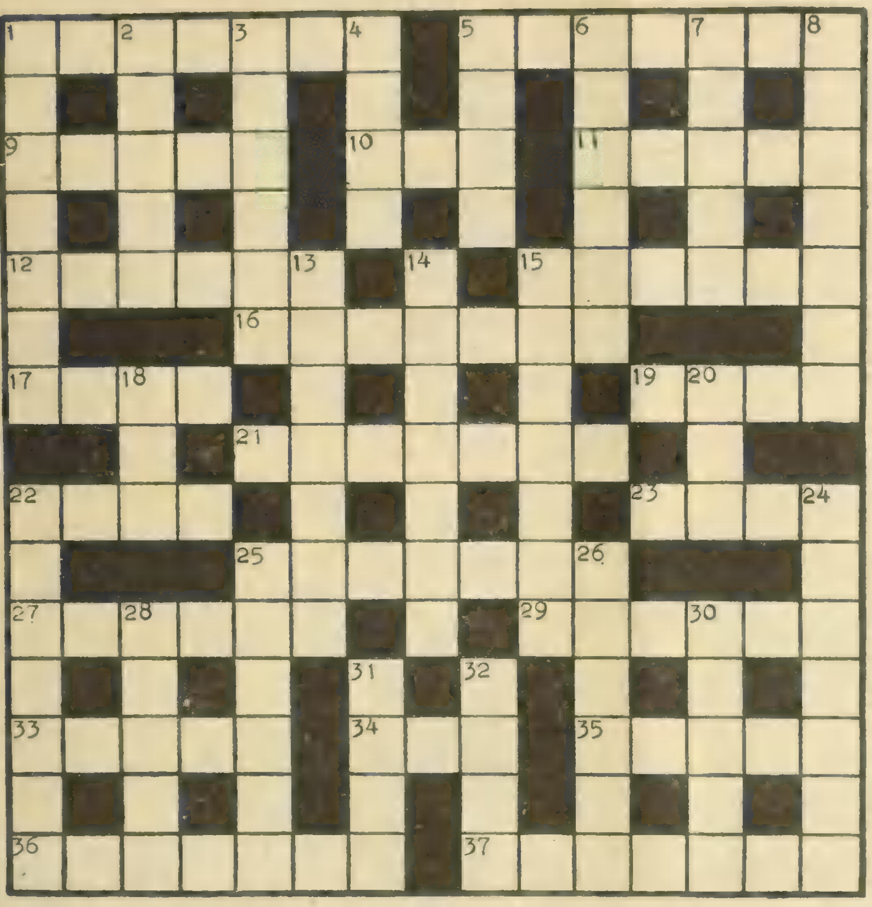
Puzzling World

Dear Sirs: Mr. del Vayo's article, Report on South Africa, in your issue of October 24, brought tears to my eyes. . . . How strangely things seem to link up! Here we were pompously celebrating the eighth anniversary of the United Nations, and in your same issue there appeared Will They Wreck the U. N.? by Mark Gayn, and then again, Ike's Nazi Guests, by Milton Friedman. What strange bedfellows we of the United States hug to our bosoms!

New York City EVA ROBIN

Crossword Puzzle No. 540

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Old medicines might imply an unsuccessful fisherman when I'm on to them. (7)
5 Set about to destroy something on the range. (7)
10 Fruit not 4 in the vernacular. (3)
11 Is it the habit of some people to cut in? (5)
15 Fiery red ant. (6)
16 Thus the trip begins, if you want to stay. (7)
17 The sort of style that's on top? (4)
21 It seems that the referee returns to make a decision in the ring. (7)
22 Wait—the sound of it is passed! (4)
23 and 19. What's behind the paddle could be assisted by a long-handled brush. (8)
25 One would hardly call it a quick conclusion! (4, 3)
29 Split between copper and silver in England? Nonsense! (6)
35 Bravery or brashness? (5)
36 Train. (7)
37 Distillation of rye sold by those of particularly high calling. (7)

DOWN

1 and 4 Not put out, and certainly not 18. (4, 3, 4)
3 Foil attacks? (6)
5, 33, 8, 12. Starting one dip after another? (3, 1, 5, 2, 5, 1, 5)
6 Is a scout so good, successively. (2, 4)
7 This weapon isn't exactly clean! (5)
13, 34 and 32. ∞ plus 1, in fourth dimension? (7, 3, 1, 3)
14 Wear away a stick in the middle. (7)
15, 9, and 27. Substituting Young for Hardy in the comedy scene? (1, 6, 3, 2, 6)
18, 20, 2 and 31. It isn't the Easter Bunny every year that's relatively angry! (3, 2, 1, 5, 4)
22 Almost every impression it gets is wrong. (7)
24 Killdeers, but not of French variety. (7)
25 Knock senseless (but not completely). (6)
26 Hummed, but not while working. (6)
28 One who tells life's tale, according to Macbeth. (5)
30 Incline or tend. (5)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 539

ACROSS:—1 STALAGMITE; 10 OCEANIC; 11 IN BRIEF; 12 TOUT; 13 SINGLE FILE; 15 NESTING; 16 RESOLVE; 17 NEWPORT; 20 ELOHIST; 22 BALUSTRADE; 23 OSSA; 25 EVASIVE; 26 MARTINI; 27 DODO; 28 POACHED EGG.

DOWN:—1 SHORTENING BREAD; 2 AVENUES; 3 ARNO; 4 and 6 MOCKING BIRD; 5 TRIGGER; 7 INITIAL; 8 DIFFERENTIATING; 9 OBSESSION; 14 MINOR SUIT; 18 WELLAND; 19 TORPEDO; 20 ENDEMIC; 21 INSPIRE; 24 FREE.

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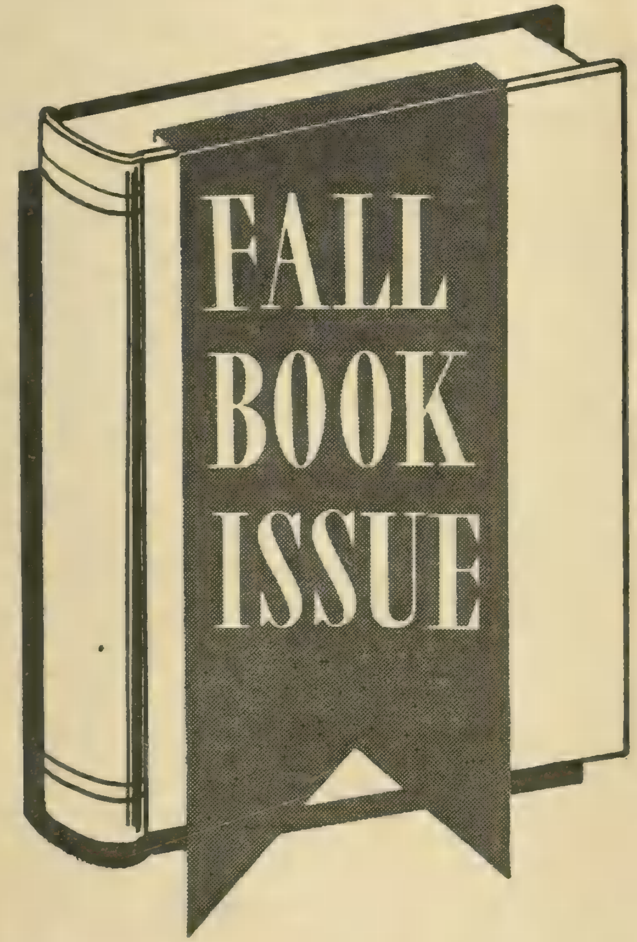

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EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

TWO weeks ago we asked readers how they liked the Ray Bradbury short story, The Garbage Collector, which appeared in our October 10 issue. Here's a brief run-down on some of the replies:

Stanley C. Richards of Chicago says tersely: "Gentlemen, No Fiction, Please!" Werner Landshoff of Manhattan agrees; says he's "definitely against short stories of any kind" in *The Nation.* "There is more important material for discussion of vital problems. . . . I do not need to be entertained to grasp the seriousness of our times."

Herbert N. Smith of Suffern, New York, says fiction is out of place but nevertheless he enjoyed the story "because garbage collectors are important people and interest in their status should be aroused. I'm sure we could get along indefinitely without one representative in Washington, but it would be calamitous to be without garbage collectors."

A Peekskill, New York, reader writes: "Fiction that pinpoints social defects and helps give us an objective view of our environment could have a place in *The Nation,* for it would enable us to see situations and problems stripped of pretense or glamour." He's not sure whether the Bradbury story meets those specifications.

More positive about the merits of the story is publisher Henry Schuman: "The Garbage Collector is precisely the kind of fiction that belongs in *The Nation,* for it is a highly successful artistic integration of story with social point. It should take its place with Address Unknown in every important short-story anthology of our time." (High praise—when you consider that Mr. Schuman is *not* Ray Bradbury's publisher.)

Clifford M. Turner of Wathena, Kansas, and Dr. Abraham Warsaski say that they enjoyed The Garbage Collector and want to see more like it.

. . . *NATION* contributor Fritz Sternberg will give a series of lectures at the Beverly-Fairfax Jewish Community Center, 8008 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The subject of Dr. Sternberg's first talk, on November 24, will be The Economic Crisis and Its Effect Upon United States Internal Policy. In other lectures he will deal with the effect of the economic crisis on American-Russian and American-Asian relations.

. . . "Rebels and Ancestors," the new book by Maxwell Geismar, one of our contributing editors and an outstanding critic, was one of 11 books (out of 130 titles named) which received five votes or more in the recent *Saturday Review* poll of critics on "books they consider worthy of the attention of discriminating readers."

. . . We're deeply appreciative of the recent letter from one of our Pennsylvania readers which accompanied a renewal of a subscription: "As so often happens within families," the reader wrote, "there is considerable difference of opinion politically among us. I am in sympathy with your editorial position and am grateful for the integrity and courage with which you maintain it. I hope your ability to continue publication on the same high level of intelligent appraisal of the American and world scene will never be hampered by financial or other hazards." MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Warren and Steinmetz

Dear Sirs: William Sommers pleased most San Diegans with his plug in your issue of October 10 for Paul W. White, local TV and radio editor, but I am sure that Mr. White has neither the intention nor the opportunity to become "a hurricane," and there are certain inaccuracies of fact and expression in reference to myself that should be corrected.

1. I am not ungrateful to Mr. White in this center of vicious and stupid Copley journalism for his tolerant recognition of news values, but it is surprising to learn that "he campaigned vigorously to get Governor Warren to kill a bill aimed solely at Dr. Steinmetz." Or is Sommers writing now of the summer of 1951, when I was out of the state?

2. Apparently, for he adds, "The Governor did so, and Dr. Steinmetz still teaches here." This is both untrue of 1953 and a non sequitur.

The Governor signed two bills during the early summer which were said to be aimed at me, both of them probably unconstitutional, but if he had not signed them he might not now be the Chief Justice of the United States. It is highly plausible, in the light of your instructive editorial [October 10] on the big opportunist, that Warren bought off in that way the Nixon-McCarthy opposition in his party.

3. Sommers goes on, "Did White agree with Steinmetz? Not at all." At the end of a paragraph describing me as another liberal he calls me "for some twenty years . . . the town radical"! I do not relish the sanctimonious ambiguity. On the air Mr. White had raised an illiberal question about my not knuckling under to the Velde committee during its spring exercises in Los Angeles, but otherwise he had acted as mystified by the cry for my scalp as anybody.

I have been a loyal state employee of California longer than Warren was. This has no relevance to foregoing matters unless and until there is an attempt to enforce against me the wicked bills that Warren signed into law. One defines "unprofessional conduct" to permit virtual disfranchisement of college professors and the other removes California employees from the protection of the Constitution in so far as the Fifth Amendment is concerned. Both bills were sponsored by San Diego solons in Sacramento. HARRY C. STEINMETZ
San Diego

The Citizen and the U. N.

Dear Sirs: I hope that Mr. Gayn's article in your October 24 issue, predicting a somewhat gloomy future for the U. N., proves a false prophecy. And I believe that it might. Here in Chicago bitter and subtle attacks on the U. N. by three of our daily papers seemed to spur citizens to finding out something about that "den of Communists in New York." And with the desire to learn has come a new understanding. We who work in the United Nations Association's Chicago office can testify to hundreds of requests for speakers on the United Nations and point to films that never cool off before they are handed to somebody else to use. And the great siege by those seeking information came when the attacks on the U. N. in this area were the sharpest.

I believe that a constant and steady supply of information is the only weapon that can be used against the hatemongers, crackpots, and special interests that desire the extinction of the United Nations. CECILE R. TRACE
Chicago

Volume 177, Number 20
New York, Saturday, November 14, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Dangerous Trieste

Though growling and twitching a little, Trieste was a sleeping dog; sane diplomacy would have let it lie. As the result of one of the most stupid political moves in recent years—the decision of the United States and Britain to turn over Zone A to Italy—Trieste is now a snarling, bristling issue with large potentialities for trouble. It has inflamed all the nationalist-fascist emotions latent in Italy, set off riotous demonstrations in both Italy and Trieste against the occupation authorities, chiefly the British, and given Marshall Tito a chance for a skilful triple play. Tito has emerged as an advocate of negotiations—on condition that the British-American decision be meanwhile suspended—and at the same time a stout defender of both the sanctity of agreements and the interests of Yugoslavia in the Trieste area. Premier Pella, of course, also agrees to negotiate—on condition that Zone A is turned over in advance to Italy. Presumably he would be willing to discuss allowing Yugoslavia some fragment of Zone B, which Italy also claims but which is at present solidly occupied by the Yugoslavs. By comparison Tito's conditions look modest and reasonable.

While tension mounts, the chance of a workable settlement diminishes. The best hope lies in a retreat by the two Western powers whose incredible decision managed to violate not only the Italian peace treaty but their 1948 promise to give the whole area to Italy—which also violated the treaty! Britain and the United States should now declare firmly that the decision will not be carried out until a conference has been held to discuss the future of Trieste with all the chiefly interested powers. Besides France, Austria should certainly be included, as well as Russia, which was a party to the agreement establishing Trieste as a free territory. Meanwhile order should be enforced upon super-heated patriots of both colors in Trieste and in Italy.

Another Rural Outcry

Secretary Benson's decision to close the seven regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service has aroused the ire of both Republican and Democratic governors and legislators, as well as of such national conservation organizations as the Emergency Committee on Natural Resources and the Izaak Walton League. The loudest and most persistent protest, however, comes from Waters S. Davis, president of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, who is telling the 1,300,000 members of his organization that the Administration plans to destroy the present dual soil-conservation system, which has served the country well. Under this system 2,300 soil-conservation districts were organized locally throughout the United States and run by local directors under state law. The Soil Conservation Service supplies specialists to aid members of the local districts to plan conservation; it also supplies heavy machinery. The farmer pays for this service, but he may in turn be recompensed in part by the Production and Marketing Administration. Most of our farmland is now within soil-conservation districts.

According to Mr. Davis, a conservative Democrat from Texas who used to be Republican chairman in Westchester County, New York, abolition of the regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service will subject the local districts to the bureaucratic control of the land-grant colleges and the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. He says also that the "blue book" prepared in Benson's office as a tentative outline of G. O. P. farm policy does not even mention conservation as a major objective; conservation becomes simply an item under agricultural education.

The President Behind the President

Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, has invited Secretary Benson to explain his soil-conservation policy before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. But one question that the Secretary is not likely to be asked concerns the role played in formulation of farm policy by Milton Eisenhower, younger brother of President Eisenhower and himself president of Pennsylvania State College, a land-grant institution. Students of national farm affairs insist that Milton, who believes strongly that federal agricultural policy should emphasize research and education, is the real author of the "blue book," whoever wrote the text. And these experts say that so long as Milton continues to have the ear of the President, no one in the Administration is going to pay any attention to the complaints of Mr. Davis, or the cattle-growers, or anyone else.

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Integrity at the U. N.

A willing slavey of the Washington witch-hunters, former U. N. Secretary General Trygve Lie disdained both the U. N. Charter and the Staff Regulations in his arbitrary handling of staff personnel. He left behind him a Secretariat ridden by fear, beset by inquisitors and talebearers, which looked eagerly to his successor to re-establish the dignity, independence, prestige, and sense of security without which no group of international civil servants can operate. But Dag Hammerskjold has proved a broken reed. What Lie sought to do in defiance of U. N. law, Hammerskjold intends to do "legally" by changing the law.

This is the only conclusion to be drawn from the Secretary General's recently published recommendations on personnel policy. He wants regulations changed so that he has authority to dismiss not only for incompetence, misconduct, or physical incapacity—this he already has—but also for "lack of integrity" or in "the interest . . . of good administration." Who is to define integrity? Mr. Hammerskjold. Who is to determine what constitutes a violation of the interests of good administration? Mr. Hammerskjold. Who is to decide what weight shall be given to evidence supplied by the McCarthys against an American employee? Mr. Hammerskjold. Indeed, so great is the discretionary power sought by the Secretary General that the U. N. Administrative Tribunal, originally created by the General Assembly as the court of last resort in personnel cases, is left with little to do except to rubber-stamp decisions, like a kind of board of notaries.

Under such a system there can be no security for any U. N. employee, even those with so-called "permanent" contracts. But even worse is the fact that Hammerskjold, in his haste to assure the McCarthys that no one will work for the U. N. who hasn't got "integrity," proposes to destroy the integrity of the U. N. itself. Meanwhile it comes as stunning anti-climax that the F. B. I. has now completed the investigation of 1,300 of the 1,700 American employees in the U. N.—and has come up with no information justifying reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of a single one of them.

Time for a Change?

In view of the meagerness of the data the amount of speculation and discussion about the recent elections in Wisconsin, New Jersey, New York City, and Virginia has been phenomenal. Seldom have a few special, local elections aroused such intense national interest. While it may be argued that the results do not reveal any clear-cut national trend, nevertheless they are of undeniable significance. In Wisconsin's Ninth Congressional District the vote was light and special factors were involved, of which the most important, perhaps, was the highly effective personal campaigning of Lester Johnson. Nevertheless, the significance of the vote as an indication of dissatisfaction among farmers and small-town elements with the performance of the Eisenhower Administration cannot be lightly dismissed.

IN THE New York City election, given the manner in which the campaign finally shaped up, the outcome was easily foreseeable. When Rudolph Halley failed to enter the Democratic primary, he unwittingly insured the nomination of Robert Wagner, Jr., who was certain to win in the three-cornered race that followed. Halley's candidacy was premised on the assumption that Vincent Impellitteri would win the Democratic nomination. Had this happened, the New Deal–Fair Deal elements in the Democratic Party would have been forced to support Halley, the nominee of the Liberal Party. As it turned out, these elements not only won the election but are now in control of the Democratic Party at the city and state levels. While the New York election was not fought on the basis of issues—although there were issues galore—the consequences are of major interest and importance. Carmine De Sapio, who in the peculiar scale of values that must be used to appraise Democratic bosses, rates several notches above the three borough leaders who supported Mayor Impellitteri, is now the chief sachem of Tammany Hall. With the official Democratic leadership vested in the New Deal–Fair Deal elements, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.'s, chances for the governorship next year have been notably enhanced.

The New York City elections also indicate that New York voters are taking a rather dim view of Governor Dewey's frantic efforts to disengage himself from the scandals which have beset the Republican Party in the Empire State. If the commission which the Governor has appointed to investigate the harness-racing scandals fails to question G. O. P. National Committeeman J. Russel Sprague and Westchester's "Boss" Bleakley, the investigation will be correctly dismissed as a whitewash. On the other hand, if the commission, as seems most unlikely, conducts a real investigation, the facts disclosed may well destroy the myth of Dewey the Gangbuster. Score the results as you will, it is clear that the Republicans are in trouble in New York.

In New Jersey the Democratic leaders themselves concede that the victory of Robert B. Meyner—the first Democrat to be elected governor in a decade—was largely due to public disgust over the breakdown of law enforcement under Governor Driscoll aided by the revelation that Paul Troast, the Republican nominee, had interceded in behalf of Joe Fay, the convicted labor extortionist now serving time in Dannemora Prison in New York. But the surprising victory of Harrison A. Williams, Jr., in the Sixth Congressional District, is something else again. To be sure, Williams was aided by Meyner's win, by a three-way split in the local Republican organization, and by other special factors. The district is about half "silk stocking" and half industrial. For such a district "Pete" Williams was an ideal candidate: he could wave a C. I. O. card at plant meetings—he once belonged to the Steel Workers—and balance a teacup with aplomb at suburban receptions. Democratic nominees are seldom quite this versatile. Nevertheless, it was a real upset. George Hetfield, the Republican nominee, had the support of the Newark *News*, Newark *Star Ledger*, and the Plainfield *Courier-News* in a district which has not sent a Democrat to Congress since it was formed in 1933. Last year this same district gave the liberal young Republican, Clifford Case, a majority of 54,000, yet Williams carried it by 2,000 votes. One reason he did, of course, was that the voters were annoyed with the Old Guard Republicans who had precipitated Case's resignation—to head the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic—when they refused to consider him for the governorship.

This upset cannot be offset by a slight increase in the Republican vote noted in Virginia, which may be readily accounted for by the fact that the Republican nominee was a forceful candidate who waged an aggressive campaign against a second-rater from Senator Byrd's inexhaustible stable of political hacks. In Chicago the Republicans claim a "smashing victory" in having won seven of thirteen contested Superior Court judgeships. But these wins were a by-product of one of the zaniest ballot mix-ups in the city's history; because of a weird technical snafu, few voters knew how to mark their ballots. In Philadelphia, both the Democratic and Republican machines appear to have cooperated splendidly in undercutting the reform administration of Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., but it should be noted that the vote was the lightest recorded in the last twenty years. Of much greater significance was the success of the Democrats in capturing control of previously Republican City Halls in Buffalo, Akron, Columbus, Davenport (Iowa), and New Haven. After this showing the Democrats should have little difficulty in filling their nearly exhausted coffers and in invigorating party activity.

MORE important, however, is the manner in which the results have been interpreted by the Republican high command. In the wake of the elections Senator McCarthy accused the Republican leadership of "ducking issues" by failing to attack the Democratic Party's affinity for "Communists, cronies, and corruption." The comment is significant. No doubt the right-wing Republicans, for whom McCarthy is now the chief spokesman, would like to see the President's political leadership discredited, the better to increase their chances of controlling the 1956 convention. Faced with this threat and disturbed by the recent elections, the President and his advisers have apparently decided to outflank McCarthy, and at the same time to escape from the serious troubles which now confront the Administration, by appropriating McCarthy's major tactic. The effect if not the intention of this maneuver will be a surrender by the President to the right wing of his party.

THIS is the clear meaning of Attorney General Brownell's extraordinary attack upon former President Truman. Never in our history, so far as we can recall, has an Attorney General ever before accused a former President of the United States of having appointed a person to high office knowing that person to be a spy. There is no ambiguity about Mr. Brownell's charge: the late Harry Dexter White was a Russian spy; he was appointed executive director for the United States of the International Monetary Fund by Mr. Truman after information had been conveyed to the latter that White was a Russian spy. And Mr. Brownell is careful to note that his speech was cleared by the President. Moreover, "a high Administration source" has let it be known that other accusations of the same sort will be forthcoming. It seems clear, therefore, that Mr. Truman is entirely correct in saying that the Republicans are now engaged in a desperate effort to offset the results of the New York and New Jersey elections. And he is right in adding, "They'll stop at nothing, lies or anything else, to accomplish their purpose. They're scared. They're desperate."

Frankly we are glad that Mr. Brownell has made his accusation and that the President has approved his making it. For the first time, now, we may have a chance to see just what part the F. B. I. and its director, J. Edgar Hoover, have played in the post-war witch hunt. There should be a full open hearing on the charges, and the first witness should be Mr. Hoover, who by Mr. Brownell's account knowingly permitted a Russian spy to hold high public office without making public disclosure of the fact. If the charges are true, then Mr. Hoover should be removed from office for his failure to inform the public that Mr. Truman was consorting with spies and traitors; if the charges are not true, then the F. B. I. stands in need of a more efficient and responsible director. How Mr. Brownell's charges are disposed of thus becomes the test of this basic proposition: can the highest-ranking law-enforcement official in the government accuse a former President of employing spies and traitors and not be forced to prove his charges or face removal from office? We shall have something more to say about this statement of Mr. Brownell's; here it is enough to note its significance as evidence of G. O. P. panic.

It was part of Mr. Brownell's intention, of course, to make headlines that might influence the November 10 special election in the Twenty-fourth Congressional District of Los Angeles. As this issue goes to press, the results are not yet known. The Democratic candidates were Irving Markheim, a nobody, and George Arnold, a young lawyer of impressive liberal family connections: his father is Judge Thurman Arnold; his father-in-law, Drew Pearson. Ordinarily Arnold would have rated little chance to win, but a special factor favored him in the campaign: the split of the Republican vote between two fairly strong contenders—Assemblyman John Collier and Assemblyman Glenard Lipscomb. Collier belongs to the Warren-Knowland wing of the party, Lipscomb to the Nixon-Knight faction—he was executive secretary to Nixon in last year's campaign, and Murray Chotiner, Nixon's Jim Farley, ran his campaign. Every effort was made to induce Collier to withdraw, but the bitterness of the Nixon-Knowland feud and his own annoyance at the way he was pressured kept him in the race. Lipscomb's voting record in the state legislature shows a remarkable adherence to the views of Artie Samish, California's well-known liquor lobbyist now on trial in San Francisco for income-tax evasion.

This election may test the effectiveness of the McCarthy-Brownell tactics. At an important public meeting a week or so ago both Lipscomb and Collier defended McCarthy in the most enthusiastic terms and received scarcely a ripple of applause; but when George Arnold denounced McCarthy at the same meeting he received a long ovation. More recently, the Republicans have attempted to smear Arnold by charging that he was once a member of Americans for Democratic Action!

AN interesting aspect of the New York City election is the resignation of Vito Marcantonio from the American Labor Party after sixteen years' membership and long service as state and county chairman. Clifford T. McAvoy, the nominee of the A. L. P., received only 54,372 votes but, according to Marcantonio, might have received twice as many had it not been for "a minority group which wouldn't even support its own candidate"—an obvious reference to the Communist Party. Unwilling to attempt a purge of this minority which had flirted first with Halley and then with Wagner, Mr. Marcantonio very sensibly decided to resign. This latest débâcle would seem to mark the final break-up of the A. L. P. The Liberal Party fared much better, polling the second highest vote in its history; but its prestige has been seriously impaired by reason of the fact that it was left in the embarrassing position of opposing a nominee of the Democratic Party who had the active backing and indorsement of Adlai Stevenson, Harry S. Truman, Averell Harriman, Senator Lehman, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

When Maury Maverick left Washington, after a recent visit, with the remark that it was "time for a change" he spoke as a prophet. Surely it is time for a change when an Attorney General of the United States indulges in such offensive political tactics as those which Mr. Brownell has used. McCarthy could do no worse.

Alvarez del Vayo

The Search for Left-Wing Unity

Paris

IS A new popular front possible? The question is one that many Frenchmen and some foreign diplomats have suddenly started asking, and it is of more than mere ideological interest. Many things depend on the answer: the replacement of the conservative coalitions which have ruled France since first the Communists and then the Socialists left the government by a new center-left combination; the kind of man that will succeed President Vincent Auriol, who has this week reiterated his decision not to be a candidate or accept reelection in December; the future of E. D. C. and of all the plans of the Atlantic coalition. The issue is therefore too important to be discussed in terms of emotion and prejudice.

All the more so, since the man who has given new life to the popular-front idea is about the last politician one could have expected to win the good-will of the left. It is "the man of Munich," "the Premier who in 1939 robbed the Communist deputies of their parliamentary immunity"—to select but two of the many descriptions the Communist press has applied to Edouard Daladier. Only the other day at the rally organized by the Communists at the Porte de Versailles to protest against the European army, when it was announced that a message from Daladier would be read, sounds of dissent and protest rose from the audience. None the less, the same crowd vigorously applauded the Daladier message itself. And only forty-eight hours later he received such stormy applause from the Communist ranks in the Chamber of Deputies that a less experienced politician might have been embarrassed.

What is the secret of Daladier's new popularity? Other public men, belonging to the same party and less vulnerable than he, have attacked the European army—Edouard Herriot, for example. The answer is that Daladier is the first non-Communist, even anti-Communist, politician and the first of the few men who have made history on a world scale—though by no means always in an admirable fashion—to break through the ring of political blackmail which has been paralyzing the left. This blackmail consists in abusing, denouncing, and ruining the career of any man with standing in the country who dares express the same opinion as the Communists or—an even more serious matter—speaks at a meeting also addressed by Communists.

Daladier has countered this long-successful reactionary tactic with the brutal vehemence he has always displayed when attacked for taking a position he considers politically sound. To the communiqué of the executive committee of his party which, without using his name, reproached him for having sent his message to the Porte de Versailles meeting, he made this reply: "On the E. D. C. I am of the same opinion as the Count of Paris [the heir to the French throne], General de Gaulle, and Maurice Thorez [the head of the Communist Party]." And he added: "I repeat what I have said in the Assembly: I shall continue my action against the disguised rearmament of Germany, which can only lead to a third world war, side by side with all those who are opposed to it, whatever their political party or ideology."

Today Daladier is in a position to play a part in the election of the successor of President Auriol, an election which, as the London *Times* puts it, "is no mere formal decision but one in which the world, as well as France, has a high stake." The ex-Premier can deliver 120 votes—Communists and the Radicals who follow his lead—to any candidate opposed to a European army.

But the "Daladier case" is only a single symptom, though the most publicized one, of a new development in French politics. Another former target of the Communists, Jules Moch, once Socialist Minister of Defense and of the Interior, was also applauded by them when he protested against the expulsion of certain students, accused of Communist ties, from the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, a school for the training of higher civil servants.

The Communists, on their part, continue their policy of *la main tendue*—"the outstretched hand." The contempt in which until quite recently they held the neutralists represented by *l'Observateur* and its editor, Claude Bourdet, is well known. But it was precisely to this paper that Maurice Thorez granted his most important interview after his return from Moscow. Confirming the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on October 23, Thorez declared that the French Communists are ready to make many concessions as the price of rallying a strong opposition to the E. D. C. But Thorez also emphasized the need of broadening that platform and seeking agreement among the forces of the left and center on many other issues, such as wages, production, the protection of French interests, and so on.

None of this should be taken to mean, however, that a new popular front is an immediate political possibility. It is not. Events are certainly moving faster than many people would have thought possible, but there are many obstacles still to overcome, not the least being Socialist reluctance to march with the Communists. The Socialist organ, *Populaire*, is today more severe in its attitude toward the Communists than many conservative newspapers. Former Communists among the Socialists are the most intransigent. One of the few Socialists won over to the idea of collaboration among all the groups of the left told me the other day: "I can permit myself the luxury of advocating a popular front because I am a right-wing Socialist; and I have had no family quarrel with the Communists. But just as you say *Cherchez la femme* in a dramatic situation where only men are visible, so you can now say *Cherchez l'ex-Communiste* if you want to find the key factor in the division of the French left."

BIG-GOVERNMENT BOGY

Who'd Gain by Smallness? . . *by Grant McConnell*

THE American people today are being subjected to a campaign which threatens gains as old as this century—gains achieved with what not so long ago was regarded as finality. I refer to the campaign for decentralization of the federal government. "Big government" is the horror with which the campaigners seek to make our flesh creep. Only now and then do we catch the names of the leaders; they are the oil companies, the lumber companies, the stockmen, and the private utilities. At times it seems as if somewhere there must be a coordinating office directing the campaign, so encompassing is the drive. Even the voices of prominent liberals are heard in the chorus denouncing bigness in government.

It is not surprising that particular groups which stand to gain influence by decentralization are found in this "grass roots" campaign. But it is strange to see those who have stood firmly on the side of conservation, who have championed the fair distribution of both the burdens and the benefits of government, rushing to present the arguments of others whose purposes are far more narrow and specific. Not all the arguments are on one side. Nevertheless, it behooves all of us, particularly liberals, to weigh the costs as well as the benefits of any scheme for decentralizing the government.

The strongest argument for decentralization is that large organizations are slow to move. A second is that large organizations are wasteful; apparently size does not bring the same advantages to government as to the A. and P. Third, it is said that possession of a great deal of power breeds incompetence and corruption. This belief is based partly on the fact that greater competence is required to manage a large than a small organization. The corrupting aspect of power, again, is familiar, although some powerful men, Lincoln to name one, have been uncorrupted. A fourth argument, that centralized government removes administrators far from their actual field of operations, tends to undervalue the changes which the airplane and the telephone have wrought. Nevertheless, it is often taken as an explanation for the lack of human understanding shown by administrators for the people at the bottom. The arrogance of office is a real problem, but there is little reason to associate it only with large organizations. Indeed, it can be argued that the worst offenders are the little bureaucrats. Actually this is an evil of bureaucracy, and the size of the organization has little to do with its cause or cure.

THE FIFTH argument is by all odds the most important. It is so important, indeed, that it dwarfs all the others. It is the assertion that big government cannot be controlled by the citizens, that it is irresponsible government. Just what is the truth of the matter? Here the question must be asked: A responsible government is responsible to whom? If the responsibility is to a particular locality, there can be little doubt that administration or government from a distance is likely to decrease it, since the distant officer will have a responsibility to other localities as well. Yet beyond this question lies another which is more important. What is the proper unit to which responsibility is to be related? What basis is there for choosing the neighborhood, the county, the state, the nation? All are in some sense abstractions.

We seem to be forgetting that this fundamental problem is one with which the nation has been struggling for its entire history. The framers of the Constitution gave it deep thought. Probably no one has dealt with it more searchingly than James Madison, who said:

> The smaller the society, the fewer probably will be the distinct parties and interests composing it; the fewer the distinct parties and interests, the more frequently will a majority be found of the same party; and the smaller the number of individuals composing a majority and the smaller the compass within which they are placed, the more easily will they concert and execute their plans of oppression. Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other.

Thus, in his own time Madison saw the danger of rule by small majorities which would have the inclination and power to behave in an overbearing fashion. What we perceive today is that, by the very same route traced by Madison, groups much smaller than majorities can effectively grasp the machinery of government and make it do their bidding. Decentralization of government is one of the most effective devices available to enable highly organized interest groups to seize power.

There is a rule of politics which Elbridge Gerry applied in a special and classic fashion. Nearly everyone has

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heard of the gerrymander, the device by which shrewd party politicians insured the victory of their party by the way they drew the lines of their constituencies. The rule is this: it is always possible to make your own minority the majority if you can draw the boundaries of the unit of government sufficiently small. The gerrymander is only a special form of this rule.

FOR THOSE who are inclined to pay the price of minority government and heightened influence for organized interest groups in the hope that by decentralization they will forestall strong national political power, there is a further consideration. In our society geographical lines are less important than economic lines. By the familiar device of log-rolling, interest groups which have nothing in common but are not antagonistic can form alliances on a national scale which amount to a centralization of power much more threatening than any that can come from geographical centralization. This is occurring at the present. In time it could amount to class rule. After all, there was more than coincidence in the facts that feudalism and decentralization went together and that nationalism and democracy arose at the same time.

Perhaps this is abstract. However, the persistence with which many good liberals cling to the dogma of small government units as the essence of democracy makes some analysis necessary. These liberals find themselves in a dilemma: they want little government but find themselves arrayed alongside the interest groups that would strip us of our national heritage of land, power sites, timber, oil, and other natural resources and constrict the social services which bitter depression taught us were necessary. They ought to know that they are on the wrong side of the fence and why.

In actual practice today can it be doubted that if the forests were given to the states, the influence of the lumbermen would be vastly increased? Is an oil company larger in Baton Rouge or in Washington? Will the Pacific Gas and Electric Company have more influence in California's Central Valley project if that project is operated by the federal or by the state government? Not a great deal of subtlety is required to answer these questions. They are evaded by liberals only because of an outmoded and mistaken dogma.

One more point sometimes made by the advocates of little government is worth attention. It is that only in small units is participation in government possible. Only when your leader is a neighbor can you watch him; only when the group is small can discussion operate. Here we have two persistent delusions about our democracy. The first is that we know more about local affairs than we do about national affairs. Yet while most citizens know who is President, who their Senators are, even their Congressmen, how many know their state senators, their assemblymen, their aldermen?

The second delusion is that we can conduct the affairs even of a small city or a county by discussion. This is the delusion of direct democracy. Maybe direct democracy would be desirable. Nevertheless, it is impossible, and we don't even in theory rely on it. We have representative government and hope to secure responsibility by a party system. We ought not to sabotage what we have by acting on a theory that is both illusory and not our own.

In some senses we are not yet a national community. It is a wrench perhaps for a resident of Wyoming, say, to acknowledge that a New Yorker has an interest in the mountains of his state; it may be hard for a logger to comprehend that a city dweller is concerned with the trees that to him seem to beg for cutting. Yet both are true. By letting men of other localities and other interests share in the determination of policies affecting our own localities and interests, we are giving up some of our voice in matters of importance to us. But they are also matters of importance to others. We should not forget that it was a *nation* which our forefathers brought forth upon this land. The government they created was intended to be a government for *all* the people.

NOBODY'S BUTLER

Except Maybe McCarthy's . .

Odell M. Smith

Baltimore, Md

THE people of Maryland in 1950 astounded the whole country when they cashiered the mighty Millard E. Tydings and tendered the seat he had occupied in the Senate for thirty years to a Baltimore lawyer who up to that time had achieved no reputation, even in his own state, beyond that of a modest success in the practice of law.

When Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., reporting on that campaign a few weeks ago (October 16), announced that the Department of Justice could find no evidence of a violation of federal laws in the Maryland election, John Marshall Butler, who accomplished what Franklin D. Roosevelt was unable to accomplish in his 1938 "purges," said he was "very happy to hear the news," and in one of his rare pronouncements upon this now celebrated election declared there was "nothing wrong in that campaign."

Of course there was nothing in the Brownell verdict to warrant such a sweeping conclusion. The Attorney General was very careful to state that his investigation disclosed no "public offense defined by federal statute." And Senator Butler will be fortunate indeed if by

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1956 he is able to convince his constituents that there was really nothing wrong in that campaign.

The people of Maryland knew little of the man John Marshall Butler when they elected him Senator in November, 1950. They and the rest of the country have learned a great deal about him since. Today the national spotlight is on him as author of the Butler bill to hand over to the Subversive Activities Control Board the responsibilities for "policing" trade unions. [This bill, which could affect profoundly the independence of organized labor, will be analyzed in next week's issue by Laurent B. Frantz, co-author of Does Silence Mean Guilt? The measure is scheduled for early committee hearings.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

IN THE winter and spring of 1951 a Senate subcommittee of two Republicans and two Democrats was given the task of inquiring into some of the shady aspects of the Butler-Tydings campaign. They reported that they found, on the Butler side, "two campaigns within one," describing the one as a "dignified 'front-street' campaign conducted by the candidate Butler in his speaking coverage of the state." The other, they said, was a "despicable 'back-street' type of campaign . . . conducted by non-Maryland outsiders" in a manner "designed to undermine and destroy the faith and confidence in the basic American loyalty of a well-known figure." That figure was, of course, former Senator Tydings.

At the time that this body of his peers was passing judgment on him John Marshall Butler already had taken his seat in the Senate. It was five months after the election but was the first opportunity Maryland voters had had to view the sordid back street in which most of the campaign had been conducted. Until that time they had not known that the inexperienced Mr. Butler virtually had deserted his headquarters, leaving it in the hands of a clever Chicago press agent who took orders from Senator Joseph McCarthy and a niece of Colonel Robert McCormick, of the Chicago *Tribune*. Some of them had seen the scurrilous campaign "flier," "From the Record," which questioned the loyalty and patriotism of the archtory, Tydings, but had not known that it was the handiwork of Senator McCarthy, printed on the presses of Colonel McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald*. Nor had they known before that it was in fact Senator Owen Brewster, subsequently rejected by his own Maine Republican constituents, who had selected Butler to be Senator.

In short, the people of Baltimore, Frederick, Kitzmiller, and Pocomoke City never before had been told that it was Jon Jonkel, the Chicago press agent, who combined the McCormick brains, the McCarthy cunning, and the money of Texas and Oklahoma oil millionaires to elect a Republican Senator from Maryland.

Senator Butler

To his credit, it can be said that the part of Mr. Butler's campaign conducted in the open was, as he said it would be at the outset, "vigorous but completely honest." His speeches were dignified discussions of the issues of the day. He pounded hard at the Truman Administration, emphasizing, as was to be expected, the part Senator Tydings played in that Administration. He accused the Tydings committee of a "whitewash" in its investigation of Communists in the State Department, but so did—and do—many others. And while the validity of that charge may still be uncertain, it is doubtful whether even Senator Tydings, vigorously as he had denied it, would seriously contend it was not a proper subject for debate.

On the basis of this open record it should have been simple enough for Senator Butler to clear himself of every trace of suspicion had he chosen to repudiate, or even to recognize, some of the errors committed in his name. In their report the four Senators of the subcommittee—Hendrickson of New Jersey and Smith of Maine, Republicans, and Monroney of Oklahoma and Hennings of Missouri, Democrats—gave every indication that they would have been pleased to absolve him of all guilt and place the blame upon others.

But this the Senator would not do. He named the man who supervised preparation of the disreputable campaign tabloid as his first administrative assistant. He made no effort to explain why, in violation of Maryland law, he, a lawyer who could be presumed to know that law, appointed a campaign manager not legally a resident of the state. And he insisted that Jon Jonkel, who was convicted and fined $5,000 for the offense, was "one of the ablest and finest men I've met."

It was almost on a note of sadness that the four Senators of the subcommittee concluded their report. "To this date," they said, "Senator Butler has not disclaimed responsibility for the tabloid, the fake photograph, or any other aspect of his campaign under investigation."

IN THE END they seemed unable to decide whether to scorn or pity John Marshall Butler. They said, on the one hand, that there was "no specific evidence" that Mr. Butler had full knowledge of the acts committed by Jonkel and others, or that he was aware of the "illegal manner in which his campaign manager [Jonkel] handled the Butler campaign finances." On the other hand, they said that although he could "escape the legal responsibility for these acts of his agents," he must assume the moral responsibility for allowing the campaign to sag to the "low level of exploiting the doubt as to the loyalty of former Senator Tydings." And they noted the "ample evidence" that Mr. Butler had personal knowledge of publication of the tabloid—a campaign tour de force which was described by Senator Butler's own campaign treasurer, Cornelius P. Mundy, as "stupid, puerile, and in bad taste," and which, as the committee observed, was "too odious even" for Jonkel.

It was in this four-page tabloid that appeared the now infamous composite photograph, faked by a McCormick-trained managing editor to give the impression that Senator Tydings was in intimate accord with Communist Earl Browder.

Miss Jean Kerr, now Mrs. Joseph McCarthy, told the four Senators, all of whom were obviously revolted by the paper, that it represented to her "the type of literature that should go out in campaigns." "The voters," she said, "should be told the truth about what is going on, and certainly this did it."

Incidentally, the McCarthy wedding party in Washington some weeks ago was somewhat like a curtain call for the bit players in this 1950 Maryland political tragi-comedy. The bride herself, in addition to the refreshing remarks about the tabloid, was, in the words of the subcommittee, a "courier of funds and information, delivering campaign contributions from Washington to campaign headquarters in Baltimore and, under the direction of Jonkel, contacting printers of campaign literature in both cities."

The matron of honor, Mrs. Robert E. Lee—wife of the new member of the Federal Communications Commission—was the "Mrs. Rex Lee" in whose name a separate bank account was established in Washington for Butler campaign contributions, the actual distribution of which, the subcommittee said, "has never been accurately determined."

A bridesmaid, Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, was that niece of Colonel McCormick who subsequently married the managing editor who put together the faked Tydings-Browder photograph. And one of the ushers was Ray Kiermas, who set the stage for the "midnight ride" of a Baltimore printer named William Fedder—a Falstaffian episode of the campaign in which the printer, in the words of Senator Tydings, was "virtually kidnapped" by three of McCarthy's strong-arm men in a dispute over the printing of some campaign literature.

WITH ALL these facts, it may be more difficult than Senator Butler thinks to convince Maryland that there was nothing wrong in the campaign. Legal or not, the events were of such nature as to injure the pride of Maryland, whose people are of a temperament still Southern enough and provincial enough to resent intrusion. Many who might be inclined to overlook the unlawful aspects of the campaign would refuse to forgive Senator Butler for allowing himself to become captive to crafty and unscrupulous Middle Western outlanders.

John Marshall Butler was no great Maryland hero, even after the impressive victory over Senator Tydings. But he has been held in high esteem in Baltimore, where he was born and has lived. Certainly before 1950 nothing even remotely suggesting the irregular had ever been associated with his name. He had modest beginnings, and his career up to the time he was elected to the Senate was unspectacular.

As a boy he sold newspapers, was an office boy, and worked for $3 a week in a mattress factory. He was a private with the A. E. F. in France in 1918, and on returning from the war went to Johns Hopkins University for two years. He was a star tackle on the Hopkins football team. He married into a wealthy and distinguished Maryland family and, in Baltimore at least, achieved some reputation as a lawyer.

In appearance he is poised and handsome—180 well-distributed pounds on an erect six-foot frame. He has deep blue eyes under heavy eyebrows and lashes, graying sandy hair, and a youthful ruddy face. One of the earlier mottoes of the Butler campaign was: "He Looks Like a Senator." It was discarded after a few weeks' trial, not because it was inane, but because the astute minds that perfected the technique of the "big doubt" understood well enough that it would take heavier armament to dislodge the redoubtable Senator Tydings. ("It might be an exaggeration," said the subcommittee in its report, "to call this 'back-street' campaign a 'big-lie' campaign. But it is certainly no exaggeration to call it a 'big-doubt' campaign. In fact . . . Jon M. Jonkel himself characterized the campaign strategy as 'exploiting the big doubt'.")

Since Senator Butler and the Republican Governor Theodore R. McKeldin are now the dominant political figures in this "marginal" state, it is interesting to compare the careers and personalities of the two men. Both were poor city boys, resourceful and ambitious enough to educate themselves in night schools. Both became lawyers, but McKeldin chose politics and the public tribune as a foundation for his career. Butler's main interest was in law as a profession. McKeldin is warm-hearted, gregarious, one of the multitude. He preaches from Protestant pulpits, carries a rosary, and fasts on Yom Kippur. Butler cuts a good figure at the country club but looks uncomfortable when, like all Maryland politicians, he must shake hands with an oyster shucker.

Likewise, in political orientation the two are poles apart. McKeldin was a Republican maverick until he proved to the bosses that the strongest man in politics is the one who can command the most votes on election day. He was first a Dewey man and then an Eisenhower man—an internationalist whose views on foreign policy have been much closer to Dean Acheson's than to Colonel McCormick's. Since Butler has been in the Senate he has gravitated toward the conservative, isolationist, Middle Western wing of the party. His attitude toward Taft was that of a hero-worshiper. His closest associates in the Senate now are Dirksen, Capehart, Welker, Millikin, and McCarthy.

THE MARYLAND senior Senator has built no "labor record" as such, or had not until he drafted the bill to give the Subversive Control Board power to outlaw unions designated as Communist-dominated, accused former Secretary Martin Durkin of shielding "New Dealers and crypto-socialists" in the Labor Department, and embarked upon his most recent role of leader of a Senatorial "task force" to chase the remaining Communists out of the unions. The C. I. O. Political Action Committee, with its own special yardstick, has him tagged "wrong" on just about every vote he has cast on such matters as taxes, general welfare, and economic controls. Union locals back home, in their estimate of the Senator, have given less attention to statistics of performance and relied more heavily upon instinct and general impression. It is no secret, even to Senator Butler, that they do not trust him. One C. I. O. official, comparing Senator Butler with his junior colleague, Senator J. Glenn Beall, who has never pretended to be a favorite of labor, said: "Beall usually votes against us, but he is friendly and gives us what we think is a fair hearing. We can't even talk to Butler."

Senator Butler is considered generally, by Republicans and Democrats alike, as the most vulnerable of all public officeholders in Maryland. It is a little strange, then, that he has done apparently nothing since 1951 to bolster his weak points. With none of McKeldin's talent for vote-getting, he has made no move to capture the imagination of the masses. His appointments have been unpopular, strengthening the conviction of Republican ward-heelers that he has no interest in maintaining the party organization. Strangest of all is his persistent enmity toward Governor McKeldin. By all accounts, the ill feeling is intensified by Butler's headstrong and unrealistic assumption that his position as a United States Senator entitles him to the highest voice in party councils.

It is safe to predict that unless he improves his position considerably, Senator Butler will be a prime target for the ambitious in both parties by 1956.

RUSSIA'S E-BOMB

The Real Threat Is Economic

by T. Balogh

London

DR. ADENAUER'S victory in West Germany forces us to consider once more whether the West's almost exclusive concentration on the military aspects of the Soviet threat may not be a tragic mistake leading the democracies into war and ruin and bringing ultimately the triumph of totalitarianism.

German rearmament was decided on in the autumn of 1950, when in the words of Walter Lippmann it was thought that "what happened in Korea could be taken as a rehearsal in miniature of what would probably happen in Europe." Even in 1950 this conclusion was based on fears rather than facts. Whatever may have been the exact sequence of events in Korea or their motivation, the story of the Berlin blockade certainly did not indicate that Russia was preparing military aggression. Then, when Western military preparedness was at its lowest point, was the time for attack; but Russia climbed down. And it made no attempt to overrun Tito even before he had the West's backing.

Since then the rearmament of the West in conventional weapons has gone far enough to readjust the balance of power. The military reasons for the near panic in the West have disappeared. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the original purpose of the United States action in Korea has been achieved. Moscow and Peking have learned that further probing for weak spots in the outlying regions of the Western world will lead to full-scale war. Already before the death of Stalin the signs showed that Korea was an exception to the rule. Since then Malenkov has granted substantial concessions to the consumer in Russia and the satellite countries, and further costly efforts will be made to increase food supplies. Expenditures on conventional arms—excluding the atom bomb—have not been stepped up. At present, therefore, it seems to be the planned civilian economic achievements of the Soviet Union—hitherto completely ignored in Western economic and military strategy—which threaten the cohesion of the Western world. This threat, together with the spectacular change in Soviet diplomacy, suggests that it has become imperative for the Western powers to reconsider their strategy.

A CORRECT appraisal of the Soviet economic system and its potentialities is not easy for us. All our traditions revolt against acknowledging its tremendous dynamism. Success in the economic field could surely not accrue to a system so cruel and despotic; it must be reserved for free private enterprise and the rule of law. That economic success might not in itself be sufficient proof of moral excellence is too disturbing a thought.

Attempts are continually being made to demonstrate the failure of Bolshevik economics—especially by disillusioned ex-Communists like Koestler—by pointing out that consumption standards have not been raised, and have even been lowered, under the regime. This argument fails to take account of the fact that after 1932 the Russians concentrated on armaments. The startling success of the Soviet war effort showed how dangerously misleading had been the ex-Communist appraisal of Soviet economics. At the height of the war Russia produced almost 50 per cent more munitions than Great Britain, despite the fact that the Germans had overrun and destroyed almost half of its manufacturing capacity. This contrasts sharply with Russia's negligible output of munitions in the First World War.

No doubt Soviet statements must be taken with more than a grain of salt, but we must not fall into the opposite error of dismissing them out of hand. Western experts have been helped by the acquisition of a copy of a pre-war Russian plan which confirms their methods of correcting Soviet statistics and enables them to form an adequate if not wholly accurate judgment of Soviet economic developments. After correction for overstatements the evidence indicates that the annual increase in total Russian output has been at least 6 or 7 per cent, compounded. It might be as high as 9 per cent. The rate of growth of manufacturing alone has been possibly as high as 11 per cent. This means that Russian production is doubled every twelve years at the longest. The annual increase in American manufacturing capacity since the war has been roughly 6 per cent, compounded, and the British increase until 1950 was about the same. Production in the West as a whole increased much less. Since 1950, however, even British manufacturing output has not increased significantly. The situation in France is similar.

Soviet output per head has already surpassed that of Italy and in 1955 will probably catch up with the 1951

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French figure. The Soviet output of energy per head—coal, oil, and hydroelectricity—will be only 20 per cent lower in 1955 than the 1951 French output of energy per head, despite the more widespread use of wood for domestic heating and the slightly greater steel consumption per head in Russia. Yet the French output was sustained only with substantial American aid. At the same rate of progress Russia will have reached by 1960-62 the British output per head of 1951. Since the Soviet Union has a population of more than 200,000,000, this means that it will soon enjoy a vast absolute preponderance over Western Europe unless energetic action is taken by the West.

Consumption in Russia has been continuously increasing since 1946. Here again, the new Five-Year Plan and even more decisively Malenkov's first budget seem to represent a break with the past in so far as they increase the share of investment going to light industry, building, public utilities, and agriculture. The targets in wheat, potatoes, and fats originally set for 1955 but likely to take somewhat longer are higher than French consumption was in 1951. Average Russian consumption seems already higher than the Italian average. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that it is planned to raise the consumption of wool in Russia by 1955 to half the present French amount and to raise cotton-cloth consumption substantially higher. The output of boots will be about equal to the present French output.

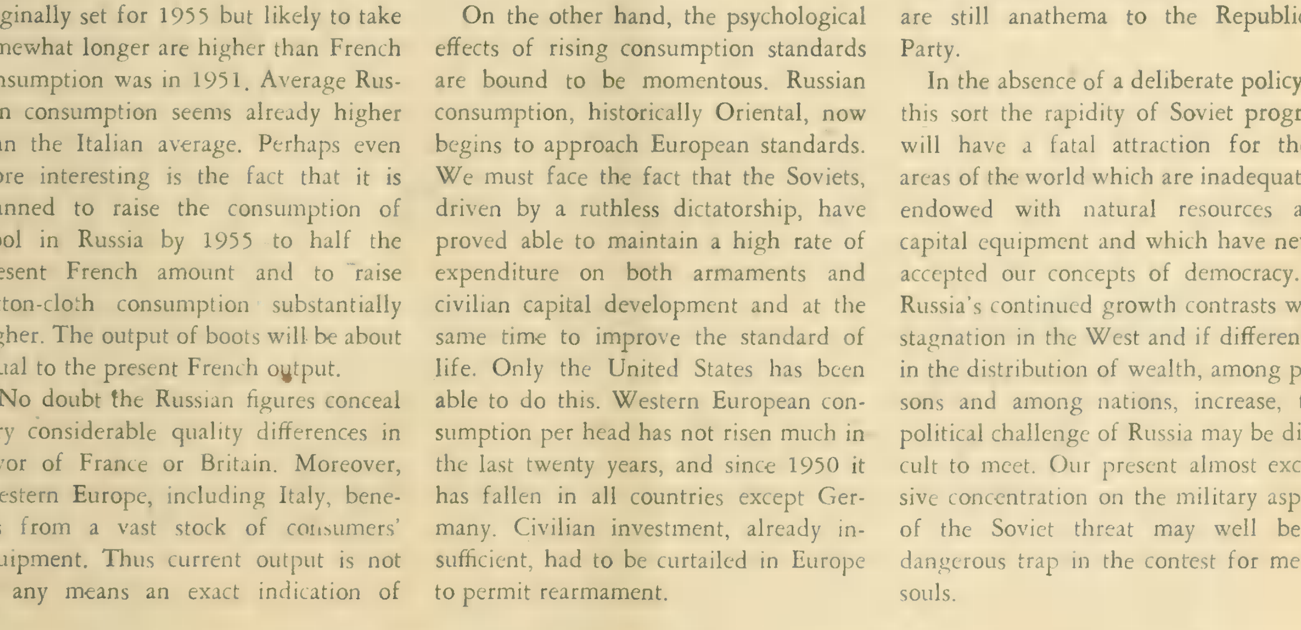
No doubt the Russian figures conceal very considerable quality differences in favor of France or Britain. Moreover, Western Europe, including Italy, benefits from a vast stock of consumers' equipment. Thus current output is not by any means an exact indication of actual living standards. But as time goes on, this difference is bound to decrease in importance. The approach of the Russians to Western European consumption standards seems startlingly rapid in view of the abysmally low levels from which they started.

THE MOMENTOUS change in Soviet policy foreshadowed by the new Five-Year Plan and affirmed in Malenkov's first budget occurred when Soviet capacity was still significantly inferior to the West's. Russia's current output of steel is expected to be 38,000,000 tons against over 50,000,000 tons in Europe and well over 100,000,000 in the United States. In the production of energy, a good index of industrial power, the difference is still greater. Doubtless for a short war it is actual armaments and mobilized man-power that count. But the Kremlin, unlike Hitler, can be under no illusion about being able to subdue the West piecemeal or by a sudden attack and thus to avoid the crushing effects of American productive superiority.

On the other hand, the psychological effects of rising consumption standards are bound to be momentous. Russian consumption, historically Oriental, now begins to approach European standards. We must face the fact that the Soviets, driven by a ruthless dictatorship, have proved able to maintain a high rate of expenditure on both armaments and civilian capital development and at the same time to improve the standard of life. Only the United States has been able to do this. Western European consumption per head has not risen much in the last twenty years, and since 1950 it has fallen in all countries except Germany. Civilian investment, already insufficient, had to be curtailed in Europe to permit rearmament.

Fortunately, the gap still remaining between Russian and Western productive capacity gives us some time to readjust our policy. If a preventive war unleashed by the West is excluded—and democracies, especially if threatened with atomic attack, are hardly capable of envisaging war as an act of deliberate policy—we must try to devise measures that will significantly speed up economic development in the poorer Western countries. Such measures must include, first of all, a juster distribution of the burden of common defense: the Western European countries should not have to cut consumption and investment while the United States is able to increase both. In addition, grants and low-interest-bearing loans must be provided for the poorer areas, as well as technical advice and assistance. Finally, an attempt must be made to stabilize economic activity at a high level. The new approach involves, in fact, all those measures which have been fought successfully since 1946 by the conservative coalition in Congress and which are still anathema to the Republican Party.

In the absence of a deliberate policy of this sort the rapidity of Soviet progress will have a fatal attraction for those areas of the world which are inadequately endowed with natural resources and capital equipment and which have never accepted our concepts of democracy. If Russia's continued growth contrasts with stagnation in the West and if differences in the distribution of wealth, among persons and among nations, increase, the political challenge of Russia may be difficult to meet. Our present almost exclusive concentration on the military aspect of the Soviet threat may well be a dangerous trap in the contest for men's souls.



I Have the Bomb *You Have the Bomb* *He Has the Bomb* *We Have the Bomb*

Apologies to Ivry

INDIA'S SILENT REVOLT

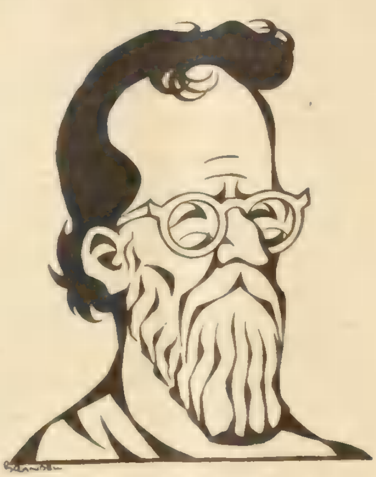
Gandhian Land Reform . . *by J. K. Banerji*

Calcutta

"A SILENT revolution is taking place in the rural areas," wrote the Socialist leader Acharya Kripalani in his weekly *Vigil*, in an article on the *bhoodan*, or land-gift, movement. The goal of this movement, which was launched by Vinoba Bhave, a fifty-nine-year-old frail but indomitable disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, is to obtain for the people, as a gift from the landlords, some 50,000,000 acres of land, or one-sixth of all the cultivable land in the country, by the end of 1957. Progress has been slow in relation to what remains to be accomplished—in about two years from 1,500,000 to 1,900,000 acres have been given away by landlords for distribution among the poorest of the farmers—but the results have convinced the authors of the movement that here at last is the answer to the land problem. If their program can be carried out, they believe that the technique of using moral suasion instead of violence and class war will completely change the face of the Asian revolution which is struggling to effect the transfer of land from its feudal owners to the actual tillers. It would mean the complete discrediting of the Marxian theory that physical conflict is inevitable.

The *bhoodan* movement has gained more and more adherents in India since the Socialist Party indorsed it as capable of achieving India's agrarian revolution. Outside India it is bound, by its very nature, to attract increasing attention; already delegations of students from the United States, Canada, Yugoslavia, and Malaya have visited the field of operation of Vinoba Bhave in Bihar to study the response of the people.

The nature of *bhoodan* becomes clearer when the circumstances that gave rise to it are known. Soon after the war a Communist land movement was launched in Telengana in the state of Hyderabad in central India. The Communists used the orthodox technique of seizing the land by force and became so strong that the Nizam's police and army could not cope with them. Even New Delhi, using the Indian army, had difficulty in suppressing them.



Vinoba Bhave

The Telengana experience inspired Vinoba Bhave to start his own land-reform movement. Here was a chance to prove the superiority of the Gandhian method of solving political and social problems. Incidentally, the idea of stopping the Telengana Communists from spreading into other areas was not absent from Vinoba Bhave's mind. This frail ascetic went on grueling pilgrimages from village to village to beg the landholders to make spontaneous gifts of land to the peasants because he saw clearly that a terrible struggle between landholders and the landless was imminent in India. In a speech delivered in 1951 he said: "I want to avoid that struggle. It will not be possible unless those who possess land come forward to give up a reasonable share of it voluntarily."

Speaking before a meeting of Congress Party workers at Nagpur in the same year, he was even more emphatic. "You can't expect people in whose belly a fire is raging to keep quiet and gape at you," he said. "They are bound to redress their grievances through either a violent or a non-violent revolution." Unless the land was redistributed, he saw no possibility of peace in the country.

"The land problem must be solved," he wrote to the Communist leader S. A. Dange after his tour of Telengana. But in his view it must be solved in a manner consistent with the justness of the cause. A true Gandhian, to him there could be no separation between means and ends. He sought to bring about a "change of heart" among the landlords so that they would cheerfully donate a "reasonable share of their land" to those who had none. He said: "My object in asking for pieces of land is to create a sense of love among men as among the members of a family, to instil in them a sense of duty so that the literate will help the illiterate, the wealthy the poor, the strong the weak." The Communists who redistributed the land in Telengana had for him "completely lost their case by adopting violent methods."

WHILE ADMITTING the negative purpose of the land-gift movement, namely, prevention of a violent revolution, its theoreticians assert that it is also an effective method of securing the economic and spiritual emancipation of India's peasant masses. Everyone who holds land, they preach, must work on it for the benefit of the community. Since this means rejecting private property in land, the land-gift movement, they say, transcends the program of the Communists, who claim to be the best friends of the poor peasant. Its inherent superiority, they point out, lies in the fact that land transference is effected without destruction and hate.

To the charge that revolution through land-gift will permit the landlords to turn over inferior land to the peasants they answer that although bad land may be given away at the beginning, good land will be contributed as the movement gathers momentum. A moral climate will be created in the countryside

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which will subject to universal censure anyone who refuses to surrender a reasonable portion of his property. And this will turn finally into moral coercion.

Jayaprakash Narayan, another Socialist leader, in a recent talk with newspapermen expressed the view that the technique of non-violent non-cooperation which Mahatma Gandhi applied politically in the struggle against British rule will be extended through Vinoba Bhave's land-gift movement to the struggle against social and economic oppression. This will be the second stage of the movement. The basis for it will have been laid earlier by the inculcation of the idea that there can be no private property in land.

There is no denying that the land-gift movement by rejecting private ownership of land avoids the perilous rock of compensation on which every attempt to enact land legislation in India has foundered. Other objections to it as a solution for India's—and for that matter Asia's—land problems remain. To begin with, it is clear that landlords are dividing their land less out of altruism than out of opportunism: they see a chance to save the bulk of their property by giving away a part. Moreover, if only one-sixth of the cultivable area is to be transferred by the end of 1957, no decisive improvement in the land situation will result. The campaign will have to be started all over again with a higher target figure in order to bring the land problem anywhere near a solution. Unfortunately it is not easy to repeat a campaign, and since the small holders will have been the first to divide their land, out of a sense of solidarity with those who have even less, the second phase of the movement will be almost exclusively directed against the big landlords. Under these circumstances there is no guaranty that it will not develop into a violent class struggle. There is also the question whether moral coercion can be applied to absentee landlords or landlords owning fallow land, that is, to the great feudal lords.

However, the worst handicap of the land-gift movement is that it is unable to provide the financial and material aid that must accompany land distribution. The poor worker can do nothing with a piece of land all by itself. He will need credit. He will need seeds and equipment—perhaps a plow and bullocks. Above all he must be freed from the clutches of the money lender unless he is again to be squeezed off the land. Some leaders of the movement are trying to collect money, bullocks, and so on, but it is very unlikely that the requisite aid can be provided through charity. That is something only the state can do.

If the movement fails, much time will have been wasted just when a speedy solution of the land problem is necessary. Failure will be even more harmful if it sows the seeds of confusion in the countryside and thus slows up the political education of the masses. That the state will have to intervene at some stage is admitted on all sides. The outcome will then depend on who is in control of the state—the landlords or the peasants.

PEONS ON WHEELS

The Long-Haul Trucker . . *by Alfred Maund*

Livingston, Ala.

"THE company treats us truckers like we was cows in a pasture. They herd us all in when the grass is tall and green, but when we eat it short and start getting restless they don't put out no feed or fertilizer. No, sir. They just string another strand of wire around the pasture." This vivid description of the lot of truck-drivers in the South by a hauler for a long-distance motor-freight company in Alabama is well borne out by the facts as revealed in recent investigations. Indeed, in Alabama—and according to the men, in other states too—a truck-driver is apparently no better off than a share-cropper, being held in similar peonage by his employer.

A man who can drive a truck applies to a hauling firm for work. The company is agreeable, but he must have his own tractor (truck) and trailer. A tractor costs between $11,000 and $13,000, a trailer about $7,000. This is a lot of money. But the company is willing to help. The driver is sent to a subsidiary of the company, which will obtain a loan for him.

This subsidiary serves merely as intermediary for a bank, which really buys the "paper." But it adds a number of "extras" to the cost. On a two-year-instalment plan, full interest at 6 per cent is deducted in advance—which amounts to almost 11 per cent by conventional methods. Insurance charges of about $2,600 for two years are also added. The driver usually makes monthly payments of over $600.

Obviously, he must do an awful lot of hauling to pay off the debt. And while he must sign a contract giving the company exclusive rights to his services and equipment, the company is not bound to give him a specified minimum amount of business. Moreover, if he misses a payment to the financing company, he loses his equity in the truck. Even if he manages to pay off his debt, he is not assured of future security, for haulers often drive more than 100,000 miles a year and may burn out their equipment in three years. Then they must pay another visit to their employer's alter ego, the finance company.

WHAT DOES the shipping line contribute? It lends the sanction of its I. C. C. permit and pays 70 per cent of the charges for civilian freight and 65

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per cent on government freight. In true commissary style, the company gives the drivers little chance to look at the books. They must surrender all receipts and invoices before they are paid—and they are paid what the company says is due them.

This arrangement works satisfactorily enough on civilian freight, where rates are established and published by the I. C. C. But military freight is assigned by bid and the contracts are private. Here the driver has no way of checking. One inquisitive driver went to the Pentagon to find out the true rates on a load he had hauled. He was told, at the highest level, that the figures were available only to representatives of trucking lines. Such curiosity is dangerous, for it can bring a quick cancelation of contract, and in that event the driver is usually reduced to "cabbage hauling"—that is, carrying unprocessed farm produce, which requires no I. C. C. permit; seldom is he taken on by another company.

The drivers are unable to get I. C. C. permits of their own—and thus not only gain a measure of security but also increase their earnings almost by half—because they lack the capital to promise the requisite service and to stand off the challenges from big freight lines that they are "duplicating facilities." An I. C C. permit is not as easy to buy as a postage stamp.

The camaraderie of truck drivers is widely celebrated. They inform one another about road conditions. They warn of patrols ahead that are checking for overloads. But these are minimum requirements for self-preservation. Drivers individually, not the company, must pay the fines for trucking violations, and in some states fines range up to $500. Undercutting all friendly relations with fellow-drivers is the hard fact that they are in competition for loads, and the driver who pleases the company best is pretty sure to get the most business.

I. C. C. regulations state that a driver must have eight hours rest after ten hours on the road. Drivers are supposed to keep a log indicating that they have complied. But it is not unusual to find a driver hauling out of Louisville, Kentucky, when his log states that he is still in Pensacola, Florida.

One driver had the assignment to carry a load of ammunition from an Indiana arsenal to Portsmouth, Virginia. After two trips back and forth over the mountains—seventy-two hours in which the only sleep he got was during loading and unloading—he felt he could stand it no longer. He told the company representative he had to stop for rest. The representative said: "Look, you so-and-so, I know you have a payment on that rig coming due this month; you'd better get behind that wheel if you know what's good for you." The driver got behind the wheel.

While truck drivers are justly considered good drivers, they do not add to the safety of the highways when propped up by benzedrine and coffee.

MALAN'S OPPOSITION

Old Wine in New Bottles . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

LAST April's general election in South Africa represented a smashing defeat for the "moderate racialists" and set the stage for another bout of racialism in its most extreme and cruelest form. From outside South Africa this looks like crisis, violent crisis. Does it seem so to white South Africans? Are they doing anything about it, and if so where do they think they are going?

The United Party's failure at the polls was certainly not due to want of trying. Its organization had never been better. More men and women than ever before gave a little of their precious time to fill envelopes, write addresses, and drive cars; interest in golf, bridge, and gossip definitely slumped for three weeks. The leaders of the party neglected no electoral maneuver which might help them, practiced all the tricks of the trade, and practiced them at times so meanly as to unnerve even their staunchest followers. In order to "reassure" voters who might otherwise vote Nationalist, Mr. Strauss and his colleagues became so "respectably" racialist that the Nationalists were sometimes made to seem daringly enlightened: there were cases, for example, of United Party speakers bitterly arraigning the "Nats" for overspending on African education. Nothing was left undone except of course the appeal to reason, courage, and common decency—any appeal of that kind would have been "irresponsible idealism." But all to no avail. Mr. Strauss and his friends were licked in fair fight, foul for foul, and driven from the field.

The post mortems were a little nauseous. The defeat had to be explained, and yet nobody in the end explained it. Perhaps it is too much to ask an explanation of people whose interests are so exceedingly well served by the present dispensation regarding white man and black man. De Beers, after all, has paid enormous annual dividends since 1946, and De Beers is one of the pillars of the United Party's brand of civilization.

Even so, many people in the United Party were far from satisfied; and out of this dissatisfaction two new political parties have now arisen. The tenets of these new parties, the Federal Party and the Liberal Party, are worth some thought because they reflect pretty ac-

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curately the conclusions which many anti-Nationalists drew from their defeat at the polls.

THE LIBERAL PARTY should have been formed many years ago. Now it comes upon the scene at a bad moment for liberalism. Its leading figures are well-known left-wingers of the United Party. Mrs. Margaret Ballinger has long been one of the three representatives of the Africans in Parliament, and her sincerity and humanity are recognized even by her worst enemies. Leo Marquard is an anti-Nationalist Afrikaner who typifies the best of his nation—nowadays a very cautious best. Several others are of equally good caliber. They have long felt uncomfortable in the United Party—a feeling shared for the opposite reason by the bulk of the membership—but have refrained from breaking away until now because they did not want to divide the party before its inability to win an election was clear to all.

This Liberal group is notably strengthened by the support of Alan Paton, whose writings, both fictional and political, have evoked in many "non-political" people in and out of South Africa a sympathy and understanding for the black man's plight that contribute markedly to the influence of liberal opinions. But Paton gives the impression of having yet to think his way clearly through the social and political implications of racialism. A negative protest, no matter how moving and convincing, is not enough to give the South African Liberal Party ground for a significant life of its own. Paton has tended to linger on the humanitarian frontiers of that problem.

The Liberals' program is still in gestation, but they want to act as a political party and put up candidates. They stand, they say, "for the dignity of the individual and the maintenance and extension of human rights." One of their chief functions will be "to build bridges between Europeans and non-Europeans who believe that the principles of political morality and justice must be applied to all sections of the community in South Africa." Their membership rolls are declared open to all South Africans irrespective of race, creed, or color, or lack of voting rights.

On the face of it, such a program might be expected to attract the many whites who feel that things simply cannot go on as they are if South Africa is to be saved from bloodshed and final ruin. Yet it does not seem to be gaining wide acceptance. Some of these whites, who are of course a minority of the non-Nationalists, have simply accepted defeat and averted their eyes from anything but their daily business. Others have preferred to join the new Federal Party. Still others, some of the best of this liberal minority, have stayed in the United Party on the ground that it is more useful to go on "boring from within" than to split off into a small and perhaps sectarian group that is lost in the wilderness. These people ask how the Liberal Party thinks it will succeed in broadening the franchise when the franchise can be altered only by a two-thirds' majority of both houses of Parliament sitting together. A fourth category of liberals, the most radical, have said that the program's grandiose generalities are meaningless and that a Liberal Party in South Africa can be significant only if it grasps the nettle and comes out for full-scale racial cooperation against oppression, something which this Liberal Party, they say, has no intention of doing.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the traditional South African concept of liberalism has lost its virtue. Mrs. Ballinger and her friends have done fine work as a link between the silent masses of Africans and the all-powerful authorities. They have listened to the blacks and have tried to tell the whites what they have heard. Here and there they have scored small successes—lightened hardships, lessened penalties, won partial concessions; but it is no underestimation of this work of mercy to say that generally they have failed. Racialism has charged ahead at full speed.

If the whites have shifted their ground, however, so have the non-whites. After the tremendous manifestation of non-violent resistance in 1952 and the early part of 1953 Africans and Indians are beginning to ask of liberals a good deal more than kindly solicitude for their welfare. They want more than a "bridge" between whites and non-whites. They are now prepared to like, trust, and follow only those whites who come out boldly on their side—not in a racialist or sectarian sense but as fellow-fighters for a freedom that all may share. Professor Z. K. Matthews, a notably "moderate" African leader, put this clearly in a recent article about liberals. "The big question," he wrote, "is the extent to which these groups are going to seek the cooperation of the non-whites. The question is whether they have enough strength and enough ability to overcome the reluctance of the average liberal white South African to work *with* instead of *for* the Africans."

In practical terms, this means a new non-white demand for franchise equality, for "votes for all." Representative Africans and Indians will not listen to those who argue for Mrs. Ballinger's "limited franchise," a device favored by liberals who do not want to cut themselves off from the bulk of their fellow-countrymen. They will listen only to those who stand squarely for racial equality, whether they belong to the brave little band of left-wingers who have never feared to grasp this nettle or are rare individuals like Patrick Duncan, whose inspiration is religious. For these reasons the new Liberal Party is in danger of falling between two stools—gaining support neither from whites nor from non-whites—and of suffering the same frustration as the South African Labor Party.

WHAT THE new Federal Party stands for was briefly and pointedly expressed some weeks ago by Dr. Keppel-Jones, one of its most distinguished supporters. "It must be emphasized again and again," he said, "that the Nationalists will not be removed by any constitutional or peaceful means. . . . Those to whom subjection to these rulers is intolerable have only the alternatives: rescuing a part of the Union from this subjection or rescuing themselves by emigration. Moving to Durban would be simpler than moving to Melbourne." The Federal Party proposes, in short—apart from a vague plan for a federation of all the countries of southern Africa—that the province of Natal should separate from its three sister provinces and thus save itself from the inevitable explosion.

The trouble with this is that the Federal Party is nothing if not a Natalian party, and the English of Natal practice the same forms of racial oppression against "their" Indians and Africans as the Afrikaners do elsewhere. A quasi-independent Natal—which is hardly economically thinkable—might assure the English of their continued supremacy; it would remove none of the evils of racialist strife. This party seems billed for a brilliant but very brief existence.

The great washed masses of the United Party have meanwhile returned to their golf and their bridge and their gossip. Its leaders are as usual misrepresenting the situation, and there is nothing to show that they have drawn any salutary lessons from their defeat at the polls. To give South Africa a new lease on life needs heroism and self-sacrifice; so far the only people who show these qualities are the leaders of the non-white communities, with thousands of their followers, and a few whites whose political influence is negligible.

But to say this in South Africa today is already a legal offense, an incitement to "disorder," punishable with fines, lashing, and imprisonment. Knowing inwardly that the Nationalists are really doing their business for them and convinced that in one way or another they can reach an agreement with the Nationalists on the all-important matter of saving "white civilization," the bulk of English-speaking South Africa sits back and shouts for another drink.

EDITOR BITES READER

Today's Newspaper . . *by Dan Gillmor*

MARRIED 9 YEARS:
Never Thought of Divorce!
SG

IT IS not so much that we are too familiar with newspapers as that they are getting too familiar with us. They're indifferent to our emotions, bored with our fears, disrespectful of our hopes.

The paper that our grandfathers bought for a penny now costs a nickel, but it weighs fifty times as much. It is so heavy that it rests on the heart like lead. The buyer pays for news; he gets war, death, slander, corruption, catastrophe, fornication, and frivolity. He buys: "45 Slain in . . ."; "British Repel . . ."; "U. S. Warns . . ."; "Reds Attack at . . ."; "A-Bomb Blasts Prove . . ."; "Crash Takes Lives of . . ."; "Charges Official Is Red Agent . . ."; "Vice Doll Tells . . ."

This is news, we are told, because it is not commonplace, not an everyday happening. As the old newsman's saw goes, it is man biting dog. But rabid men are biting healthy canines too often nowadays. It is violence, death, vice, and corruption that are commonplace. More and more we get the feeling of having been robbed—and not just of our five-cent piece.

Perhaps some mid-twentieth-century Pulitzer will revive the penny paper to give us the really sensational news of the day. Such a paper will proclaim the truly astonishing fact that in the teeth of destruction life asserts its vigor. For a penny, mind you, it will tell us how yesterday, despite the imminent collapse of civilization-as-we-know-it, some two billion people got up in the morning, ate a good or poor breakfast, or none at all, toiled all day, came wearily home, played with and sometimes spanked their children, quarreled with or made love to their wives, and went to sleep. Streamer headlines will inform us: "Woman has 6-lb. Boy; Names First-born After Ecstatic Father." Even the scandal news will be affected by the change: "Married Nine Years, Never Thought of Divorce," we shall read.

Despite numerous spats and some serious quarrels Mr. and Mrs. George Gutchett of 29 Elm St. have never seriously considered divorce, the *Penny Post* learned exclusively today. The Gutchetts have been married nine years.

"He leaves the cap off the toothpaste more often than not," Mrs. Gutchett said, "and there have been times, I must admit, when his mother and I have not been altogether cordial. Still, he's an awfully nice guy, and I don't know what I would do without him."

Mr. Gutchett was reluctant to be interviewed, but when pressed for comment, he declared: "Bessie could have done a lot better than me, but I hope she don't ever find it out."

The world-moving, as distinguished from the earth-shaking, people will come into their own. Certified public accountants will hit the front page in stories unconnected with tax frauds. No longer will elevator men have to stab their fiancees before their names are known to fame. A leading article will tell how a bank teller finished sorting $65,451.02 in cash at closing time, put the money in the safe, and went home to supper in the suburbs.

Such a spate of good news will begin insidiously to have its effect. A centenarian asked to give the inevitable advice on longevity will reply, for publication: "Good heavens, man, how should I know?" Representative Blankin (D., Miss.), perhaps yearning for some publicity once more, will introduce an F. E. P. C. bill into Congress, saying: "I reckon it's about time we South'ners recognized equality for the Negroes. After all, we are all brothers under the skin." General Bridgeway in Tokyo will tell reporters: "This headquarters has come to the conclusion that peace negotiations would be more likely to succeed if a neutral country were present. Accordingly, we have recommended to the U. N. that a committee be appointed by the General Assembly to invite India to the conference." *Pravda* will declare that the airplane was invented by two American geniuses named Wright. A cigarette firm will adopt the slogan: "Ours are good, but no better."

When a man bites a dog, the papers will report it as the act of a press agent gone berserk from frustration.

There will be so much good news that the *Penny Post* will expand. The price may even go up to a nickel, but people will pay cheerfully. It will be worth it.

DAN GILLMOR is a New York newspaperman and free-lance writer.

FALL BOOK SECTION

A Delta Homecoming . . *by Charles G. Bell*

Savage Bounty

I sleep a little as we drive along,
South with the levee, toward the Delta home;
Wake in the fiercer passions of the sun:—
The unbending road is a belt where all things return:
Again the same fields and cabins and the dark woods.

This sky repeats also, with sun and shade
Marks currents in the vapor, of rise and rain;
Cloud after cloud goes massive, white above,
Dark beneath and the shadow on the land,
The long rays drawing water in the brightness between.

Down air and water rivers of fire bathe
The black earth outspread, whose elemental children
Jut back to the sky, blend of that hard and soft—
Old craggy limbs melting in feathers, the great
Bald cypress' gestures of dissolving power.

God of brown water and sun, you spawned these blacks,
Brood of your deeper wilds singing its songs,
A sign of your savage bounty on the land—
Spawned, and baked them dull. In the motionless air,
Like swimming a saffron sea, we watch one move,

Slow from the swinging door, the crazy walls
Of the sun-bleached cabin, through a little yard
Tall with sunflowers hanging their pregnant heads,
Out to the outhouse where he never comes,
Slow foot by foot, black swimmer in the lazy tide.

The Local Whiteway

In such a great flat land it is all sky;
The earth is waiting here with a slow patience
Under the rain-gathering vault; at night it dissolves,
A mere darkness lost in the universe,
And nowhere else is being earth-bound stranger.

One night long since, returned from overseas
To this bottom of the world, knowing the heart
Could not rest wholly here, no longer free
From the liberal spires of Oxford through the cloud
Taking an aureole light in the meadowed land;

Or upland wheat fields of Bavaria,
Clean stands of fir under the mountain snow;
Or down those mountains south to the heart's best home,
Nest of the migrant wings, the Tuscan town
And singing towers of the Western dawn—
Remembering now that beauty, spirit in form,
Clear voice of the past never to be lived down,
As I, come back that evening, stood alone
Over this Greenville on the levee's crown,
West the wide river, with Venus and the moon,

And east three lighted blocks in the Delta's dark—
I shook at the strangeness of being localized—
By an accident of birth to be held and hold
This poor spot of earth on the turbulent flood
A center always of the circling stars.

The Moundbuilders

In an Indian burial ground where the spade turns savage
Bones, we bury our outnumbering dead.
They by the river cleared a few fields in the great
Web of the forest where bayous pulsed and returned,
Overhung with trumpet-vines bright as cardinals.

A little way to the north is a group of mounds,
Pyramids of earth where the temples stood
On gaudy heights round which they danced in plumes—
First stirrings of form against these melting floods.
We dug there once and uncovered some giant bones;

Cattle, no doubt, but for us they were primitive men,
Looming in the golden dusk like myths of the dawn.
And who knows if such too, touched with Mayan fire,
Would have conquered the forest for another day than ours?
They were too slow; we came and took the future.

Now far to the south I have seen in a cypress swamp,
On a dwindling reservation, tired Indian hulks,
Empty of meaning, and thought of the childhood dreams.
Destiny is a hard driver. Take up his proud
Yoke, not proudly. We are the moundbuilders now.

Even in this melting land and its night grave
Of white and red, we raise beacons of form,
Crown the dissolving in earth and marble mounds;
And the lighted road, reaching for a strand of steel,
Bridges the old river in whose arms we drown.

A Cloud-Change

After a close warm day under sheltering cloud,
About the time of sunset, from the west,
A lifting wind opens the infinite blue;
The low roof of the day breaks everywhere,
And night, deep night, widens the old mystery.

There are three men in the town, I think of now,
Who move a single way, as these clouds clear:—
Berry deals cards, lets others guess at the face,
Counts the chances, tallies, hopes that way
The laws of mass will dissolve like the limits of day.

Walker has gone fanatic; he always reads
The Book of Revelation, in the beasts
Discovers symbols of the atomic blast.
He goes to all revivals, gets up to stand
Crying: "Beware, our judgment is at hand!"

And bright young Sams, who used to star-gaze with me,
Is gazing now for saucers. He has a perch
Built on his roof, and tells how a year since,
In the red dusk of the sky he saw a disc
With lighted flange, implying things from space.

Through the last arms of cloud I look too and see,
Swirled from the Swan to the Archer south and down,
The great sun-clusters of the Milky Way:—
Now reason comes home to wonder. Is it so
That the world melts, on the wind suffers a cloud-change?

From a Writer's Notebook . . *Van Wyck Brooks*

WE AMERICANS have always thought either too much or too little of ourselves, as we have thought either too much or too little of Europe. As in the nineteenth century we thought too much of Europe, so we are in danger of thinking too little of it now.

★

The so-called expatriates of the nineteen twenties made a cult of "living," and they returned in the end to America because this cult is against the American grain. Living as an art was quite unnatural for them. Americans love the ability to do something, as they love power also, far more than they can ever love mere living. A pity, perhaps, but true.

★

There are two great categories of writers: those who are solicited from the outside, prompted by the suggestions of others, and those who are prompted entirely from within, who have "one taproot that goes down deep," like Willa Cather's old Nebraska farmer.

★

There are all kinds of writers in every country, but the writers who are most interesting are those in whom the country differs most from others, in whom one feels the uniqueness of the country. Who could wish "Don Quixote" less Spanish than it is, or Dickens or Shakespeare less English, or Stendhal less French? Is not that largely the quality we seek in foreign literature and the quality that foreigners seek among us?

★

A letter from a Western professor contains this phrase, "To use Lionel Trilling's word 'pejorative'," and I remember how often I have encountered the word "pejorative"—depreciatory—in the writings of this critic. I would call it his key word, in fact, and I think I know why it has become so.

Do we not find in certain writers a key word of this kind that indicates some central tendency in their organization? Thus, for example, "significant," Goethe's favorite word, was certainly indicative in this fashion, and so is the word "renewal," which occurs early and late, constantly, in the writings of Lewis Mumford. This word alone goes far to explain why I have always been drawn to Mumford, with his ever-renewed sense of the boundless possibilities of life. Similarly, in Edith Wharton one finds repeatedly the word "throne," or "throned," indicating her taste for the regal posture, while Jack London's key word is "wolf." He sometimes signed his letters "The Wolf," he called his house "Wolf House," one of his best-known characters was Wolf Larson, and he told his own story symbolically in the story of the Alaska dog that reverted to the wolf pack in order to survive. His personal cult of Nietzsche was the cult of the wolf.

For another example, as Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant points out in her "Memoir," Willa Cather's favorite word was "splendor," a word that "recurred so often in her talk, her books, and the letters of those years, that I think of her as living it out." In how many other cases does not one word sum up the man or the woman *within* the writer.

★

In her memoir of Willa Cather, Miss Sergeant writes, referring to her own college days: "American literature had no place in the Bryn Mawr curriculum, —no Melville, no Hawthorne, no Poe, no Dickinson, no Whitman. Henry James and Edith Wharton were the only modern fiction writers; expatriates, you see; and we read them for pleasure, not for study. When, ten years after my graduation, I told one of my English professors that I had discovered a genuine first-class work of American fiction, in which a young woman of prairie background had conceived her world with new eyes and made of it a work of art, she looked at me skeptically. Even 'My Antonia' failed to move her."

How typical that was not only of Bryn Mawr but of Harvard and all our colleges fifty years ago! And equally typical was the frame of mind expressed in another passage in this book, dealing with the revelations in *McClure's Magazine* (of which Willa Cather was managing editor for a time): "A Bryn Mawrster raised by President M. Carey Thomas must try to right these terrible social wrongs that blistered and festered under the shiny urban surface of Manhattan Island."

Side by side these two passages perfectly illustrate Emerson's remark that we "have our culture from one continent and our duties from another"—which

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continued to be true up to the First World War.

Time has healed this breach, for Americans no longer look abroad and our eggs are all now in one basket. But, regarding the future, another question rises: Are we going to have any "culture" or any "duties"?

★

An English reviewer in a New York weekly pointed out recently that "the great Musil revival" is all a mistake, and I am not surprised, for "The Man Without Qualities" seemed to me, at a more or less hasty glance, pretentious and arid. As a great original work of genius, the book had been compared to Proust and Joyce, and the machinery had been set in motion to make of this Austrian novel a monumental *succès d'estime*. Now this reviewer seems to prove that Musil is not an innovator but an imitator in technique, theme, and character alike, and that he has modeled his whole work, in every essential respect, on Anatole France's "Monsieur Bergeret" series. The parallel is deadly, so deadly indeed that, without going behind him, one can feel reasonably sure that the reviewer is right.

But if he is not mistaken, what a light this throws on the mental habits of the critical world of our day, a world in which it goes without saying that Anatole France is forgotten, like virtually all but a handful of fashionable writers. From the moment when Paul Valéry scouted him on a famous occasion, Anatole France passed more and more out of notice, and his justice-loving Voltairean spirit was in any case anathema to the medievaling mind of the years that followed. But Anatole France is only one of a host of great writers who have been pushed aside as the critics, examining texts, have lost themselves in Henry James's cloudy crystal ball, while between pedantry on one hand and on the other primitivism, general literary knowledge has all but disappeared. We have seen old-fashioned Confederate novels hailed as original that were merely Mary Johnston served up cold, and a novel that was second-rate Booth Tarkington was recently called "revolutionary" because no one knows Booth Tarkington in highbrow circles. The new critics have made war on general literary knowledge, and without this knowledge how can we form judgments at all? Without consciously intending it, criticism chimes in with the Nazi who said, "When I hear the word culture I reach for a gun."

★

> We do not fear a single thing
> Except our relatives,

say the elephants in chorus in the Ramayana. These elephants lived in ancient India many centuries ago, but evidently there were good Freudians even in those days.

★

Why is "good society," or so much of it, insupportable, in spite of its charm of good manners, courage, and grace? Because it consists so largely of powerful unenlightened people who see life in terms of ceremonial and their own importance. They hear and they consider only what they wish to hear and what conduces to their own comfort, thinking what they wish to think instead of what one *has* to think, however disconcerting the truth may be. They rationalize everything until it fits their pattern. But thinking what one has to think is thinking in terms of real values, and this alone is endurable to people with minds.

What else did Ruskin mean when he said that "an artist should be fit for the best society and keep out of it"? In America at least, as Edith Wharton pointed out, artists and writers have always fled from the world of fashion. (Not that this hostility has been one-sided. Mrs. Winthrop Chanler says that "the Four Hundred would have fled in a body from a poet, a painter, a musician, or a clever Frenchman.") And was this not so even in England when the world of intellect had something in common with the world of fashion? Hazlitt said that those who are accustomed to the talk of literary men cannot put up with any other and that "persons in high life talk almost entirely by rote and have no opinions but what will please. Beside the conversation of authors, the conversation of men of fashion is flat, insipid, stale, and unprofitable." Hazlitt continues, "They talk about much the same things—pictures, poetry, politics, plays, but they do it worse and at a sort of vapid second-hand. They, in fact, talk out of newspapers and magazines *what we write there*. They do not feel the same interest in the subjects they affect to handle with an air of fashionable condescension." "Were it not for the wine and the des-

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sert," Hazlitt concludes, "no author in his senses would accept an invitation to a well-dressed dinner party, except out of pure good nature and unwillingness to disoblige by his refusal." All of which might have been said a hundred years later.

Not here, O Apollo,
Are haunts meet for thee.

* * *

How many books can any man read? A supposedly well-informed journalist has written that Hitler undoubtedly read "most" of the 7,000 military books in his library. So T. E. Lawrence of Arabia was said to have read at Oxford "most" of the 40,000 books in the library of his college. So Thomas Wolfe allegedly devoured 20,000 books or so. Wolfe was obviously picturing himself in Eugene Gant in "Look Homeward, Angel," "pulling books out of a thousand shelves and reading them like a madman. . . . He read insanely, by the hundreds, the thousands, the ten thousands." How tiresome all this is, and how untrue. People speak of these things very much at their ease. For the last twenty years I have been obliged to read six or seven or more hours a day. I have certainly read far more than these others have had time for, in the short periods referred to, and how many books have I read in these twenty years? Less than six thousand, less than a book a day.

* * *

Whoever is accustomed to reading with a definite subject in mind cannot long endure desultory reading. A subject acts as a magnet attracting, in all one reads, the facts and the ideas that are relevant to it, and this creates an excitement in the mind that makes all purposeless reading tame and insipid. And yet what a pity this is, for it is desultory reading that develops one's taste. It is fortunate that when we are young we are unfocused.

The Dubious Phoenix

FIRE IN THE ASHES: EUROPE IN MID-CENTURY. By Theodore H. White. William Sloane Associates. $5.

By Howard K. Smith

FOREIGN correspondents of the present generation are often taxed with being inferior to those who informed America of alien places before the war. The post-war period, it is said, has produced no single reporter abroad whose work can vie in its impact or popularity with that of the men of the Great Age which lasted roughly from 1935 to 1941—Vincent Sheean, John Gunther, Webb Miller, Bill Shirer, Edgar Mowrer, Walter Duranty, and perhaps a half-dozen more. I do not contest the latter statement; but as a practitioner of the trade who has given the matter a great deal of thought, I suggest that our failure has not been necessarily due to inferiority. Rather, I think, it is due to the fact that our predecessors had a fairly "well-integrated" period of current history to talk about, while we have not had such a period. (Except for the work of Ernie Pyle and Ed Murrow and a very few others, America's war correspondence was not, in my opinion, of outstanding quality. It rapidly became stereotyped and jargon-ridden, more inclined to stunts than information.)

HOWARD K. SMITH, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is chief European correspondent and European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System in London. He is the author of "Last Train from Berlin" and "The State of Europe."*

In the early thirties, as a result of the depression and the rise of Nazism, there occurred a hardening of major trends. By 1936 it became clear, for example, that the most powerful factor of the time was the dynamic, aggressive new government of Germany, that it possessed the initiative over all competitors in world affairs, and that its tendency was toward war. These clarities were a priceless advantage for dramatic presentation and clean-cut, pointed analysis.

Since World War II we have not had the journalistic advantage of any hardening of trends. It is not clear yet what is the major factor of our time; it might be the Red Army, or it might be NATO, or perhaps the movement toward European federation, or even the general friction between the Western white peoples and the colored two-thirds of the world. The initiative in world affairs appears sometimes to be with Moscow, sometimes with us—though lately Seoul seems to have been paramount. Finally there is no clear-cut answer at all to the key question: are we drifting toward war? Mr. Dulles thinks the danger is greater than ever. Sir Winston Churchill thinks it is less great than at any time since the last war. A good case can be made out for either view.

WITH THEIR basic clarities, our predecessors could give sharp focus to the past: knowing what was important, they could select facts and recount only those events that had bearing on the rise of Nazism. With no basic clarities, we cannot bring the post-war period into focus: we must unselectively recount the whole dreary story of the development of the cold war—which does not make interesting or readable copy. Likewise, with important current trends clear then, they could forecast pretty accurately; with all trends still fluid and indistinct now, we cannot forecast.

Thanks to those basic clarities they could pass moral judgments on men and institutions. For example, it was clear to them that von Papen of the Weimar Republic had been a contemptible but unwitting pacemaker for Nazism. But what judgment are we today to make of Adenauer? He will turn out to be one of two extreme things—the founder at last of genuine German democracy, a man to whom we should all be grateful, or the trustee of German reaction who kept Germany safe from change in a post-war period that might have made necessary changes. What shall we say of Jean Monnet? Is he the man who launched the federation that saved European civilization? Or is he merely the ingenious mind who thought up a framework in which the cartels could resume control of continental Europe? Neither Adenauer nor Monnet knows the answer; history has simply not decided, and we, the present generation of foreign correspondents, may not enrich our stories with judgments of finality and force about the leading figures of our time.

When against the difficulties of a frustratingly amorphous time one of us attempts to write a book about Europe, it is, I boast unblushingly, a little daring. When one of us approaches success and a position close to that of our celebrated predecessors against these odds, it is very nearly heroic. Teddy White, who promised so much by his co-authorship of "Thunder out of China" has done that, I think, in his new book on Europe, "Fire in the Ashes."

OWING TO the already mentioned diffuseness of the times it is hard to state what White's theme is—except that a promising flicker has been fanned in what a short while ago appeared dead ashes. But he gives some exceedingly well-argued guesses as to what history is likely to adjudge the dominant factors of the time in Europe. His two chief candidates are the amazing resurrection of German power and the movement toward the federation of Europe. One of the two will give its general shape to the future of the world now allied to us, and White offers forceful grounds for not arming Germany until its promising democracy has firm roots and for using all our influence to make federation—an idea more popular in Germany than elsewhere in Europe—the shaping factor.

White does not think much of communism as a main factor. He indicates it has passed its post-war zenith. The Marshall Plan ended for some time to come any revolutionary threat from it. NATO and the reaction of the West to the Korean aggression have drawn a line against its armed progress. In Europe today, White says flatly, after assessing armed strengths, "the power balance has shifted from the Russians to the Atlantic forces." We have the strength; now is the time to bargain. To bargain fruitfully in our new position, he says, we need an Executive unafraid to give a lead and a Congress that will not allow the nation's foreign service to be intimidated into inflexibility. "It is not too much to say," he writes in a key passage, "that the future of the world lies less in the struggle within the Kremlin than in the struggle within the American Congress."

These arguments are sustained with some of the most vivid journalism to come from Europe since the war. Names that are abstract agencies to most people—SHAPE outside Paris, the Marshall Plan offices—come alive in brief pen portraits of the people who worked in them and their separate special atmospheres. Capturing atmospheres appears a particular White art: I know of no brief statements of the moods of Whitehall and the Houses of Parliament so nearly perfect as those in the English chapters of "Fire in the Ashes."

White devotes separate penetrating essays to the domestic problems of the three leading nations of Europe—Germany, France, and Britain. But better than mere analysis as an aid to understanding—indeed, they are easily the best features of the book—are the biographies of fairly typical citizens of the three countries. Pierre Bertaux of France is a sensitive scholar who evolved at the end of the war into a chief of police in charge especially of France's Communists, about whom he learned some secrets that add new dimensions to one's thinking on the subject. Joe Curry is an English coal miner who came to run nationalized coal mines and to reach shrewd conclusions about England's Welfare Revolution. Willi Schlieker is a young man who ran German industry under Hitler, was denazified by us, and like Germany pulled himself back up to wealth and power by his bootstraps plus the cold war. The lessons of Willi's life are a tract for the times in Europe. In these biographies White reveals an unsuspected narrative power we wish he had made more use of; there are after all thirty nations in Europe, each no doubt with some fascinating personalities.

I HAVE but two criticisms of "Fire in the Ashes." The first is that the inevitable account of the cold war, or how we got where we are through Potsdam to Panmunjom, remains even in these capable hands a dreary story, without drama. Despite a conscious effort at vivid expression, this part leaves nothing more instructive than a bad taste in the mouth. However, it is perhaps unfair to tax White for not succeeding where all other foreign correspondents have failed.

The second is a little harder for White to escape. It is the generosity of his temper. For example, he relates how Germany lay at our feet at the end of the war, to be remodeled as we saw fit. There was an excellent chance of constructive creation. Many Germans begged for a remodeling process: the parliament of the Ruhr area attempted to take the Ruhr industries out of the

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hands of the old financial barons and make them public charges—only to be frustrated by the British and by us. White says the trouble was that no one had any fertile ideas. The State Department offered none; so the army, which was in charge, had to blunder along as well as it could, and a chance to make deep changes was missed. I suggest to Teddy that this was not so casual and blundering as he indicates. I suggest that there are guilty men who knew precisely what they wanted and how they wanted to get it, and who went to great lengths to prevent the economic power pattern of Germany from being altered. I suggest that on this subject General Telford Taylor or James Stuart Martin be made required reading for White before his next edition appears.

Likewise White reports that our Marshall planners learned to their great surprise that after two years of Marshall aid the ruling classes of Europe had used the funds to conserve their positions and profits. The Marshall planners saw their mistake and were just going to start using the aid to make reforms when the Korean war broke out and frustrated the whole thing. When this great discovery had been made, White says, he "called on one of the new chiefs and found him full of vigor, charged with enthusiasm. 'The object of the exercise,' he said, 'is to win people over to democracy. . . .' "

Now this is nonsense. The composers of "Call Me Madam" understood better than White does here the conservative uses of Marshall aid. Not a few of us said before Marshall aid began that this was the danger. We made ourselves rather nuisances complaining repeatedly that the money was not "trickling down" but was financing a status quo that had to be changed for Europe's own good. A rather eminent Marshall aid administrator once fumed at me that it was "do-gooders" like me who caused all the trouble. So I am quite sure no late discovery was made. If White really found an administrator who discovered only in 1950 that the "object of the exercise was to win people over to democracy," he should have reported him to the nearest truant officer for delinquency. The plan's handouts divulged that secret as early as 1948.

This is still, however, the best book on Europe since the war.

Moral Optimist

FREEDOM AND FATE. An Inner Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson. By Stephen E. Whicher. University of Pennsylvania Press. $4.75.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

TO MOST of his contemporaries in Great Britain as well as in the United States, Emerson was the greatest thinker and writer New England had produced. That position he still holds in some textbooks, but who, outside of college courses, reads him now? Melville has emerged from obscurity to become the center of a flourishing cult; Hawthorne is far more often discussed by "intellectuals" than he was a generation ago. Even Thoreau, whom Emerson, like most Concorders, believed to be a failure, is probably more widely read now than Emerson. How much of this is mere fashion? Is Emerson unjustly neglected? Or is there really nothing there?

Certainly the Spirit of the Age which he hoped to embody has turned against him. He aspired to serenity and to a boundless optimism, but he has fallen upon a generation which is contemptuous toward serenity and sees little justification for optimism. Despite all his intellectual boldness he remained impeccably genteel, and gentility has seldom been held in lower esteem. Looking back at his "influence," one might argue that it is most unmistakable on those who vulgarized most outrageously his thought. Elbert Hubbard and Orison Swett Marden are outstanding Emersonians of the second or third generation. When Emerson permitted himself to write, "My creed is very simple, that Goodness is the only Reality," he seemed already a good deal more than halfway to Mrs. Eddy.

Four years ago Ralph L. Rusk published a definitive factual biography only incidentally concerned with either an exposition or a criticism of his subject's thought. The present book might reasonably be called a companion volume. With biography it is concerned only slightly. The thought, on the other hand, is subjected to a detailed and rigorous analysis. The phases through which that thought passed are examined one by one, and in the process changes of opinion are carefully separated from the genuine inconsistencies which persist through it all. Mr. Whicher writes clearly and gracefully and shows thorough familiarity with his subject. Such a book cannot possibly be for casual reading. "Freedom and Fate" is probably as complete an exposition and as searching a criticism as we are likely to have.

There are of course two ways of approaching a thinker. One may treat him in terms of the intellectual atmosphere by which he was surrounded and thus run the risk of making him seem no more than something to be explained away; one may on the contrary ask what, if anything, is valuable and valid without relation to any temporal context. Since Mr. Whicher is neither a mere disciple nor a mere explainer-away, he does both. Here is Emerson as the "product of his times"; here also is a criticism of the thought itself with its limitations and inconsistencies exposed, its genuine insights defended.

IN THE simplest possible terms Emerson was one of the innumerable nineteenth-century men who lost their faith and had to find another. At first that meant resignation from the ministry and the formulation of a religious creed fundamentally the antithesis of Calvinism. To the Calvinist, man was nothing without God. To the early Emerson, one might almost say, God was nothing

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without man, because man, or rather the sum total of all men's minds and aspirations, was God. Self-reliance means trust in God; freedom means obedience to the God within. No system maker and well aware of a certain inconclusiveness in his thought, Emerson struggled with himself perpetually, and the result of his rather superficial attempts to understand both Thoreau's kind of nature and nineteenth-century scientific naturalism was that he ended as a sort of evolutionist distrustful of revolutionary or even reformist attempts to hurry things along and content to repose his faith in a "somehow good" slowly working out its own purposes.

No more than this is necessary to account for the lack of interest and sympathy with which a large section of twentieth-century intellectuals have regarded him. Despite his qualified praise of "heroes" and a certain approval of "reform" in the abstract, he was conspicuously a non-participant—in churches, in politics, in "movements." That meant that he said "no" to Brook Farm. "I do not wish to remove from my present prison to a prison a little larger. . . . I have not yet conquered my own house. It irks and repents me. Shall I raise the siege of this hencoop, and march baffled away to a pretended siege of Babylon?" Thoreau might have stated his objections in almost the same words, and yet even to Thoreau, Emerson seemed too passive, too exclusively a thinker rather than a doer. There was, Thoreau protested, nothing in Emerson's way of life, even of his private life, to demonstrate that his radical thoughts meant anything. Neither Thoreau nor Emerson had any sympathy with the lunatic fringe, but while Thoreau answered it with anarchy Emerson answered it by withdrawing.

In recognizing the limitations of what all this implies Mr. Whicher goes far, farther perhaps than is necessary, for he says that "Emerson's whole dream of practical power through self-reliance is just that—a dream." Hardly less frankly he recognizes the inconclusiveness of Emerson's interpretation of the individual's right and duty to set himself up against society. Sometimes, notably in the poem "Uriel," it seems to come close to a Nietzschean "beyond good and evil"; at other times the insistence upon obedience to "moral law" seems to come almost equally close to social conformity. He tells us that "moral man" is man at his greatest and that "moral law" is the supreme good of the universe. But we are never quite sure how much more than respectability "morality" means.

IF MUCH IN this review, as in the book under consideration, seems destructive, it is because the review, following the method of the book, attempts to pin Emerson down, and that is impossible without doing a good deal less than justice to a man whose achievement was not a system but a mood, a temperament, and a personality expressing themselves vividly if not consistently in eloquently phrased aperçus. What is left for us to learn from is not the dogmatic premises of his thought but its spirit and its intention. And from that we can learn much. Emerson was also of course sometimes a wit, with an unexpectedly keen eye for the foibles of character, and he was a superb painter of his contemporaries' portraits, though these literary virtues are, so it seems to me, the only important aspects of his genius to which Mr. Whicher pays little attention.

At the very least Emerson's excesses are the opposite of ours. We are so familiar with boundless pessimism that we ought at least to be reminded that boundless optimism is possible. We have so low an opinion of human nature that it is good to know that an extravagantly high opinion has been held. Above all, we may be reminded that lack of faith in oneself can be overdone. If this is an age, as David Reisman's widely read book maintains, in which the individual is becoming completely "other directed," it would be well to listen occasionally to our most fanatical proponent of "inner direction."

It is something like this which Mr. Whicher has in mind when he concludes: "It is not true that he has nothing to say to us. Emerson believed in the dignity of human life more unreservedly, almost, than anyone who has ever written. . . . We think more meanly now, no doubt more truly, of ourselves and our world. But as long as we retain any self-respect, something in us must answer—whatever the second thoughts—to the faith in man that invigorates every page of these volumes. To reject Emerson utterly is to reject mankind."

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By Maxwell Geismar

WHAT makes 'Augie March' so good?" a young editor asked recently, as he searched for the secret of a best-seller that had been acclaimed by both the intellectuals and the daily book reviewers; a natural for the National Book Award and hardly too robust for the Pulitzer prize.

Maybe the answer is right there. "The Adventures of Augie March" is a book that pleases everybody and offends nobody. It is a good book but not a great book; later on, perhaps, it may not seem to be a very important book. In the tradition of Dreiser and Tom Wolfe, it has all the earmarks of the naturalistic-realistic novel but none of the punch. It offers nothing really substantial either in the field of human relationships or cultural criticism; there is nothing dangerous in it, nothing unconventional, nothing memorable—even while it remains the pleasant, skilful, and highly readable tale of a poor Chicago boy who grows up in the semi-underworld of the depression period.

What it does represent, for both the author and the neo-conservative critics in the *Partisan Review* orbit, is a shift from the tragic to the comic mode—both equally artificial to me—from the psychological to the social, from European to native material, from the novel of fantasy to that of experience. But if the book's realism lacks all the bite of reality and at base is proper, genteel, constrained by timidity, I am also afraid that I have now made it the victim of the same critical currents which have given it perhaps undue fame. Mr. Bellow remains a novelist in spite of himself, and this work is a genuine advance over his earlier gifted but narrow narratives. He has also brought over some valuable techniques from the symbolist and surrealist schools to enrich the area of our old-fashioned picaresque. Since he has admitted that part of the book is fantasy, one can only hope he will now go out and live the novel he has written.

The second of these fall books by native novelists, "The Marmot Drive," is a curious one. John Hersey, like Saul Bellow, has technical virtuosity to spare. If Bellow has to struggle against the constraints of fashionable academic criticism today, Hersey has had to fight his way out of both *Life's* jungle and the *New Yorker's* trim gardens. I was one of those who admired "The Wall" and considered it no mere instance of literary journalism. Indeed, the point was that such a documentary record of the Warsaw ghetto as "The Black Book of Polish Jewry" was far more horrifying than Mr. Hersey's fiction. What he seemed to lack was the grasp of inner motivation in his characters, particularly the form of evil that the Nazis had raised to an art—and the new novel is almost an exercise in just that area of the human soul.

AS SUCH, "The Marmot Drive" is interesting and illuminating—a tour de force in sadism and malice that is very unlike Hersey's other books. A city girl visits a typical Connecticut country town in order to inspect the family of the man she wants to marry and meets a variety of rugged, dour, self-reliant, salty New England characters who seem the very essence of their tradition. The novel opens with all those homely and typical touches that mark the "return to the soil" sagas, or more lately those touching vistas of native democracy which writers like Granville Hicks have been presenting with such fervor. About halfway through I was ready to give the whole thing up. The twist in the narrative comes just here; and Mr. Hersey does quite a job in revealing the personal frustration and mass cruelty that also exist in this idyllic village scene.

Nobody comes out very well, least of all the "heroine," whose capacity for stray sexual adventures is matched by her inability to love. Yet Hersey too is almost writing a parable—a warning—rather than a novel; afterward the characters are a little thin, the writer has not really submerged himself in his material.

BY COMPARISON the Spanish novelist Camilo José Cela, whose new book, "The Hive," is one of the first important literary documents to reach us from inside the fascist state, is suffused with anger and bitterness at society in Madrid. "They lie," he says, "who want to disguise life with the crazy mask of literature. The evil that corrodes the soul, the evil that has as many names as we choose to give it, cannot be fought with poultices of conformism or the plasters of rhetorics and poetics. My novel sets out to be no more—yet no less either—than a slice of life, told step by step, without reticences, without external tragedies, without charity, exactly as life itself rambles on."

Wonderful words—which we have not often heard in this country since the first generation of native realists in the 1900's. It is interesting, too, that our own intellectual return to realism which I mentioned above is such a delayed sequel to the new generation of European novelists who have had to face the historical crisis directly and intimately. And "The Hive" itself, as a study of impoverished, frustrated lower-middle-class city people—less vicious, really, than ignoble and less ignoble maybe than starved—has undoubted power and a deliberately flat, acrid, angry style.

Cela's true position, however, is that of the aristocratic moralist who scourges the values of a corrupt and decaying urban society; the moments of warmth and affection in his narrative are few. Ignazio Silone has been preeminently a a country writer, both intimate with and fond of Italian peasant life and character. "A Handful of Blackberries" celebrates the peasant virtues of survival as the true basis of the writer's faith in an epoch of political betrayal. The book is another fable of the modern disenchant-

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MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of The Nation, *literary critic and essayist, is the author of the recently published "Rebels and Ancestors."*

ment with communism; in this case during the period of the liberation in Italy when the party rose to power.

But Silone is unlike the typical authoritarian temperament of our period which, betrayed by illusions it should never have cherished, either continues simply to revile the political, or parental, source of discomfort or moves swiftly over to another authoritarian system. He has retained his equilibrium, his warmth, his humor, his hope; he is determined to salvage what can be salvaged from the ruin of his hopes. The country scenes and village types in "A Handful of Blackberries" are often quite enchanting; the descriptions of Italian communism in action during the post-war period are discerning and sometimes brilliantly satiric—in plain words, very funny. But saying this, I have to add that the hero of the novel is a philosophic superman, while the heroine, if she is a persecuted refugee, is still a wooden figure. The solid elements of Silone's character and talent barely save what would otherwise be a sentimental and perhaps ridiculous novel of "salvation." I almost suspect that the influence of Hemingway, Faulkner, Steinbeck, and American movies has proved too much for Italian art.

AFTER THESE typical works of the modern generation in a bizarre world one comes with some relief to Sholem Asch's new book. For the pertinent thing about "A Passage in the Night" is that it is an old-fashioned novel in the "real" realistic vein—that is to say, it is deeply concerned with its characters, it has the wisdom and perspective of long experience, and it is a pleasure to read. Mr. Asch himself has come back from his religious voyages into antiquity; the present work is almost Dreiserian in tone and content. The style seems at first rather pedestrian and heavy; the central character is an East Side Jewish boy who escapes from his religious background to make a fortune in real estate. The point is that this hero is both fully drawn and completely sympathetic. The scenes of his youth and the later descriptions of rich, respectable, and assimilated American Jewish society are equally well done.

In the older narrative tradition too, Mr. Asch is not averse to using both chance and melodrama in his chronicle of a typical business man who has based his career on a robbery and is prevented by his society from atoning for his crime. The resolution of the novel is rather wordy perhaps and expresses the novelist's convictions at the expense of his story. But we forgive all this because we know they *are* convictions and because we have received so much else in the process of reaching them.

The "Great Little Madison"

JAMES MADISON: SECRETARY OF STATE, 1800-1809. By Irving Brant. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $6.

By Keith Hutchison

THE eight years when Jefferson occupied the White House constitute one of the most crucial periods in the history of the United States. It was a time of both danger and opportunity. There was danger that the almost disarmed republic might be drawn into the battle that Britain, with intermittent allies, was waging to check Napoleon's ambitions. There was opportunity, political and commercial, for a determined neutral nation willing to take risks in flouting the wishes of the giant contestants.

Contrivance, seconded by luck, enabled the United States to make the best of the opportunity while escaping serious hurt. When on the eve of the renewal of hostilities with Britain in 1803 Napoleon agreed to sell Louisiana, American diplomacy, as Irving Brant says in this book, "won richer fruits from the new Anglo-French war, before it started . . . than either belligerent could hope for." The French dictator had a number of good reasons for this decision, some of them skilfully suggested by Madison, who planted on the French envoy in Washington the idea that acquisition of Louisiana by the United States would not only foster Anglo-American rivalry but check the growth of American power by "separating the interests of the eastern and western states."

Personally a man of strict integrity,

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.*

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Charles C. Rolo, *The Atlantic*

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Rebels and Ancestors

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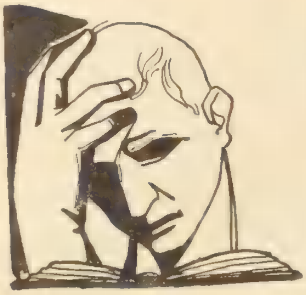
Madison was not above a touch of Machiavellianism in the interests of his country. In fact, his behavior in no way conformed with the well-established myth that simple, straightforward American statesmen are nearly always worsted in dealings with wily foreign diplomats. Yet many historians, following the lead of Henry Adams, have tended to treat the physically diminutive Madison as mentally and morally small, a timid, petulant, shifty creature who was but an echo of Jefferson.



IRVING BRANT, who has undertaken to rehabilitate the "great little Madison" in five stout volumes, of which this is the fourth, proves triumphantly that that was a grossly unfair and inaccurate picture. After ransacking the archives of Washington, London, and Paris and turning up much new material, including dispatches that have rested undeciphered in State Department files for 150 years, he is able to show that the Jefferson-Madison combination was a rare case of successful partnership between strong men. He shows, too, that Henry Adams's caricature of Madison was based at least partly on mistranslations of dispatches from the French minister in Washington, General Turreau.

Jefferson, an intuitive genius, was inclined to be impulsive, and his impulses sometimes steered him toward rash courses, sometimes urged him to shy violently from danger. Madison, a cooler man, controlled, methodical, logical, provided a balance wheel. For instance, in 1805, after the breakdown of negotiations with Spain for the purchase of West Florida, Jefferson, feeling that war was inevitable, asked "whether we ought not immediately to propose to England an eventual treaty of alliance, to come into force whenever (within — years) a war shall take place with Spain or France."

Madison advised against this policy, realizing that it would be impossible to secure a British commitment without incurring obligations of an embarrassing nature. But he found an opportunity to complain to Andrew Merry, the British minister in Washington, about Spanish outrages and to hint that if British naval policies were modified, an American alliance might become feasible—a hint which that not very astute diplomat failed to recognize. On another occasion, after the attack of the British frigate Leopard on the Chesapeake, Madison considered Jefferson's draft proclamation closing American ports to British vessels too mild and suggested changes in language that gave the statement far more bite.

This was but one of innumerable incidents arising from Britain's determination to impress seamen without scrupulous inquiry as to their nationality. Jefferson and Madison made one effort after another to protect American sailors from the press gangs. They were in vain, as were simultaneous negotiations with both Britain and France to obtain modification of the competing blockade systems that painfully squeezed American merchants seeking the profits of neutrality.

The story of the American struggle to secure neutral rights is particularly worth retelling in these days when "neutrality" has become a bad word in this country. In its fight against Bonapartism, Britain considered that it was waging a war against an attempted universal dictatorship and thus a war in which there should be no neutrals. In addition, the English believed that the United States was misusing its neutrality to grab trade and so undermining the British economy, the greatest source of strength in combating Napoleon's sprawling empire. Americans, on the other hand, saw Britain and France as equally aggressive powers and, in particular, deemed Britain's blockade system a thinly disguised method of enforcing commercial monopoly.

Both positions could be logically supported, but, starting from different moral premises, they could not be reconciled. However, a nation's moral premises tend to change with its interests, so that now it is Americans who look askance at countries that try to keep aloof from the quarrels of East and West. These would-be neutrals may be wrong, but this book reminds us that American history buttresses their position with some forceful arguments.

The Chinese Revolution

MOSCOW AND CHINESE COMMUNISTS. By Robert C. North. Stanford University Press. $5.

By Edgar Snow

IN THIS book Robert North has brilliantly pieced together the saga of the Chinese Communist Party from its start in the womb of the Comintern, through its growth in the hinterland of Asia, down to victory and power. Happily situated as a talented research worker in that repository of subversive literature rather incongruously known as the Hoover Library, Mr. North must be congratulated on a triumph of the digestive process—and the best short history of Chinese communism yet published. It is presented in an absorbing style and reads, as Professor John Fairbank notes, "like a detective story"—or almost.

Opening, the author emphasizes the massive import of a conquest which expanded the Soviet world to include a third of our planet's population and a fifth of its land surface. Scarcely thirty-five years ago Communists numbered only a few thousand dedicated persons under Lenin. Today there are twenty million of them pushing along and across a vast Eurasian perimeter which stretches from Korea through the Middle East to Scandinavia.

"How has this come about?" asks North. One factor "especially important" is the "code developed by early Bolsheviks and designed to guide their actions toward other governments and peoples."

EDGAR SNOW was the first correspondent to enter Communist China and interview its leaders during the Chinese civil war. He is the author of "Red Star over China," "Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

The original program of the Communist International has been tactically implemented by thoroughly Machiavellian or Jesuitical means. Red methods are the key to success "precisely because non-Communists find them difficult to analyze or comprehend." Mr. North demonstrates repeatedly that Communist tactics in every situation are devised to serve their own interests and strategy, toward the ultimate conquest of power.

If that is not exactly news it is nevertheless a thesis which inspires the author with the hope that once Western governments do understand the facts, as provided by such histories as his, they will be "less inclined to behave precisely as the Bolshevik strategists and tacticians expect"—and hence may be able to plot effective counter-offensives.

THIS INQUIRY indicates that from 1921 to 1931 the Comintern largely dominated the composition and general line of the Chinese party. Under Stalin's leadership the Chinese sought power by means of urban insurrection, orthodox theory denying the potential of the peasantry as a main force in social revolution. Ultimately Li Li-san became the chief scapegoat for major failures of Comintern policy. Meanwhile Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh had independently recruited guerrilla forces in the Kiangsi-Hunan border areas. In the face of Trotskyite ridicule, Stalinist skepticism, and the opposition of the Returned Students (from Moscow) nominally leading the party, the Chu-Mao rural Soviet movement by 1932 actually provided the only effective military and political bases the Communists had. The urban Politburo members were finally driven to seek sanctuary there. Shrewdly understanding the primacy of armed force in the attainment of personal political power in China, Mao Tse-tung closely identified himself with the combat Communists and gradually emerged as de facto head of the party. Stalin's Comintern reluctantly recognized his supremacy and sanctioned the shift in emphasis from the urban proletariat to the village peasantry.

There is little evidence that thereafter the Kremlin dictated Mao's pragmatic politico-military tactics in adapting Marxism to local conditions. Examination of the works of Mao and others shows their methods and aims to have been consistently Communist. Despite North's diligent search for duplicity he provides no record, in this respect, of any Communist official claims to be "mere agrarian reformers," or the like. Such labels were used as epithets by Trotskyists and other anti-Maoists and were welcomed and given currency by rationalizers and sentimentalists.

In general the Communists "succeeded by virtue of existing confusion and unrest, their own skilful but often opportunistic maneuvering, and—perhaps above all—by virtue of Kuomintang and Western default." There is reason to believe that Moscow tried to discourage an open post-war struggle in China. Stalin seems to have been convinced that Chiang Kai-shek would win. Mao "accepted" Stalin's advice and proceeded to go his own way, to prove Stalin wrong. Few facts today support the view that the Chinese Communists are slaves of Russia, but Titoist possibilities are at present negligible.

Mr. North's book records major contemporary Chinese political events down to 1953 and scrutinizes American and Russian roles in China before V-E Day and on up to Mao Tse-tung's victory. His forecast of future Chinese Communist tactics deserves closer study in high places than it is likely to get. In a final chapter he submits conclusions and some sound advice on how to stem the Red tide—not by "proscribing books" but by proving to the world "that we are a bold, imaginative, and constructively revolutionary people."

THE AUTHOR'S survey of 1943-49 American policy parallels Feis's more extensive study in "The China Tangle."* It also supports the opinion that our mistakes were due to failure to "analyze and comprehend" tactics followed on the other side of the fence. As the classical personification of American naivete General Patrick Hurley emerges here—as elsewhere; and indeed that unfortunate Republican stalwart seems fated to be the Colonel Blimp in "our China tragedy" for years to come. Behind him of course were other men and forces which share responsibility.

A longer review would question certain of North's facts and interpretations, his occasional over-valuation of partisan

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*Reviewed in *The Nation* of October 24 by O. Edmund Clubb.

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testimony, and a rather heavy eclectic use of Asian sources of dubious credibility. The paper document itself is sometimes regarded too gravely—at the expense of insight into the obliqueness of Chinese political semantics. In a long discussion of Mao's struggle with the Returned Students in the Politburo no account is given of the important role played by Li Teh ("Otto"), the German Comintern agent who was the Reds' chief adviser in Kiangsi and made the Long March. Analysis of the discrediting of Li Teh could have thrown more light on the long history of Mao's veiled heterodoxy, which began inside the Politburo—he was a member as early as 1924—and not much later, as North suggests.

Some more obscure intra-party controversies are rather fruitlessly explored, while several events of magnitude are scarcely noted. An example is the decisive Sian incident—and the Kremlin's hand in it. For a phenomenon which rescued the Reds from almost certain destruction in 1936 and reversed the tides of fate, Sian is here treated too laconically. And if true history is "philosophy open at both ends," more effort should have been made to describe the living synthesis achieved between party measures and policies and the impulses, yearnings, and intellectual and physical needs which stoked the fires of the Chinese revolution. For the most part China's hundreds of millions, their agonies and passions, the moral and religious appeal of communism as a solution to problems of individual salvation in Asia, here remain mere inanimate background.

Finally, heavier credit might have been given to the vital collaboration of Japanese imperialism in the rise and triumph of Chinese communism. Indeed, the lesson perhaps most to be pondered in any serious "analysis and comprehension" of Communist success is that it was not Russian aid but manifestly Japan's war of conquest—initially launched as a crusade to "eradicate communism in Asia"—which provided the indispensable conditions of Red victory. By 1945 the Communists already controlled the winning combination of pawns and pieces. Subsequent play merely confirmed the internal logic of the board.

A Tribute to Ghosts

THE HILL OF DEVI. By E. M. Forster, Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

By Santha Rama Rau

E. M. FORSTER, after a long silence, has made an eagerly awaited reappearance with "The Hill of Devi." This is not a novel, nor a critical study of writing, nor a series of essays on the state of the world—though it has elusive elements of all three. It is an emendated, glossed, and enlarged diary of the author's first months in India (1912-13) and of India revisited in 1921, interspersed with letters to relatives and friends and some of their replies. In essence, however, "The Hill of Devi" is a sketch book for "A Passage to India," which in my fervent opinion is the most discerning book ever written about India by a foreigner and among the greatest novels I have ever read.

In a way it is sad to read the letters of a young man after having read the distillation of all his youthful years in the 1924 novel. After that autumnal maturity, it is something of a shock to have a spring song. Even the considerable amount of commentary, explanation, and interpretation which Mr. Forster has added to his original notes and letters does not quite make up for a kind of callowness—the last thing in the world that one expects from his writing and opinions. Probably it is unfair to feel this way about material that was not, admittedly, intended for publication. In fact, Mr. Forster himself apologized for the tone of the letters, for the fact that he was "too prone to turn remote and rare matters into suburban jokes,". He has, he says, edited out a good deal of "How I wish you all were here!" and "Aren't Indians quaint!" It is a good thing that he did. But instead we are apt to get, in my opinion, "Goodness, will I *ever* understand Indians!"—and this is nonsense, because, of course, Mr. Forster did understand them, as he later proved, emotionally and in the broad composition even if the detail was sometimes baffling.

THE BOOK starts off badly with the pervasive note of the Britisher in India criticizing Indians for not having his "taste," deploring the muddles, the inefficiencies, the unpunctuality—how is an Indian to explain to a newcomer that time and what constitutes smooth running have different meanings in different countries? Still, the thing that ruffles the reader is not Mr. Forster but the tragedy of his time and place and birth. Mr. Forster has too clear an eye to see the absurdities and too honest a mind not to record them.

It is just before his second visit to India, when he returned as private secretary to the Maharajah of Dewas, that the book suddenly takes on stature. The brilliant Forster writing emerges. There is a hilarious account of an outing in Delhi, the surrealistic confusion of getting to a station and into a train the Maharajah and his diverse retainers and friends, with their luggage and bundles, all hampered by conflicting notions of courtesy. There is an infinitely moving account of the "catastrophe" in Dewas, of the retirement and final destruction of the Maharajah. Best of all is the portrait of the Maharajah himself, whom Mr. Forster loved and admired, whose jokes sometimes puzzled him, whose kindness and manners always delighted him, whose administration was his despair, whose philosophy and religion he never understood. Like all Mr. Forster's writing, which is composed of the undramatic, the suggested, the never-quite-completed climax, "The Hill of Devi" concerns itself with a minor prince in a minor situation, and the moment in history—though a major one to Mr. Forster and one that almost becomes, in his hands, major in a wider sense—is negligible. But "The Hill of Devi" is a book of sentiment. It is written really as a ghostly memory of people who are now dead or in changed positions and to whom Mr. Forster was deeply attached. As a tribute to ghosts, the book is remarkable and evocative, and as the raw material of a great novelist it is of enormous interest.

SANTHA RAMA RAU is the author of "Home to India" and "East of Home." She is now living and writing in New York.

Diogenes Redivivus

BOSWELL ON THE GRAND TOUR. Edited by Frederick A. Pottle. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

By Carlos Baker

JUST the year before Laurence Sterne took that sentimental journey through France and Italy which resulted in his famous picaresque novel, one of his countrymen made a similar grand tour through Germany and Switzerland. Sterne was fifty-two, Boswell twenty-four. Sterne's fiction was at least twice as strange as truth. Boswell's truth seems at least as diverting as Sterne's fiction. What's more, one can depend on Boswell to report all and invent nothing. He is one of the ablest eyewitnesses the world has ever known. He may indulge his sentiments, but he never lets them becloud the sharp, shrewd, lynx-eyed directness with which he examines his subjects. "Never," he wrote in a friend's autograph album, "has a foreigner relished his travels more than I. I travel as a philosopher. I am not so rude as Diogenes, but I am, like him, in search of men."

Seek, and ye shall find. Knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Boswell has a quality—call it perseverance, sincerity, social aplomb, or pure gall—which enables him to prove the Biblical maxim without perverting it. In the pursuit of men and of truth—and incidentally of happiness—he bumped over corduroy roads in public conveyances, ate in ordinaries or palaces, shivered on straw pallets or sweated in featherbeds. It was all one to him if he reached his goal. He wrote letters, pulled wires, polished apples, and occasionally placed a judicious bribe. The ladies of the house were soon his fast friends. The result was that when Boswell reached the point of knocking on the doors of the great, they magically opened, and the Baron of Auchinleck delightedly found himself in the presence of the mighty. As he had won the friendship of Dr. Samuel Johnson in the memorable year of 1763, so in 1764 he added Rousseau, Voltaire, and a baker's dozen of German princelings to his stable of admirers. The heaviest regret of his tour was that, though he sported a Scottish cap and promenaded conspicuously on the Prussian parade ground of Frederick the Great, he was unable, for all his pains, to make the conqueror's "air of iron confidence" relax into a friendly greeting.

If Boswell was primarily aprowl for the great, he could often settle for something less. His fugitive amours included a seller of chocolate whose soldier husband was stationed in another town, a buxom laundress, and several Dresden dolls who ungratefully picked his pockets. In fact, his natural affinity for women is such that he is scarcely less continent on the Continent than during his free-wheeling sojourn in London the year before. Still, he enjoys good food and natural scenery with equal gusto, hunting stags to hound and horn, passionately praising the romantic terrain through which he passes, dining upon venison and currant jelly, swilling Rhenish wine, or composing some indifferent couplets on the etymology of the word pumpernickel, a bread whose coarseness pleased his Scottish palate.

BECAUSE HE gets around so rapidly and at so many levels, Boswell's narrative throws much light on the social history of the time. For true Boswellians this book is equally welcome as a crucial instalment in Professor Pottle's developing portrait of the artist as a young man. The diarist stands now on the edge of full maturity. Still afflicted, as he was in Holland, with a Werther-like *Weltschmerz,* he describes himself variously as gloomy, splenetic, hipped, flattened, bored, and vaporish. Sometimes a mere matter of diet and exercise, it verges often on a malaise of the spirit, a consciousness of the conflicting claims of the old religion and the new science. Like *Angst* in 1939, the soul-sickness has, Boswell discovers, a pan-European aspect. It is one of the preludes to the coming age of revolutions. Yet so far as it concerns Boswell personally, he is ready to take arms against it. Always a meliorist with himself as subject, he is never so happy as when he is resolving to reform. Now in 1764 he has reached the point of feeling that he had better

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CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

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stop imitating his betters and concentrate on the betterment of Boswell. He still reverts in his imagination to the massive figure of Samuel Johnson, exemplar of Christian stoicism and model of English greatness. Yet Boswell, he reflects, is still Boswell, a special complexus who deserves unremitting attention. "Why not?" he asks himself. "I am in reality an original character. Let me moderate and cultivate my originality. . . . Let me then be Boswell and render him as fine a fellow as possible."

His journal, which enabled him to review quite candidly his manners, morals, and motives, was one great means to that end of self-reform. "Pen and ink ever amuse me," he once asserted. And it was true. It is also true that he does not continuously succeed in amusing us. Readers who do not readily succumb to his bouncy charm may find the German chapters somewhat diffuse if never wholly dull. It is otherwise with the Swiss adventure. Place Boswell in a room vis-à-vis the genuinely great and one can count on a high-comedy situation. His gifts as conversational catalyst raise the encounters with Rousseau at Motiers and with Voltaire at Ferney close to the level of pricelessness. "Good-bye," said Rousseau as their interviews closed. "You are a fine fellow." "You have shown me great goodness," answered Boswell. "But I deserved it." Maybe. Maybe. But Boswell deserves the thanks of posterity for having gone away from there and written it all down.

Poets of the Inner Landscape

COLLECTED POEMS. By Conrad Aiken. Oxford University Press. $10.50.

THE WAKING, POEMS 1933-1953. By Theodore Roethke. Doubleday and Company. $3.

POEMS 1940-1953. By Karl Shapiro. Random House. $3.

By John Ciardi

RECENT poetry lists have turned up almost no new names but have been marked by some distinguished new work by established poets and by a number of volumes of collected and selected poems. The three most distinguished recapitulations of the current list are led off in point of seniority by Conrad Aiken's mammoth "Collected Poems" (862 pages of poems and 21 of notes).

No one who has written as much as Aiken has could hope always to write well, and the present volume, designed to trace the emergence and development of a style rather than to present the poet's best, is often slow reading; but it is worth it. It is good to have Aiken available at last in a single comprehensive volume and to be able to turn from stage to stage of his growth without having to chase to the library. What emerges from both the labor and the pleasure of the reading is a style, and the style is the man.

Aiken has sought his style in many directions, his experiments ranging from the diffuse allusiveness of Senlin to the archaic slam-bang theatrics of John Deth. Through every change, however, his devotion has been to the idea of the symphonic tone-poem, to a dissolving watery music, to a rain-swept and fog-abstracted landscape of the psyche. He has sought, in his own phrase, an "absolute poetry."

The weakness of that poetry seems to have centered from the beginning in its excess of melody and in the indefiniteness of the tone. The music seems too often to dissolve before it arrives at its own conclusion. The effect becomes not dream but sleep.

No reader, however, who will accept Aiken's pace will go long unrewarded. Even in the mistiest poem one will come on clearings that seem to shine like life itself, and it may well be that the tremendous luster of Aiken's high moments could only be arrived at through the surrounding mists. There is not much of the "real world"—whatever that is—in Aiken, but certainly one is persuaded that he has found a music for everything that dreams do.

Theodore Roethke is also a poet of the inner landscape, but if Aiken is the musician of the psyche Roethke is its medicine man. Where Aiken muses over the keyboard, Roethke dances to tom-toms. Where Aiken seeks the inner self by allusion, Roethke finds his emotional equivalents in the physical impact of things.

Roethke's is the poetry of therapy; it dances its way from madness (symbolized by the wet riot of vegetable roots and the grossness of the flesh) to a reflective calm (winter and distance). It is the richness and variety of Roethke's rhythm together with the shock and clarity of his broken phrases that persuades. Roethke slams into his dance, arms in air and ranting like a sibyl. His style seems most nearly founded on Christopher Smart, Blake, the Elizabethan rant, and the backwoods brag, all scattering free, but always with a sense of breaking through a tremendous formal control. Roethke's strength is that he never talks about his subject matter but enters and performs it. The best measure of his achievement is that there are now a subject, a rhythm, and a kind of perception that are specifically Roethkean.

KARL SHAPIRO shares some areas of preoccupation with Roethke, particularly a recurring fascination for a kind of Hieronymus Bosch detail, but where Roethke is Dionysian, Shapiro is Apollonian. Shapiro's success is in the handling of the fact and prose of the observation; the poetry is in the precision and formality. The particular flavor of Shapiro's poetry lies most centrally in the seeming incongruity between his almost neo-classical handling of the formal elements of the poem and his Baudelairean dealing with subjects and perceptions.

When the carefully managed surface of a Shapiro poem cracks—as it does, for example, in the overwrought fifth stanza of The Fly, where one would gather from the treatment that attacking a fly with a fly swatter is a task on about the scale of fighting off an angry mastiff —at such times the whole poem seems to shatter. One can salvage brilliant fragments, as, for example, the image of the fly climbing "with the fine leg of a Duncan-Phyfe," but the total performance of such poems seems more nearly affected than achieved. Affectation, however, may be the price of

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JOHN CIARDI, author of several books of verse, the latest being "From Time to Time," will regularly review poetry for The Nation. *He is lecturer in creative writing at Rutgers University.*

manner. It is the success that counts, and Shapiro's successes are among the best rewards of modern poetry.

The present volume contains eighteen new poems, including the superbly wrought Adam and Eve series. It is good to have the new poems confirm Shapiro's growth in insight and assurance. The reader will require a good deal of cross reference, however, to trace that growth in the present volume, for the Essay on Rime—indispensable to a real awareness of Shapiro's development—is missing, and the poems retained from his other volumes have been arranged alphabetically rather than chronologically, that arrangement serving to emphasize Shapiro's insistence that the poem is a poem and not a link in a stylistic chain.

Madeleine in London

MADELEINE GROWN-UP. The Autobiography of a French Girl. By Mrs. Robert Henrey. Dutton. $4.

By Albert Guerard

Boy and girl meet, kiss, and marry. Complications: the girl is offered, and declines, a chance in Hollywood; consumption threatens; the boy's father, a clergyman, views the marriage with disfavor. All this is as hackneyed as a novelette in an illustrated weekly. But we know our little Madeleine through and through,[*] and her transparency reveals no sign of the commonplace. Her harsh and somber girlhood in Paris had failed to crush her zest for life. Her experience in London is a fairy tale: she meets it with the same indomitable self-confidence. She has youth, skill, beauty, gaiety: if Prince Charming comes along, she will recognize him as real, even as she is real. No illusion and no cynicism. French realism—"*C'est la vie!*"—may be disenchanted, but it is capable of admitting the reality of enchantment.

Madeleine is now a manicurist at the Savoy in London. Her life is divided between squalor and splendor. There is the one-room flat (no running water) where she and her mother sleep, cook, sew, and entertain their friends; and there is the fabulous hostelry between Strand and Thames, pediculous with Maharajahs, Russian generals, Viennese counts, Midwestern tycoons, and Hollywood producers, from whom five-pound blessings flow. Madeleine feels miraculously at home in both worlds. Her innocence is clear-eyed; she knows for whom her mother is cutting such seductive gowns and lingerie. She accepts the philosophy of which these queens of the night are the most logical exponents—to get and to give pleasure. The chief duty of woman is to captivate man; and the key to such conquest is not to serve or feed the brute but to charm him. Yet there is nothing meretricious about Madeleine's desire to please. She wants to fulfil her function in life honestly and proudly. She is as far removed from Lorelei, the Blonde Preferred, as she is from the grim Puritan. She believes, and makes us believe, that pleasure pure and simple can be simple and pure.

The idyl in "Madeleine Grown-Up" is as direct, as unsophisticated as one could dream—Daphnis and Chloe in the Strand. It is totally unspoilt by philosophy, religion, or sociology: Madeleine meets the page, the porter, the kept woman, and the tycoon as human beings. The background is faultlessly realistic: Soho, the Savoy, a French sanatorium; but again, realism is not satire. Her London in all its moods is even more convincing than her Paris. But this is by far the gayer book, although it ends boldly on a melancholy note.

Essential purity with a background of garishness: Colette has repeatedly achieved that daring contrast. There is a Gigi quality about Madeleine, and Audrey Hepburn could admirably play the part. But there was a Willy in Colette's life; neither fresh air nor perfume could obliterate his memory. Madeleine was spared that experience. This is a girlish book: and next to fox terriers, girls are the most attractive pets that mankind has evolved.

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[*] "The Little Madeleine" was reviewed by Mr. Guerard in *The Nation* of January 1, 1953.

ALBERT GUERARD is the author of "The France of Tomorrow," "France, a Short History," and other books.

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Chinese Thought and Idiom

A HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. Volume I, The Period of the Philosophers; Volume II, The Period of Classical Learning. By Fung Yu-lan. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton University Press. $6 and $7.50.

By Kenneth Rexroth

IN THE last few years, to the best of my knowledge, three books on Chinese philosophy by Fung Yu-lan have appeared. The first volume of this "History" was originally published by Veitch in Peking shortly before the change in regime, and a few copies got out to the West. The others are "The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy" and "A Short History of Chinese Philosophy," translated by E. R. Hughes and Derk Bodde respectively. Now these are very impressive auspices.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Bodde are among the top Sinologists of the present day, and both are specialists, of somewhat different points of view, in Chinese philosophy. Both are excellent translators. They have really carried across the special processes of Chinese thought without producing pidgin English. This is a very difficult trick to turn. Since Chinese philosophical speculation depends on the exact idiom of the thought, it is impossible to stress too heavily the idiom's importance. We are inclined to forget that Aristotle's logical treatises are really only a toccata and fugue on the themes of Greek grammar.

Chinese thought is even more closely dependent on its structure, its syntax. For this reason, together with many other merits, the pseudo-biblical language of the nineteenth-century translations of the Chinese classics, for instance those of Legge, translates not just the words or meanings but the very substance of Chinese thought into Western European meanings. As they say, it is a different universe of discourse.

To my mind it is this fidelity to the idiom which is the best thing about Derk Bodde's translation. Many people won't like it. I must admit it sounds a little like Miss Stein. Sometimes a whole page of close speculation about some problem of ethics or epistemology will go by. At the end you say, "Eh? What was that?" Nothing has been communicated. You have to go back and start over and proceed with care. Then, slowly it comes across, and what comes across is, if you don't know Chinese, a new way of looking at things.

SO MUCH for his translators. Now for Dr. Fung himself. I do not share the current enthusiasm for Dr. Fung. I don't agree with his philosophy. That doesn't matter; I don't agree with Plato's or St. Thomas's either, although I find them very entertaining reading. All Dr. Fung's works are built on the same principles. They purport to trace through Chinese philosophy a sort of master tendency, culminating in Dr. Fung.

This leads to serious misrepresentation. Dr. Fung's philosophy is a special kind of neo-Confucianism, brought very much up to date and merged with the universe of discourse which is the contemporary battleground of social theory and practice, as well as what someone called "the long epistemological debauch of modern philosophy." This is fine. I have no objection to the enrichment of the philosophy of either side in China and Formosa, or the Third Force in Hongkong, by the revaluation of the riches of Chinese tradition. The attempt to shape up a new theory of the relation of the one and the many in terms of social responsibility is very commendable. Western thinkers in this field could certainly read Dr. Fung with profit. But the documents of Taoism, the Lao Tse Book, the Chuang Tse Book, the Lieh Tse Book are not concerned with these problems. Neither are the Inner Light philosophers of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, nor the cosmologists of Tantric and Syncretic Buddhism, and certainly the Neo-Taoists are far from such interests.

The history of Chinese philosophy can be interpreted as a monolinear development only by doing violence to the facts, to the plain words, translated however you will, of the texts. Furthermore, Dr. Fung is, to put it mildly, a conservative in regard to the documents. He accepts the attributions of tradition pretty much at their face value. You would never guess from his "History of Chinese Philosophy" that the authenticity of attribution, the admixture of later material, the very nature and meaning of some books, such as the Shi Ching, the I Ching, and the Tao Te Ching, have been questioned continuously almost since their first appearance in history.

Many, perhaps most of the authorities, for instance, believe that the Tao Te Ching is a kind of psalter, a collection of mystical apothegms collected from all sorts of sources, some possibly Indian, and designed to be chanted in a community of monks. Again, it is obvious to anyone not committed to their Confucian interpretation, that the poems of the Shi Ching are a collection of folksongs and that many are erotic songs ultimately connected with group marriage rituals of the kind that still prevail amongst the aborigines of southwest China. The best parallel in our own tradition is the Song of Songs—a similar anthology. And so on. There are literally hundreds of questions like this, all of which should be taken into account, to deny them if nothing more, in any history of Chinese philosophy.

When Dr. Fung is dealing with material with a clearer historical pedigree, he is considerably better. One reason may be that the later philosophers of the Chinese classical period, Mohists, Legalists, the early Neo-Confucians are more interested in the questions which interest him. The speculations deal primarily with morality, ethics, society, the relations among men of the one and the many. For this reason he is best of all in the second volume, when he outlines the growth of systematic and religious neo-Confucianism in the centuries of the Christian era.

One thing he never does—and this is the approach we need most—he never considers Chinese philosophy with the objectivity of the ethnologist. After all, that is precisely what Confucius himself was, a kind of applied anthropologist who attempted to erect a comprehensive personal and social philosophy on the careful study of folkways.

I cannot recommend Dr. Fung as a guide to the uninitiated. If you want to learn about Chinese philosophy and know nothing about it, a collection with

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KENNETH REXROTH, author of many books of poetry, will bring out "100 Japanese Poems" next spring and "100 Chinese Poems," in the following fall.

no scholarly pretensions like Lin Yutang's "Wisdom of the East" or a good handbook of selections like Dr. Hughes's "Chinese Classical Philosophy" is much to be preferred.

Best of all perhaps is Fr. Wieger's "History of the Philosophical Beliefs and Religious Opinions of China." Fr. Wieger is a Jesuit, and the ingenuousness of Chinese philosophy strikes him as triviality. He does not think much of anybody except Chuang Tse, but he conscientiously retails it all—in even-handed detail—so that his colleagues will be equipped, as they were in the eighteenth century, to deal with the Chinese literati as equals. Nothing could be less like Dr. Fung, who is *always* partisan.

This does not mean that he is not immensely stimulating, even illuminating, to those who do know the controversial character of his statements. Of course, if you don't care whether Lao Tse ever existed, or whether Mencius was really a sort of crypto-Yogi, and just want an introduction to a contemporary Chinese philosopher rather than a careful history of Chinese philosophy, Dr. Fung is very good indeed. As a matter of fact, he is all there is available in English.

Thriller into Art

THE DOCTOR AND THE DEVILS. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $2.50.

By Jacob Korg

ALTHOUGH a movie script is perhaps not the most obvious thing to be expected from Mr. Thomas, he deals squarely in this scenario with the dramatic realism demanded of the film, putting aside the verbal virtuosity that distinguishes his poetry. The story is based on a celebrated criminal case of nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Its hero, a brilliant professor of anatomy named Dr. Rock, who is a humanitarian as well as a devoted scientist, blames society both for the terrible poverty which exists in the city and for the shortsighted law which forces him to buy corpses for his demonstrations from grave-robbers. Unknown to Rock, two of his body-snatchers begin to obtain their corpses by killing poor old beggars who stay at their decrepit lodging-house. When the crimes are discovered, Rock is exonerated, but the people of the city, thinking he is responsible, burn him in effigy, and at the end Rock comes to feel they were right.

Mr. Thomas has fashioned this lurid thriller material into a dignified and significant work of art without sacrificing any of its raw excitement. As his shooting directions dwell on the violent life and cluttered squalor of the slums, describing everything in language as suggestively matter-of-fact as photography itself, a subtle moral lesson unobtrusively takes shape. The hideous poverty of "Rag-and-Bone Alley," as Rock declares, is the result of a social crime, and the same crime has driven the murderers' starving victims into a kind of life that is next door to death. All the murderers do is open the door; their crimes are only small reflections of the greater one. Dr. Rock learns to feel guilty of the murders, even though he did not know they were being committed. In the same way an indifferent society may be responsible for evil conditions of which it is entirely unaware.

Mr. Thomas's scenario suggests that the film script may have excellent possibilities as reading matter. In a literary form where everything must be visible or audible the author must supply his reader with vivid experiences, not with explanations of what he means to say. In addition, there is more resemblance between Mr. Thomas's old medium of poetry and his new one than might at first be supposed, for movies, while essentially dramatic, are fluid and hypnotic enough to lend themselves to the poetic method of expressing ideas by means of images in suggestive combinations.

"The Doctor and the Devils" should be an unusual movie when it is released next year. As a note added to the script says, movies undergo many changes while they are being produced, and it will be interesting to compare Mr. Thomas's original with the final result.

JACOB KORG is a member of the English Department of the City College of New York.

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Scholarly and Readable

THE PELICAN HISTORY OF ART. Edited by Nikolaus Pevsner. Volume I, Painting in Britain, 1530 to 1790. By Ellis K. Waterhouse. Volume II, The Art and Architecture of India. By Benjamin Rowland. Penguin Books. $8.50 each.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE only existing complete surveys of the history of art are both some fifty years old, and neither is in the English language. The usefulness of the present project is indicated by these simple statements of fact. Its quality is assured by the choice of Nikolaus Pevsner as editor, who can be counted upon to select the most productive minds from the ranks of art historians and to bring their labors into general coherence. The forty-eight volumes projected, each the work of a single author, are scheduled to appear at the rate of four a year and will probably become the fundamental work on art history in the English language, or for that matter in any other language. Scholarship has made such extraordinary advances in the past two generations that the older histories, excellent as they were, are valuable today mainly as an indication of what was known when they were written.

The present two volumes, on British painting and the arts in India, belong of course to totally different series. There is little point in considering them together except as they unfold the general plan. The text of each runs to about 275 pages, including selective bibliography and index. Each contains nearly 200 pages of half-tone cuts of good quality, about half of them full page in size. Text and illustrations are closely coordinated. The text is both scholarly and readable; a nice balance has been struck between the encyclopedic compendium and the book of ideas.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of British painting is how much about it is still unknown. Mr. Waterhouse has interlined his impressive documentation with frequent indications of areas which it would be valuable for future scholars to explore. Until he reaches the eighteenth century he rightly feels that research is more imperative than criticism. Arriving at last at Hogarth, Ramsay, Reynolds, and Gainsborough, he takes full advantage of the opportunity to indulge his own literary and critical gifts. Of Hogarth, for example, he says, "We can see how much of the Goldsmith in [him] was lost in his public parade of the Fielding element in his character." Of the two great rivals in later Georgian portraiture: "Where Reynolds's figures are all fee-fi-fo-fum, standing solidly planted in English parks, Gainsborough's are sometimes almost wraiths, exhalations of the autumn foliage." If the reader finds few such passages in the earlier chapters, it is because so much of Tudor and Stuart painting is clouded in mystery. The book begins with post-medieval England; and in painting that means the arrival of Holbein, the German-born artist from Basel. It ends around the year 1790, when Gainsborough had just died, Reynolds had gone blind, and Lawrence and Blake—who diverged so differently from the High Georgian age in which they were born—were just emerging.

That the entire civilization of India receives no more space than 250 years of painting in Britain has two justifications—the cultural orientation of most of the readers of the Pelican history, and the relative youth of Indian archaeology. Indeed, Professor Rowland begins by quoting a British professor of 1864 on Indian sculpture: "It affords no assistance in tracing the history of art, and its debased quality deprives it of all interest as a phase of fine art." From the mass of information and beauty unearthed since that time, some of it by the author himself, Mr. Rowland has fashioned an expert and powerfully outlined synthesis. He is a scholar who can write.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., The Nation's *art critic, is chairman of the Department of Art at Williams College.*

A review by John W. Aldridge of James T. Farrell's "The Face of Time," announced for this issue, has been postponed. It will appear on November 28.

Records

B. H. Haggin

BERLIOZ provided another overwhelming experience recently, this time with music I hadn't heard before. The beautiful songs "L'Absence" and "Le Spectre de la rose" that I had known from Maggie Teyte's record are part of a set called "Nuits d'été," which was recorded a few years ago for London by Suzanne Danco with the Cincinnati Symphony under Thor Johnson. The record wasn't sent to me for review; and I also missed Eleanor Steber's performance with the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos last spring; but recently a friend played a tape recording of the broadcast of that performance, which enabled me to hear for the first time two songs—"Sur les lagunes" and "Au cimetière"—that are among the most wonderful manifestations of Berlioz's powers.

In "Sur les lagunes" Berlioz uses a favorite procedure—the repetition at intervals of an unchanged figure that sounds different each time in the new context of the developing musical thought. One of the great examples is the Offertorium of the Requiem, in which the chorus sings its plaintive three-note figure at intervals during the increasingly elaborate and ever newly inventive fugal developments and expansive melodic episodes of the long orchestral movement; another is Juliet's Funeral Procession in "Romeo and Juliet," in which the chorus's plaintive *Jetez des fleurs!* on the repeated note E is heard similarly during the fugal development and melodic episode played by the orchestra, and then the fugal development and melodic episode are sung by the chorus with the plaintive E's heard at intervals from the violins. In "Sur les lagunes" it is the orchestra's somber three-note figure in the first measure that continues to punctuate the succession of wonderful vocal phrases which pivot on wonderful shifts of harmony; but it is from the voice that we hear the figure the last time at the end.

"Au cimetière" offers not only the exquisite vocal melody that deploys itself with intricate rhythmic irregularity over the bar-lines, but the exciting activity of the orchestra in which we hear the Berlioz mind constantly in operation. In the opening section that activity is the occasional plucked bass notes which add to the rhythmic irregularity; in the new section beginning with *On dirait que l'âme éveillée* the voice's repeated A's are punctuated by the woodwind's poignant two-note chromatic figure, which is made suddenly exciting by its increased animation and the plucked bass notes; at the climax of this section a moment later there are brilliant flourishes by the woodwinds, then their poignant two-note figure is heard again, with the violins adding gleaming harmonics, as the voice continues toward the pause for the return of the opening section; and this now is made overwhelming by a poignant descending figure of the muted violins and violas.

Unfortunately this figure, like some other orchestral details, is not clearly audible in the London performance, partly as a result of Danco's being placed too close to the microphone; and another consequence is that her lovely voice sounds unlovely in loud passages. In addition Johnson's conducting produces nothing more than a statement of the notes. One hopes therefore that Columbia recorded the superb Steber-Mitropoulos performance; but meanwhile the London record is something to acquire for the music and the singing.

RCA Victor's recording of the entire "Romeo and Juliet" of Berlioz makes the vocal portions of the work available on records for the first time. Unfortunately tradition appears to require the chorus in a Boston Symphony performance to be made up of the Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society, with the result that in the choral Prologue we hear rough-toned and crudely four-square singing of music which Berlioz directs shall have the character of recitative, and in Juliet's Funeral Procession we hear not the plaintive *Jetez—des fleurs!* that is marked *pp* in the score but an aggressively accented JE—TEZ—DES FLEURS! In addition Margaret Roggero's tremulous contralto voice is damaging to the Stanzas that follow the Prologue. But the exquisite Scherzetto is sung well by Leslie Chabay.

Munch isn't responsible for the poor voices of the chorus, but he is responsible for the way it sings; and he also is responsible for the numerous details that reveal a lack of the sense for the right tempo, the sense for the right measure and proportion in change of tempo, change of sonority, and inflection of phrase that makes for continuity and coherence in the progression. The Love Scene suffers most from this ineptitude; and one of the worst examples is provided by the *più animato* passage on p. 170 of the Eulenburg score, in which a brief statement is repeated in a crescendo to a climax, and Munch each time accelerates the beginning of the statement only to slow down almost immediately in crude expansive emphasis of its end, thus producing a series of awkward starts and stops instead of the continuous progression. Moreover, except for the "Queen Mab" of Part 4 one wouldn't recognize the sound which comes off the records as that of the Boston Symphony; and the "Queen Mab" indicates that elsewhere the recording only makes worse what wasn't good in Symphony Hall. It is the recording which gives us Romeo in the Vault of the Capulets without its concluding pizzicato A; but it is Munch who gives us the "Queen Mab" with an extra stroke the antique cymbal after the wonderful ostinato passage.

This recording too is therefore something to acquire only for the music that isn't available on other records, until Toscanini records his performance.

Haydn's Symphony No. 92 ("Oxford"), one of his greatest, and Mozart's G minor get characteristically placid performances by Krips with the London Symphony (London) in which the dynamically lively Haydn lacks animation and the impassioned G minor is unimpassioned. The orchestra is excellent.

One of Dvorak's most beautiful pieces, the "Carnival" Overture, played by the Linz Bruckner Symphony under Georg Jochum, is on a Urania record with the melodious but long and rambling Symphonic Suite from Dvorak's opera "The Jacobin," played by the Radio Berlin Symphony under Kurt Kretschmar, and the uninteresting Overture to Smetana's "Libussa," played by the same orchestra under Rother. Good performances.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 541

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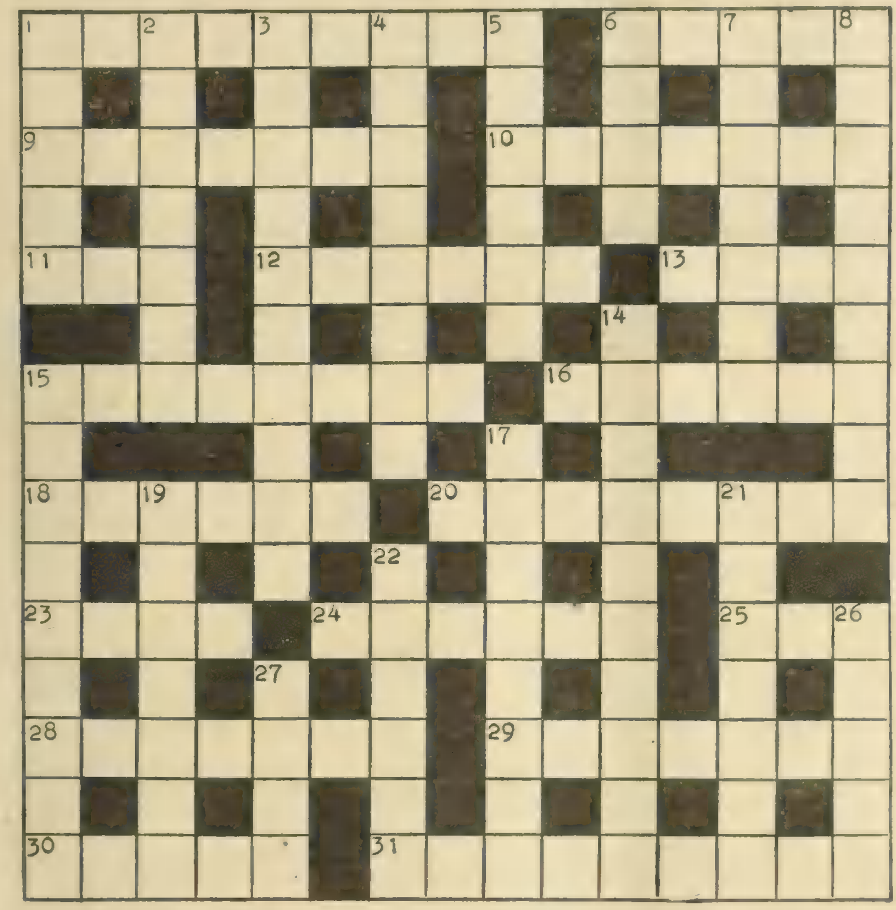

ACROSS

9 This between Seven and Thebes is just play. (7)
10 Detains, alternatively. (7)
11, 4, 30, 1 ac. and 6 ac. Did he give early morning dictation? (3, 8, 2, 3, 9, 5)
12 and 24. Are they associated with a crazy time? (6, 6)
13 This sort of 1 down doesn't sound very interesting. (4)
15 Compounded of a salt in a foreign product. (8)
16 He seems to have an equal look about him. (6)
18 Move tediously, as a monstrous thing? (6)
20 What women do with rats, for safety? (8)
23 In the corner of this puzzle. (4)
25 Take part of 19, without 13. (3)
28. An absorbing fellow? (7)
29 Dames in distress? (7)
31 The sign to take away a bad clue? It's not very significant. (10)

DOWN

1 This is unexcelled around a 13, for example. (5)
2 Puts a hard-finished coat on. (7)
3 Ruler of the Old South. (4, 6)
5 A man is proverbially made when this sounds enough like a sewer. (6)
6 26, but not a sort of trial. (4)
7 Bert's no different, even on the continent. (7)
8 Starts with the finish or looks at the end. (9)
14 What is projected should be studied by this. (10)
15 Slow, and a sort of one of your favorite magazines? (9)
17 He might punch 24, but shouldn't be expected to fix them. (8)
19 He is skilled in the construction of both automobile and ship. (7)
21 Anglo-French Waterman? Not exactly, but on top. (7)
22 Is painting a topsy-turvy racket of old? (6)
26 These buds don't bloom. (5)
27 Fit conclusion of 6 across. (4)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 540

ACROSS:—1 SIMPLES; 5 SKILLET; 10 NUT; 11 TUNIC; 15 ARDENT; 16 SOJOURN; 17 DOME; 21 FERRULE; 22 BIDE; 23 and 19 BACKWASH; 25 DEAD END; 29 DRIVEL; 35 NERVE; 36 RETINUE; 37 YODLERS.

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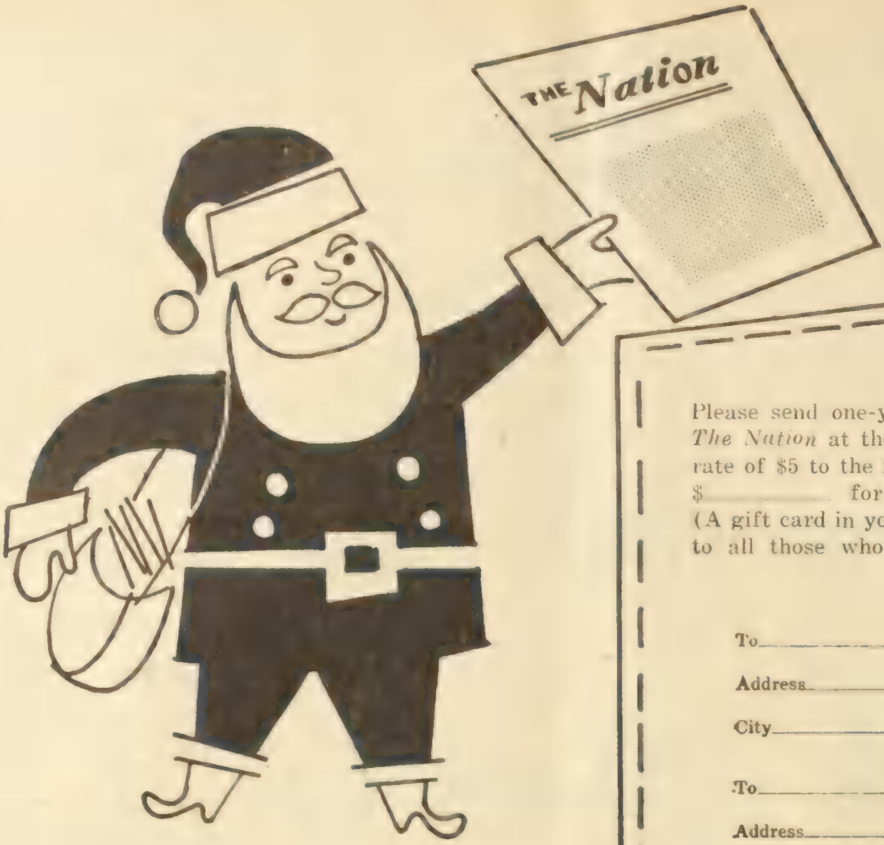

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EDITORIALS

Crisis of Democracy . . *by H. H. Wilson*

BY HIS attack on former President Truman, Attorney General Herbert Brownell has precipitated a major crisis for American democracy. He has made apparent how narrow is the ledge on which we stand today. The attack has many meanings, all serious in themselves, and each reveals a devastating corruption of the democratic political process.

The corruption is implicit, first, in the Attorney General's cynical disregard of the basic value of a democratic society—namely, the worth, dignity, and integrity of the individual. On this fundamental our system rests. Undermine it and the entire structure is endangered. With a cynicism reminiscent of Dr. Goebbels, Mr. Brownell has ruthlessly undercut this value. Without qualification he has stated that the late Harry Dexter White was a "Russian spy." This would be a devastating charge to make against White if he were alive; but to make it against a man who is dead, who is survived by his widow and children, who was, in effect, exonerated by a grand jury which failed to return an indictment against him on this very charge, is a brutal act which shows a profound contempt for our society—a contempt that is customarily displayed only by its worst enemies.

Harry Dexter White was never convicted of the crimes with which he is charged—a charge to which he cannot now reply. The Attorney General of the United States cannot convict individuals, living or dead, merely by stating that he has examined presumed evidence and proclaiming them guilty. This is a form of lynch law, and the fact that it was attempted for self-evident political reasons by the leading law-enforcement official of the government only underscores the enormity of the offense against democratic principles. The enormity of the offense is increased by the well-grounded belief that the report on which Mr. Brownell relies does not justify the charge he has made. On innumerable occasions the public has been assured that the F. B. I. draws no conclusions from the data it collects. While the report itself is not available, it is known to depend in large measure on the testimony of two sterling self-confessed traitors, Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers. Significantly, Chambers failed to produce the documents which are alleged to incriminate White until after his victim's death. These and other circumstances indicate that the Attorney General of the United States has drawn inferences from charges that have never been thoroughly tested or verified.

Whatever its contents, however, the F. B. I. report does not excuse the use Mr. Brownell has made of it. It is not merely that he has acted in flagrant disregard of constitutional principles or that he has grossly abused the powers of his high office; what is even more disturbing is the cynicism of his act. He could hardly have given clearer expression to his contempt for both people and the democratic process than by resurrecting this stale, unproved accusation and using it as a contemporary "bloody shirt" to undermine the confidence of the public in its leadership. This man's contempt for people can be measured by his refusal to grant the press an interview. Imagine the press reaction had a Democratic Attorney General refused to grant an interview to newspapermen! By the same token an Administration that sanctions such conduct would go to any length to stay in power. The American people cannot ignore the fact that this is official Republican Party strategy and not merely the personal whim of Mr. Brownell. This was indicated a few weeks ago when the Republican National Committee declared its intention of using Senator McCarthy intensively in the 1954 Senatorial campaigns. Let it be understood: these are the tactics which destroy; this is poison injected into the body politic.

The corruption of the democratic process is further revealed by President Eisenhower's amazingly casual handling of the issue; indeed, his apparent insensitivity is one of the most remarkable aspects of this fantastic development. First, the President casually approves a speech which he evidently did not examine and, by inference, would not have approved had he read it. Then when he has to face the fire of a press conference, he blandly confesses amazement that there is such interest in

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this intrigue and, chuckling, agrees that that man Brownell can surely stir things up! Hindenburg's apologists could at least plead that he was senile, but what is one to say of this other general's performance? He doesn't approve the attempt to subpoena former President Truman, but it was a foregone conclusion that such an attempt would be made once Brownell launched his charge. His childish statement that Mr. Truman's loyalty was not in question will not erase the impression of irresponsible conduct which the President has created.

Corruption of the democratic process is implicit too in the character of the charge against ex-President Truman. Bluntly stated, Brownell accused Mr. Truman of knowingly tolerating spies and traitors in the government. To make a charge of this kind, without investigation of the facts, without the semblance of a hearing, against a former President is to sabotage the prestige of the office and the people's respect for it. It is to strike at democratic institutions. It is to adopt the totalitarian "friend-enemy" concept—that a party in power can use any device and go to any lengths to destroy a political opposition. Representative government through a responsible two-party system becomes unworkable if such a concept goes unchallenged. This is tantamount to the principles of the Nazi and Russian purges, to the notion that the opposition not only can be but must be liquidated. Mr. Brownell is too shrewd not to have known that McCarthy, Velde, Jenner would seek to muscle in on the act. Velde's attempt to subpoena Mr. Truman only expresses the contempt for the Presidential office that was implicit in Mr. Brownell's charges. Constitutionally a former President is liable to subpoena, but if an outgoing Administration can be made subject to inquisition by a Congressional committee, the doctrine of the separation of powers has been seriously undermined.

CORRUPTION of the democratic process is implied also in what this affair reveals about the extraordinary power of the F. B. I. as a kind of shadow government behind the government—an agency that is responsible to no one and that has usurped the executive power of appointment by imposing, in effect, a veto on this power. It is time the American people took a long hard look at an organization which no public figure since the late Senator George Norris has dared to scrutinize. It should be an accepted principle that officers of the federal government, including the President, are required to evaluate, not accept uncritically, the F. B. I.'s reports on prospective appointees. Police agencies when they turn their hand to political surveillance often lose that respect for logic and fact which characterizes intelligent detection and investigation in ordinary criminal matters. F. B. I. agents are not notable for intellectual subtlety or for training in political philosophy. There is even reason to suspect that the personnel is not recruited from those in the population most devoted to the ideals of political democracy. In any event, F. B. I. files contain every imaginable kind of information and misinformation, ranging from petitions signed in college days to neighborhood suspicions based on idiosyncrasies, odd hours, loud radios, or late parties. Anonymous poison-pen letters, solicited by the F. B. I., gossip, rumor, hearsay, the rantings of cranks, the well-refreshed recollections of professional ex-Communists—along with any actual incriminating material the police may have dug up—are also included.

AS THIS is written, Mr. Truman is expected shortly to air his side of the controversy. But whatever justification *he* may make for his conduct, the question must still be asked: Should the President—or any other official—be prohibited from exercising his independent judgment on these grab-bags of fact and innuendo in the light of the public reputation of the person involved and the testimony of his friends and professional colleagues? So-called evidence from this same F. B. I. file, which was insufficient to bring about an indictment of White, is enough to cause the Attorney General of the United States to declare that the political police should be the final judge of qualifications of Americans for government positions. Once grant this principle, which is indeed now sanctified by the White House, and the executive will become the haven of the corrupt, cringing, reactionary, and fanatic. For only such types will ultimately satisfy the canons of loyalty evolved by J. Edgar Hoover and his allies, Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy. The poison of mutual fear must then spread until we are paralyzed by dread of a monster of our own imagining. Only a full investigation will reveal the extent to which the F. B. I. under J. Edgar Hoover has now become the power which disposes after the President proposes.

Corruption of the democratic process is implicit in what this incident reveals of the quality of current political debate and discussion, of political activity generally—a condition created by acceptance of the most fantastic hoax of our generation, the domestic "Communist menace." Under the hypnotic spell of this hoax we are reduced to haggling about details, procedures, and phraseology. The timing of Brownell's new twist on an old bromide was hardly accidental, coming so soon after the impressive defeat at the polls of candidates who had neglected what the political delinquent from Wisconsin termed the "real issue," and in the wake of the serious scandals which have tarred the sanctimonious Dewey administration in New York. It was intended to discredit the Democratic Party and win elections for Republicans by linking communism to the old "Truman-Acheson regime." It is now as plain as Cyrano's nose, if it was not before, that McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Brownell, and Eisenhower do not limit their attack to Communists. They cannot. They will not. The loyalty mania would not serve their purpose if they did. This is a deliberate attempt to discredit and destroy the liberal tradition in American society, to erase from the mind of living men the achievements of the New Deal and the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a symbol of hope and aspiration for the American people. Moreover, this cynical affair starkly reveals that President Eisenhower has lost control of his own Administration. He is the captive of the Brownells who have in turn delivered him to McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and Co.

The emergence of genteel, "kid-glove" McCarthyism, the kind dispensed by Eisenhower in bland, evasive statements to the press, does not offer any assurance that American liberties will be any better respected in the future. After all, this is the same man who edited out of his campaign speeches at the behest of McCarthy supporters favorable references to his life-long friend and sponsor General George C. Marshall. The hit-and-run tactics of McCarthy now have the imprimatur of the White House.

Now that the real reason for the loyalty purges—an attack upon the Democratic Party and on the existence of political opposition through an attack on liberal thought—has been revealed, an opportunity has arisen to talk some sense about the danger of communism in the United States. Up to this moment individuals have been attacked and smeared and largely left to stand alone, even though it has been clear enough that they were merely symbols or stand-ins for the real target. Under the lash of Brownell's charges, however, the Democratic Party is now under direct attack; its top leadership is being crudely red-baited by the highest officials. The Democrats have a great issue for the 1956 campaign if they can summon the intellectual integrity and courage to meet it. Let them not misjudge the situation. For if they fail to meet this issue, they will be signing their own political death warrant. The primitives among the Republicans, the supporters of Brownell and McCarthy, have already begun the chant for blood. They want those Democratic scalps, all of them. Thus Clare Hoffman of Michigan has asked what should be done with Harry Truman, who promoted a Soviet spy, in the light of the execution of the Rosenbergs for transmitting information to Soviet Russia.

TRAGICALLY, the genuine target of the primitives, the Democratic Party, is still bemused by the hoax of communism. Can the Democratic Party which launched the Smith act prosecutions, which created the "loyalty" program, which first sponsored Chambers and Bentley and Budenz as witnesses summon the will, the intellect, and the courage to fight for its own survival?

The Democratic Party should have had its chief spokesmen on a nation-wide radio hookup denouncing the outrageous attack on Mr. Truman within a matter of hours, not of days. Mitchell's puny attempt to pass off the attack as a Republican "stunt" betrayed a gross misconception of the implications of this issue. It is not merely a tactic; it is a frontal assault on democratic values. One fears that the sole organized group in America with sufficient responsibility to be listened to, sufficient independence to take action, and sufficient resources to make itself heard may have become too befuddled by anti-Communist propaganda to recognize the injection of poison into its own blood stream. Democrats should know by now that the voters consider the Republicans to be superior witch-hunters. It would seem astute, therefore, for Democrats to concentrate on disabusing voters of their belief in the prevalence of witches. The "Communist conspiracy," a small brush fire in 1946-48, has become a raging conflagration. It may turn out to be the funeral pyre of the Democratic Party.

On the other hand, Mr. Truman may have saved his party by finally deciding to rebuff the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Had he acted before President Eisenhower's press conference, he might have made it even more difficult for the Republicans to cut their losses. He acted in time, however, to create a great issue for the Democrats in 1954 if they are prepared to fight McCarthyism and all that the term implies. But if the Democrats elect to join forces with the Republicans in continuing the witch hunt, the White case could prove to be the tragedy of American politics.

American democracy has withstood public apathy, judicial supremacy, Congressional corruption, and weak unimaginative Presidents, but it cannot survive rule by informers, political police, and delinquents in government. Democracy is jettisoned when suspicion becomes the equivalent of indictment and accusation of conviction. The political process becomes impossible when disagreement and criticism take the form of charging treason.

The Shape of Things

Philippine Reform

The sweeping victory of Ramon Magsaysay and his Nationalist-Democratic coalition represented, above everything else, a popular revolt of the Philippine people against the cynical corruption and terrorism of the Quirino regime. With a majority of more than 1,500,000 votes—2,819,735 to 1,262,086 at latest count—and complete control of both houses of Congress, the new administration should be able to put through without serious opposition the chief reforms promised in the course of a bitter campaign. Certainly the people expect this of Magsaysay and his party.

Whether he will translate promises into acts of government depends upon the honesty and determination behind them. Large-scale graft and dictatorial rule have been endemic in Philippine politics, the will of the people something to be conjured up for campaign purposes and ignored after election day. Mr. Magsaysay has energy and youth. His record as a guerrilla leader during the war is one of his strongest assets. As Quirino's Secretary of Defense he put down the Hukbelahap revolt without mercy, but had the wisdom to press for land reforms in the districts where discontent had filled the ranks of the rebels. It is not likely that Mr. Magsaysay will give the Filipinos the sweeping New Deal program the country so badly needs, but at least he will be an improvement over his predecessor.

The Fascists and Trieste

By responding promptly and in conciliatory fashion to the Western proposal for a conference on Trieste, Marshal Tito has put the Italian government on an uncomfortable spot. He has not, to be sure, yielded any ground on the major issue of handing over Zone A to Italy, as the British and the United States said they would do, but his willingness to accept Italian rule in the city of Trieste is a notable concession in advance of the talks.

The holding of the conference now depends on the Italians, who still insist that they will talk only if Zone A is first put under their control. This is now obviously out of the question. The Western powers are only looking for a way to back gracefully out of the mess they have walked into. But so far the efforts to induce Premier Pella to accept talks without preconditions have failed. Apparently he hopes to gain his point by hinting that Italian cooperation in E. D. C. would otherwise be withheld.

However, the chief reason for his intransigence is undoubtedly the pressure exercised by the extreme right. An extraordinary thing about the entire Trieste affair is the surprise with which London and Washington discovered that fascism was again making headway in Italy. Allied security authorities investigating the recent riots found plenty of evidence of the part played by the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (M. S. I.) in the first—and worst—outburst of violence in Trieste, and of the close liaison with the party's headquarters in Italy. A few arrests were made, but most of the suspects succeeded in escaping to Italy or managed to go underground in the Free Territory; so new troubles may take place in the not distant future.

The Fascists in Italy were loudly cheered by the Spanish Falangist press, and a neo-Fascist member of the Italian Parliament Signor de Felice, has announced the formation of a "Trieste-Suez-Gibraltar Committee" to rally anti-British sentiment in the Mediterranean countries. All this helps create an atmosphere in which a sensible solution of the Trieste problem has become all but impossible.

The California Election

It is hard to say just what effect Attorney General Brownell's charges against former President Truman may have had on the outcome of the special election in the twenty-fourth Congressional District in Los Angeles. The district had been skillfully gerrymandered by the Republicans in 1951. The new district would be normally Republican but a split in the Republican ranks created an opportunity for George Arnold, the leading Democratic candidate, since California's cross-filing rules do not apply in special elections. In the final week of the campaign, however, the Republicans managed to achieve a de facto unity behind the candidacy of Glenard Lipscomb, the candidate of the Nixon-Knight faction, with the result that the rival Republican candidate, Assemblyman John L. E. Collier, received only a token vote. But it is worth noting that Mr. Brownell's Goebbels-like tactics did not produce any noticeable feeling of mass revulsion or nausea among the voters of this fairly typical urban middle-class district. While the Republicans finally managed to patch up a truce in the Nixon-Knowland feud—the rival candidacies of Lipscomb and Collier may be traced to this rift—the feud has not been settled by any means nor can a settlement be easily negotiated. Nixon and Knowland both have their eyes on the Republican nomination in 1956 and a bitter fight for control of the California delegation is already shaping up.

Nonsense and Mischief

The Canadian press is not enchanted by the suggestion that Igor Gouzenko, the Soviet cipher clerk who walked out of the Russian embassy in Ottawa eight years ago to expose war-time Red spying in Canada, should be brought to this country to appear before the TV cameras under Senator McCarthy's artful direction, or, as an alternative, that the Senator should junket to Canada to interrogate him. Gouzenko has been held in "protected seclusion" for the last eight years by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He has been cut off from what goes on in Canada, the United States, and the Soviet Union; he has not had access to relevant documents and reports; and he has seen only those persons who have been cleared by the R. C. M. P. It is a little difficult, therefore, for the Canadian press to believe that he has any new information to give.

The Toronto *Daily Star* points out that Gouzenko has gone through a fortune of about $100,000 in the last eight years—$75,000 from Hollywood and $25,000 from royalties on a book—and that he now feels that the Canadians have dealt with him on a rather stingy basis. He is said also to be anxious to have the publication of a new book coincide with sensational headlines in the American press. Comments the Ottawa *Journal*: "Before this nonsense and threatened mischief go further the Canadian government should inform Gouzenko that if he has any information to divulge he must give it quietly to the R. C. M. P., that he will not be permitted to go to the United States to talk to Senator McCarthy, and that Senator McCarthy will not be permitted to come here to talk to him. . . . We don't want Senator McCarthy, aided and abetted by Colonel McCormick, messing around in Canada with his witch hunts. . . . We have enough grief of our own as it is."

Dr. Schweitzer Honored

The unanimous approval of the selection of Dr. Albert Schweitzer as the recipient of the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize comes as a refreshing contrast to the controversies which usually attend the award. Son of a Protestant clergyman, and himself a minister and a missionary, Dr. Schweitzer was led naturally to the humanitarianism which has marked his varied career. His contact with the poor decided him to study medicine; it was with his eye already fixed on the epic that awaited him in Equatorial Africa that he chose to specialize in tropical diseases at medical school in Paris. From school he went to Africa, where he earned his repute as the greatest missionary of our time. In his hospital at Lambarenè, devoting himself primarily to that most dreadful of all diseases, leprosy, he accomplished superhuman tasks. He became the blessed "Apostle of the Lepers."

Perhaps a Nobel Prize for Humanism—had there been such a thing—would have more fittingly crowned his work. He is not only a great humanitarian; he is also a master of the most varied intellectual pursuits. Theologian, philosopher, and historian, he is in addition a remarkable musician, one of the world's greatest interpreters of Bach on the organ. The French Academy of Political and Moral Sciences elected him to membership. France is proud of him; the French Embassy in Oslo hastened to correct a Norwegian newspaper which, misled by the great man's Alsatian name, had called him a German.

Moscow and Bermuda

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

THE announcement of the conference of the Big Three was received in European political circles with mixed emotions. Those who regarded the projected meeting as a Churchill victory were inclined to hope that his desire for direct talks with the Russians, no matter how difficult the situation, would finally prevail. Others feared that Moscow, which had already protested against the system of "tripartite conferences" as represented by both the Western Foreign Ministers' meeting in Washington and the subsequent conference in London, would consider the Bermuda plan a new gesture of hostility. In fact, to understand the basis of these contradictory reactions one must keep in mind the Soviet note of November 3. Contrary to the commonly expressed view that the note merely repeated old arguments and revealed a totally negative attitude, it is one of the most important of the series of documents exchanged between Moscow and the Western capitals since the death of Stalin.

To begin with, it proves that the disappearance of Stalin did not result in the sharp break with the past that many have assumed—partly from the fact that his name has not been so frequently mentioned as during his life. Even from that secondary aspect the recent celebration of the October Revolution dispelled the legend that the new rulers were trying to play down their previous association with the dead leader. The memory of Stalin was honored, as was natural from the Russian point of view in the case of a man who in one of the gravest periods through which the country had passed played a unique historical role. But apart from external details, the continuity of Soviet foreign policy, viewed in its essentials, emerges clearly from any dispassionate reading of the record. The last Soviet note illustrates the point in a way that rules out any further speculation based on fragmentary indications or isolated facts.

OF COURSE PROOF of this continuity does not lead to the conclusion that Moscow's policy is a consistent refusal to negotiate. Willingness to negotiate was expressed by Stalin himself, before his death, in an end-of-the-year interview in the New York *Times*. But the November 3 note makes it clearer than ever that readiness to negotiate does not imply readiness to abandon basic positions, no matter how many illusory or real internal difficulties the regime faces or how much the West emphasizes its policy of developing "positions of strength." And the note also makes clearer the fact that one of those basic positions has to do with Germany. It asks the Allies a question about Germany that may be answered in the note now being prepared in Paris by the Western experts, or later at the meeting of the Big Three at Bermuda. The question is this: If the four-power conference on Germany and Russia to which you have invited us should take place, would you suspend during that conference the ratification of the treaty creating the E. D. C.? It is a question whose logic is difficult to challenge. Since the main object of Soviet policy on Germany is to prevent the rearmament of West Germany and its incorporation in the Atlantic alliance, to proceed with the ratification of the European-army agreement, under which German armed strength would be re-created, would rob such a conference of all meaning.

By rejecting the invitation contained in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on August 28 to participate in the political conference on Korea, and by stating that in any case that conference could only deal with Korean affairs, Russia also makes it clear that neither Indo-China nor any other Asiatic problem can be settled until Communist China is admitted to full participation in world affairs and its diplomatic status established. That position is also long-standing and firm.

But perhaps the most striking item in the last Russian communication is the statement that "the security of the Soviet Union is threatened." It is not found to my knowledge in any other similar document from the Kremlin. Its importance is accentuated by the fact that it is clearly connected with the new bases installed by the United States extending "from Norway to Iran." On the occasion of the signing at Madrid of the treaty between the United States and Spain's fascist dictator, I pointed out that Moscow took a very serious view of this latest development in the policy of multiplying bases for an eventual action—call it "offensive" or "defensive"—against the Soviet Union

IN THE LIGHT of Russia's refusal to go to Lugano, what practical results can emerge from the three-power conference at Bermuda? The tone in which Secretary of State Dulles prefaced the announcement, saying, as reported here, that the United States would go ahead with plans for resolving the problem of Germany without Soviet Russia, does not promise well. Since the Secretary would not elaborate on these plans, it is difficult to imagine what sorts of decisions on Germany might be reached outside a conference of the Big Four. Chancellor Adenauer has lately been pressing for more direct procedures, especially in view of the probability that the French National Assembly will not vote on the European army until after the election of the new President of the Republic, that is to say, until well into the next year. Given the weight that Adenauer's opinion carries in Washington, it is feared here that he may have won the support of Secretary Dulles and the President himself.

If the Bermuda conference is being conceived as a means of encouraging those groups in France which favor ratification, it could, on the other hand, have the opposite effect of strengthening the adversaries of ratification, who could claim foreign pressure and interference. Here the moment is not ripe for ratification. Many politicians and political groups hesitate even to declare themselves on the subject until they see the outcome of the Presidental election and the course French politics will take after that.

The Big Three conference at London was clearly not a success. It is hard to see what more can come out of the conference at Bermuda other than a possible strengthening of Chancellor Adenauer's influence on world affairs and a decision to go on with the rearmament of Germany whether the Russians like it or not—an action that would hardly contribute to a rapprochement between East and West.

BRITISH PLOT

Return to Israel . . *by Lillie Shultz*

United Nations, November 13

TO THE plot and counter-plot against peace in the Middle East must now be added that perennial trouble-maker—the search for an outlet to the sea, this time by Britain. Britain needs a permanent replacement for its largest base in Egypt, which would simultaneously allow it to garrison troops, provide an outlet to the eastern Mediterranean, and give easy access to its bases in Tripoli, Libya, Jordan, Iraq, Cyprus, and Kenya. Standing between Britain and this desire is Israel.

Since Britain's ultimate departure from Egypt is inevitable, where is the substitute for Suez? Jordan seemingly is the natural place for a number of reasons. The country is almost completely a British protectorate. Created by Britain in 1922, it was administered under the Palestine mandate until 1946 when Britain granted it "independence." Britain supplies two-thirds of the £14,000,000 budget of the country. Its funds maintain the Arab Legion, British led and British trained. Even today Jordan depends almost entirely for its foreign currency on the British subsidy, the openly acknowledged part of which is about £9,000,000, and on the funds brought in by the United Nations Works and Relief Agency. Moreover, Britain already has three bases in Jordan, at Amman and Mafraq in the north, now being expanded, and in the south at Aqaba, with its outlet to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. But Jordan does not have an outlet to the Mediterranean.

How is Britain to get that outlet? Two possibilities exist. The first is to obtain access to Haifa in Israel. To achieve this, it needs: (a) permission from Jordan to move its forces into the Nablus triangle, the area of former Arab Palestine annexed by Jordan in April, 1950, a move which would bring the British within twenty-four miles of Haifa; (b) consent from Israel.

But there are obstacles. First, Britain must create the conditions under which consent could be obtained from both parties. To be sure, the Anglo-Jordanian treaty of March, 1948, provides that in the event of war, "or of a menace of hostilities, each High Contracting Party will invite the other to bring to his territory or territory controlled by him the necessary forces of all arms." When Jordan annexed Arab Palestine on April 24, 1950, Britain immediately thereafter announced that the Anglo-Jordan treaty applied to this area as well. But the British government also said that it had "no intention of requesting the establishment of military bases *in peace time* within the area of Palestine now united to the Kingdom of Jordan." So to move into this territory Britain requires the absence of peace.

Britain's second possibility for obtaining a Mediterranean outlet is to establish a new base in the Gaza strip, which is on the Mediterranean coast. It was at Gaza-Rafa during the mandate that the British had their largest Palestine garrison. But here too obstacles exist. Gaza belongs to Egypt. The Egyptians, it is believed, would give up Gaza in exchange for British evacuation of the Canal Zone. Even if this were to happen, Britain would still need an inland route both to its bases in northern Jordan and Iraq and to its southern base at Aqaba. And here Israel is involved again. For the route from Gaza to Amman and Iraq is through Jerusalem, while that from Gaza to Aqaba is through the Negev. Both routes cross Israeli territory; so Israel's consent is necessary.

How to create a situation which is not peace, and to utilize it to produce an invitation from Jordan to move into Arab Palestine? How to soften up Israel to the point where consent from that quarter might be possible? That was the British dilemma.

Kibya presented an opportunity to resolve it. Backed by the ruling of the chairman of the Truce Commission that Israeli military forces were responsible for the Kibya incident, Sir Gladwyn Jebb could emphasize that the situation was "fraught with dangerous possibilities," but at the same time refuse to advance the logical proposal that there be a discussion of a permanent peace settlement. In this way Jordan's fears of further incidents could be fanned, Israel's desperate desire for peace could be denied, and the door thus kept open for the achievement of Britain's ultimate military objectives.

HERE IS unquestionably the explanation for the crack-down on Israel by Anthony Eden in the House of Commons. It makes understandable the harsh statement of the Archbishop of York. It explains the insistence of the British in every public utterance that the incident was planned and carried out by Israeli military forces, despite the denial by the Prime Minister of Israel. It explains also why the London *Economist* on October 24 could say in a lengthy article discussing pacification of the area that "only force applied from the outside can achieve it." This, says the *Economist,* was "the only recipe for quiet living throughout the years of the British mandate; and so it remains today." Insisting that bitterness of feeling between Jew and Arab is greater than it has ever been, this influential paper put forward the idea that the Anglo-French-American declaration of May, 1950, be strengthened *"to dictate, if necessary themselves to man, a permanent frontier line.* Unless they do so, grave consequences will follow."

Were such a policy adopted, Britain could hope to be named as the representative of the Big Three, since it is the only country with forces in the area. What this means is British forces on the long frontier between Israel and Jordan and in former Arab Palestine.

The British plan is not new. At the height of the Palestine war the Arab Legion, under the command of Glubb Pasha, then still an officer of the British army, was permitted by the British to enter Palestine at Jericho with the aim of capturing Jerusalem as a bridgehead for opening a corridor to Gaza. This would have given the two Hashemite kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan, both heavily articled to the British, their much-desired outlet to the Mediterranean, and the British their inland route to Jordan and Iraq.

Anticipating departure from the Canal Zone, the British at this period hoped to make Gaza and Aqaba principal bases and put strong pressure on the State Department to influence the Israelis to yield the Negev and their port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba. The maneuver failed; the Egyptians captured Gaza and have held it, and the State Department was unable to force Israel to give up any part of the Negev.

The plan called for careful preparation—the accentuation of border tension between Israel and Jordan to the point where Britain could step in and offer its services as the guardian of peace to both sides, at a price. From Jordan the price would be permission to move into the Nablus triangle; from Israel, access to the sea.

The first outlines of this maneuver became visible early this year. On January 31, 1953, according to the Arab News Agency, the Defense Minister of Jordan, Nuseibeh, acting in behalf of the Premier, requested the chargé d'affaires of the British legation in Amman to implement the treaty protecting Jordan from aggression on the basis of Jordan allegations that its territory had been repeatedly violated by Israeli forces.

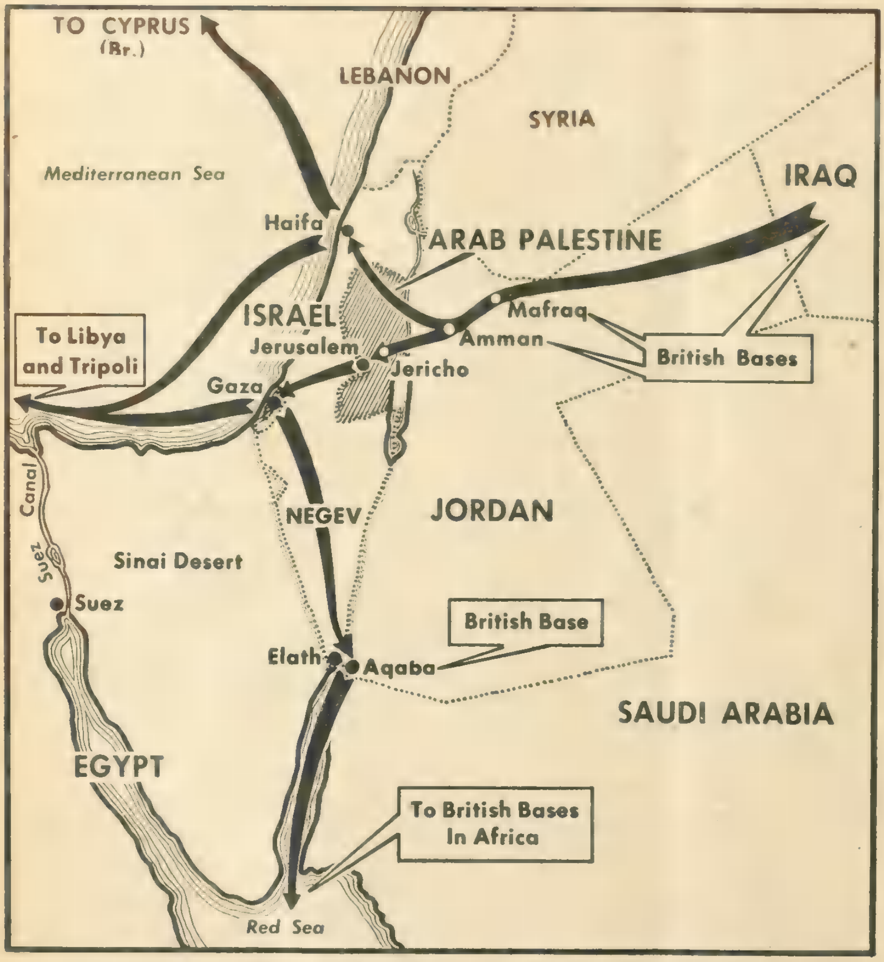
At the end of June, 1953, three and one-half months before Kibya, detailed plans were drawn up at a secret meeting for the movement of British troops to the frontier bordering Israel in the event of Israeli "aggression." Participating were Jordan's Deputy Chief of Staff Jundi, Major General A. D. Hull, Chief of Staff of British forces in the Middle East, and Neville Captain, commander of the British air force in the area.

On November 11 a dispatch from Amman to the New York *Times* reported that "the Premier of Jordan said that Jordan would invoke the Anglo-Jordanian treaty and request Britain to send more troops here if Israeli forces launched another attack like the October 14-15 assault on the village of Kibya." The same dispatch said that "British forces would be prepared to comply with such a request in the event of another major frontier outbreak." Moreover, said the report, "Lieutenant General John Bagot Glubb, British commander of Jordan's Arab Legion, and other military authorities here believe a substantially larger British force in Jordan would act as a deterrent to Israeli militarists and would relieve some pressure on the Legion and Jordan's National Guard."

WHETHER or not this plan could ever achieve its objective is problematical as far as Israel is concerned. Israel has given sufficient indication of its pro-Western orientation to leave little doubt of where it would stand in an East-West war of principle. But to provide bases for its allies during a war is one thing. To expect it willingly to acquiesce in becoming a British base during peace time, at a moment when its Arab neighbors are in revolt against foreign occupation, is another. That explains why the "softening-up process" was embarked upon by both Britain and the United States.

Into this plot Israel threw its own monkey wrench last Thursday with its proffer of immediate and direct negotiations with Jordan at the U. N. on armistice problems and the prevention of border incidents, and with its bold challenge to the Security Council to declare the existing tension "in truthful terms as a threat to security arising from the absence of peaceful relations between Israel and the Arab states," and in this sense to call upon each of the signatories to the armistice agreements "to enter into direct negotiations with a view to the replacement of the armistice agreements by final peace settlement."

The story of pillage, murder, and boycott directed against Israel on all its frontiers by Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon; of the flouting of the armistice agreements by the Arab states; of the rejection of every unilateral approach by Israel for amicable solutions, carefully documented from official U. N. reports and Arab government statements, was so convincing that it required no underscoring by Israel's representative to show



Israeli Territory Which British Forces in the Middle East Must Cross to Reach the Mediterranean that the Big Three, in seeking to charge Israel with breaking the armistice agreements, were guilty of discrimination.

How real is the power of the Security Council to bring about a discussion which could lead to peace and how impressive was Israel's presentation were forcefully demonstrated in the same session by the violent reaction of the delegate of Lebanon. In a series of contradictory statements aimed at limiting Security Council action to branding Israel on the Kibya incident, Dr. Malik first charged Israel with having deliberately staged the Kibya incident and conspired with the Big Three to show that the Arabs do not want peace. In the next breath he gave Britain a chance to attain its objective by accusing Israel of a plan to annex both Jordan and the Old City of Jerusalem. And, finally, he warned the principal powers that if they yielded to Israel's call for peace they would lose the friendship of the Arab world.

What will happen now? Dr. Malik and the Arab League will be pacified by being spared a call to peace. Israel will be censured. Jordan will undoubtedly refuse to negotiate with Israel as long as Kibya is on the agenda.

The Security Council, if it fails to call now or in the immediate future for permanent peace, will stand self-condemned for failure to perform on a clear obligation—in the certainty, moreover, that once it took the initiative in insisting upon peace discussions, the Arab countries could not flout its decisions. Failing such action, the British will be encouraged to persist in their drive, *sub rosa* or otherwise, for new outlets to the eastern Mediterranean. There is still the role of the Secretary General. With or without a resolution he has the power to push for peace. The least he can do is to bring about pacification of a border situation between Jordan and Israel by negotiation at U. N. headquarters.

ALAS, POOR ENGLAND!

Commercials Are Coming . . *by Milton Moskowitz*

London

AFTER a tremendous fuss and vigorous debate the Tory government is apparently going to win its fight for commercial television in Britain. A White Paper setting forth its plans was presented to Parliament last week. A number of prominent Conservatives—Lord Halifax, Randolph Churchill, Lord Brand the banker—are opposed to commercial TV, but the leaders have decided to make it a matter of party policy. The "whip will be on," and a straight party vote approving the White Paper can be safely predicted. Labor is definitely against the change.

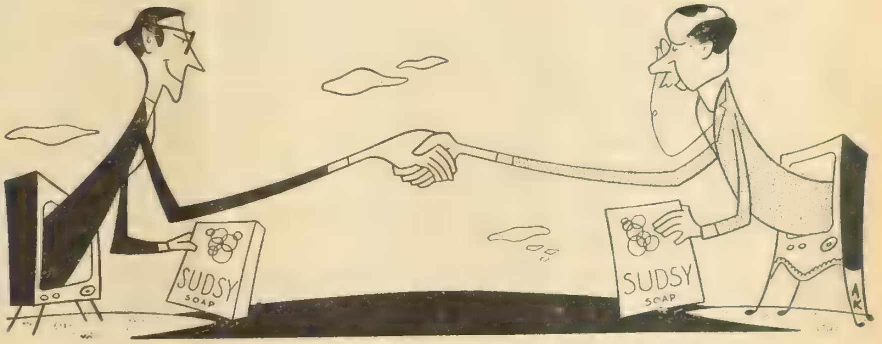
The government proposes to set up a public-utility corporation to build transmitters which will be leased to station-operating companies. These companies will produce programs and sell time to advertisers. At the best, commercial TV will not be in effective operation until 1955.

Commercial broadcasters in the United States may regard this British development as a victory for their system, but actually Britain has emphatically rejected the American form of broadcasting. In fact, the campaign for and against commercial TV has been featured by a point-to-point indictment of American radio and television. Opponents have emphasized the overbearing advertisements and low cultural level of American broadcasting. Advocates reply: "British programs would be different. The British people would never put up with the American kind and the advertisers here know this. The important thing is to end the B. B. C. monopoly."

To avoid the "American" label the commercial TV forces sedulously avoid the phrase "sponsored television." They insist that the commercial operation planned for Britain will be sponsorless. What they mean is that the British system will separate programs completely from advertisers and advertising agencies. The stations alone will be responsible for the production of programs. The advertisers will merely be offered time slots—and *between* programs only; there will be no interruptions of shows.

The position of the advertising fraternity in the dispute is interesting. The agencies, as a whole, are not in the forefront of the battle for commercial TV. In fact, a poll conducted by *Advertiser's Weekly* showed that most advertising executives were personally against commercial TV. As a result, the official advertising associations have maintained a hands-off attitude. But they have issued two memorandums to the Postmaster-General proclaiming the industry's "honorable intentions" in the event commercial TV is approved. These statements assured one and all that British advertising people, unlike their American counterparts, are not planning to go into the entertainment business; they will leave that job to the stations.

Some of the big advertising com-



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panies, however, particularly American-owned agencies, such as the J. Walter Thompson Company and Young and Rubicam, have not been too shy about showing their enthusiasm for a commercial system. The reason is perfectly obvious. With the advantage of the experience and backlog of their parent firms in America, these agencies will have a jump on their competitors here. Most of the British agencies are not too happy about the prospect of coping with a completely new medium, especially since it will require a considerable outlay.

Christopher Mayhew, a radio-TV actor who is also a Socialist M. P., and Sir Alexander Korda, the film producer, have both warned that commercial TV carries the threat of an American invasion. Old films, already used in the United States, may be dumped on the British market. The giants of American radio-TV—Procter and Gamble, Lever, Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, Ford, Kellogg —are also giants in the British marketing field. Why should they pay for new shows if they can use these old films? British actors and writers, well aware of United States dominance in the movie and record industries, fear that their television system may be the next dollar conquest.

At the present moment Britain has about 2,500,000 television sets. Since this is only a 16 per cent coverage of private homes, the B. B. C. still has a long way to go before matching the saturation in the United States. The initial buyers have been mainly low-income families, and the business of British pubs and movie theaters has already dropped off. J. Arthur Rank, the chief figure in the British movie industry, recently reported that 236 of his 550 theaters operated at a loss in 1952.

THE INADEQUACY of the B. B. C. television service—so far it has offered only one program—has undoubtedly aided the commercial-TV forces. Even the opposition has admitted this inadequacy, although it claims there is nothing wrong with the B. B. C. that a bigger appropriation would not cure. Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of *Punch,* has used his magazine to spearhead the fight for commercial TV and has hammered away at the point that the B. B. C., as a monopoly, is forced to toe a circumspect, namby-pamby line which robs programs of their vitality and shuts out real controversy. He has contrasted the lack of choice provided by the B. B. C. with the variety available on American radio and television. A more telling argument perhaps has been the fact that some of the B. B. C.'s most successful TV programs are American imports.

The formidable opposition to commercial TV includes the Labor Party, the Trades Union Congress, the National Council of Churches, the National Union of Teachers, the *Times,* the Manchester *Guardian,* the *Sunday Observer,* Bertrand Russell, and a host of leading educators. Their objections were reinforced last June by the advertisements inserted by American stations during showings of the Coronation film. The British people were infuriated by this action. Originally, the White Paper on commercial TV was to be submitted to Parliament in late June or early July, but the outcry forced a change in the timetable. The Coronation fervor has died down now, and the Conservatives expect to steer the White Paper through Parliament without too much difficulty.

Clement Attlee has warned that if the Tories establish a commercial TV system, the Socialists will undo it when they return to power. This, however, was more of a debating point than a pledge. Future Labor policy will depend on the accomplishments or failures of the new system. In any case it will be extremely interesting to see whether British television can go commercial without going American.

RIGHT TO COUNSEL

And Counsels' Rights . . *by Charles Alan Wright*

I WAS in a Milwaukee barber shop a few hours before the Rosenbergs were executed. The radio reported a last-minute plea for clemency by Emmanuel Bloch, lawyer for the convicted atom spies. With a sound of disgust the barber turned off the radio. "They ought to electrocute that guy Bloch too," he said; "anybody that would try to save those —— is as bad as they are."

The Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees "the assistance of counsel" to persons accused of a crime. The spirit of this guaranty is clear: the accused should have the benefit of a good lawyer, making the most vigorous defense possible, before he is brought to judgment for his acts. Yet the public attitude toward lawyers who represent unpopular defendants, and particularly those accused of disloyalty, is so hostile that such defendants frequently find it difficult to persuade reputable lawyers to take their cases.

When the so-called "second-string Communists" were indicted, they approached approximately 200 lawyers in the New York City area, over a period of months, before obtaining counsel. Many of the lawyers who refused the case had legitimate reasons for doing so. It was obvious that the trial would last some months, and some lawyers could not give that much time. Other lawyers were accustomed to receive larger fees than the amount the Communists could pay. But in many cases the lawyers refused to represent the defendants, as a number of them admitted, because they did not want the reputation they would thus acquire.

At the time this case was in the news,

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Whitney North Seymour, president of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, denounced as "false Communist propaganda" the belief that "Communists could not get non-Communist trial lawyers to represent them for fear of social or economic reprisals." Mr. Seymour's charge was reflected in a later resolution of the New York State Bar Association which said that Communists "have always, in fact, been able to get competent counsel." In contradiction to this, the New York *Times*, surely no Communist propaganda medium, has asserted editorially that the constitutional guaranty of counsel "is in danger of disappearing into thin air," and that "lawyers are beginning to shy away from such cases for fear that they too may be tarred with the Communist brush."

Furthermore, Federal Circuit Judge Charles E. Clark noted in a judicial opinion that "it is no secret that the difficulty of securing counsel to defend adequately unpopular minority groups is great, and indeed acute in non-metropolitan districts." While some lawyers may have refused to represent Communists because the latter insisted on imposing terms which no self-respecting lawyer could accept—a charge made by Mr. Seymour and immediately denied by several reputable lawyers who have agreed to act in cases of this sort—it is quite clear that it has been the fear of social and economic reprisals which has deterred many lawyers from taking such cases.

Indeed, just in the last month the lawyer who reluctantly agreed to represent Robert Thompson, the fugitive Communist leader recently arrested in the Sierras, told the court that Thompson had previously consulted "about twenty lawyers," all of whom had refused to take his case "because of fear that to do so would affect their business relationships or would encourage government reprisals."

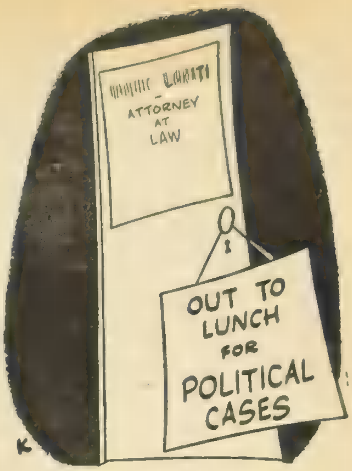
THE BAR has a splendid tradition of assisting even the most hated defendants. Persons who have committed the most shocking crimes, for which they have been rightly despised by the public, have appeared in court with the greatest lawyers of the day at their side. Generally speaking, lawyers have been able to take such cases because the public has not imputed to them the crimes of their clients. No one has ever supposed that a lawyer who has represented a murderer or a tax evader has himself killed in cold blood or cheated on his taxes. But when the crime of which the prisoner is accused stems from a repugnant ideology, it is easy to suppose that all those who defend him share that ideology. Anyone who would defend people who are so disloyal to this country as to give away atom-bomb secrets, we are tempted to think, must be himself disloyal. The Milwaukee barber is not the only person to have reasoned in that fashion.

Item: Charles J. Margiotti, Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, wrote a letter to the Allegheny County District Attorney urging that official to fire one of his assistants on the ground that the assistant's "communistic associations" were such as to make her "dangerous to the security of our people in Pennsylvania." The principal facts on which the chief law-enforcement officer of Pennsylvania rested his damning conclusion were that the assistant in question had acted as counsel for a distributor of Communist pamphlets who was tried for handing out this literature without a permit, and that she had sat with lawyers defending the secretary of the Pittsburgh branch of the Communist Party when he was tried for inciting to riot.

Item: Whittaker Chambers says that Lloyd Paul Stryker was apparently in line for a federal judgeship until the White House was convinced that appointment to such a position of a person who had represented Alger Hiss would leave "an unhappy impression" on the nation and that the Senate might refuse to confirm.

Item: Only last June Senator William Jenner announced that he planned to discuss with Senator McCarthy "a possible inquiry into the status of lawyers who have defended alleged Communists or former Communists."

Item: A committee of the American Bar Association, under the chairmanship of Mr. Seymour, reported this summer that excellent anti-Communist lawyers who have represented Communists out of a sense of public duty have been subjected to "severe personal vilification and abuse. . . . Important legal business has been taken elsewhere."



Item: The Hoffman committee of the House of Representatives, in the course of stormy hearings about public housing in Los Angeles, slapped subpoenas on lawyers representing witnesses who refused to tell whether they were Communists, and asked the same question of the lawyers.

THE DIFFICULTY of obtaining counsel for supposedly disloyal persons has not been lessened by the recent action of the American Bar Association, calling for disbarment of Communists, or by the proposed listing of the National Lawyers' Guild as a "subversive" organization. The lawyer who is most likely to take on the distasteful duty of defending the Smith-act case is the one with a lifetime record of devotion to civil rights and other liberal causes. This lawyer, already in danger of disbarment if he has belonged to the Lawyers' Guild, is likely to consider a long time before doing anything more that will bring suspicion upon him, particularly when he thinks that such men as Attorney General Margiotti, who regards the defense of a Communist as proof that the lawyer is a security menace, may be sitting on the Bar Association committee which reviews the lawyer's fitness to continue in practice.

The hard fact is, that with public opinion such as it is today it takes great courage and a high sense of duty for a loyal lawyer to represent a defendant accused of disloyalty. And even if such a lawyer is found, the defendant is still not sure that he will have that effective defense to which he entitled.

Justice Jesse W. Carter, of the Supreme Court of California, commented last winter that it is becoming increasingly difficult for lawyers properly to defend persons accused of subversive activities. This is largely a result of the famous trial of the eleven Communists before Judge Harold Medina. The behavior of the lawyers in that case became a national scandal, and since that time the view of the legal profession has been that while such persons should have lawyers, still the trial must not be turned into a circus, nor must the defendants be allowed to use it for political propaganda. These warnings to future lawyers have been highlighted by the unprecedented punishments visited upon the erring lawyers in the celebrated case. Judge Medina himself imposed fines and prison terms upon all of them, and was sustained in this action by divided votes in the Court of Appeals and Supreme Court, though scholarly comment has been almost uniformly critical of these decisions. But now it appears that this is not the end of the matter, and that a further example is to be made of these lawyers by disbarring them. Such action has already been taken against two of the five and is pending against a third.

THE MOST recent case is that of Harry Sacher. Sacher practiced for twenty-four years without a blemish on his record before he entered into the case of the eleven Communists. For his misbehavior in that case he was given a six-month jail sentence, the maximum penalty which the law allows. Since serving his sentence, he has appeared as counsel in other cases involving Communists, and in such cases the court has praised his work as "able and industrious" and referred to his "vigorous and able argument." His conduct, so we are told, has been "uniformly courteous and dignified." Indeed, in dissenting from the judgment of disbarment against Sacher, Judge Clark wrote: "Were we to select a public defender, we could hardly do better than seek respondent's services in cases of this type where it is difficult to secure able representation and will undoubtedly become more so in consequence of decisions such as this."

It is probably of interest only to historians that these proceedings against the lawyers who appeared before Judge Medina seem to be the first recorded instances of disbarment of lawyers merely because they had been in contempt of court. Surely it is extraordinary, however, to find an opinion permanently barring a man from the practice of his profession which reads like a letter of recommendation. Yet the court which disbarred Sacher points out that it found in his conduct no taint of "venality or lack of fidelity to the interests of his clients" but only an "excess of zeal in representing his clients." It went on to suggest that his qualities would be "unobjectionable in commercial fields" and that "in negotiations . . . he would be a trustworthy and highly effective representative."

Of course lawyers may let their zeal for their client's interests cause them to behave in such an unseemly manner that the court must restrain them or, failing that, impose punishment upon them. But surely it is a topsy-turvy world in which the canons of a profession call for "entire devotion to the interest of the client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his rights," while at the same time a man is said to be disqualified from membership in the profession because of too much devotion, too warm a zeal.

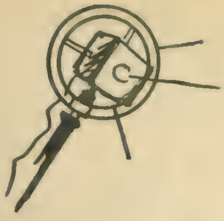
In our history books we read with pride of the trial of John Peter Zenger, the young New York printer who dared to publish criticism of the colonial governor, and who was acquitted of sedition when the jury found that the criticisms were truthful. The real hero of the case is not Zenger but Andrew Hamilton, an old Philadelphia lawyer who came to New York to defend Zenger after the governor had so intimidated other lawyers that they would not take the case. The trial judge, quite correctly under the law of the day, told Hamilton that he should say nothing about the truth of Zenger's criticisms, since they were a crime even if they were true. The judge warned, he threatened, he ordered Hamilton to say nothing about truth. In the face of all this, Hamilton continued to argue to the jury that his client should not be convicted for printing the truth. The jury's verdict of acquittal changed the law and established the foundation on which rests our precious right to speak and to know the truth about our high officials, no matter how distasteful that truth may be to them.

Harry Sacher is no Hamilton, and his boisterous courtroom conduct contributed nothing to an effective defense of his clients. But tomorrow's lawyer may be a Hamilton; tomorrow's case may be one in which it is necessary to ignore courtroom proprieties and the orders of the judge to defend a person wrongly accused. When such a case arises, it can only be hoped that the lawyer will have the courage to ignore all the warnings against rocking the boat which are now so in vogue.

DESPITE all this, the situation is not so bad that hysterical pronouncements about the right of counsel being at an end are as yet in order. Persons like Alger Hiss and Owen Lattimore, who have denied the charges of disloyalty against them, have been able to retain some of the best lawyers in the country. The bar in some cities has been more conscious of its obligation than in others: thus while the New York second-string Communists were having such trouble, persons charged with similar crimes in Los Angeles were able to obtain reputable counsel fairly readily. And in the last month the Philadelphia Bar Association has announced that the chairman of its criminal-law committee, an excellent lawyer, will defend persons recently indicted there for violation of the Smith act.

Most encouraging of all is the recognition given this problem at the August convention of the American Bar Association, where resolutions were adopted pointing out the duty of the bar to assist the most unpopular defendants, and promising the support of the bar to any lawyer who is criticized or attacked for acting in such a capacity. It is appropriate that the Bar Association should act in this matter, for it is the lawyers, not the Communists, who will suffer from the present difficulties. In the great bulk of cases against admitted Communists, the result must be the same whether they are represented by the greatest lawyer in the country or by a young man just out of law school. But the result will not be the same to the legal profession. If the profession is derelict in its responsibility to these accused persons, if it allows public acceptance of the view that the beliefs and wrongs of the client may be imputed to his counsel, it is the freedom and integrity of the bar which will be the loser.

A Boston Churchman Challenges the Witch-Hunters



By Donald G. Lothrop

[*This is* The Nation's *own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers condensations of important speeches or public communications which have received little or no notice in the press. The Reverend Donald G. Lothrop, minister of the Community Church in Boston, addressed this letter to the "clergy, the lawyers, and the professors of Massachussetts" shortly after H. L. Philbrick, the F. B. I. informer, in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, accused him of "operating under Communist Party discipline."*]

YOU who are the most articulate and competent supporters of what is the essence of our American way of life, namely, the Anglo-Saxon form of democracy, jurisprudence, and culture, have at present a great responsibility and opportunity. The time has come to speak out with a clear and courageous voice for those canons of law and customs of due process which have so long characterized our great tradition and which have served as an exemplar lighting up all the dark corners of our world. These canons and procedures are now being destroyed before our eyes. If they are not used they will die of disuse, and the "treason of the intellectuals" will cause the destruction of all our cherished values. A great Boston institution, the Community Church, has been attacked, and I as well as other ministers have been slandered by a process which has no reference to our Constitution or judicial procedure.

The testimony of one H. L. Philbrick has been spread upon the public record without any safeguards of competency or regard for truth. He and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have by-passed that "due process of law" which is fundamental to our American system. Referring to me, Philbrick said on July 9, 1953, "He is one of the individuals who, I am sure in my own mind, is operating under Communist Party discipline." But he prefaced this testimony by stating that he had no legal evidence which would stand up in court.

To release this admittedly irresponsible testimony was a violation of a trust on the part of the House committee. To place credence in Philbrick without a check, without asking me to interrogate or reply, was a violation of "due process" and a by-passing of the judicial process.

The dubiousness of Philbrick's purely and consciously imaginative testimony is brought out clearly by the following excerpt from the record of his appearance before the same committee on July 23, 1951:

> *Mr. Tavenner.* Don't you know how many [clergymen] were in that group?
>
> *Mr. Philbrick.* My best guess is that in the Boston area there were perhaps between six and twelve people in that particular cell.
>
> *Mr. Tavenner.* Can you identify any of the individuals in that group?
>
> *Mr. Philbrick.* No, I can't, not by direct legal evidence.

How can Philbrick state in 1953 what he could not state in 1951? Has his memory been tampered with by the compulsion to pull yet more rabbits out of his hat? The questionableness of Philbrick as a "witness" was adequately exposed and explained by the Harvard Corporation when, as reported in the New York *Times* of September 1, 1953, it announced:

"The Harvard Corporation had been urged to give little or no weight to the testimony before the Jenner subcommittee on the ground that there had been no cross-examination and that since Mr. Philbrick earned money from writing and lecturing on Communist activity, he must keep producing *new* evidence in order to prosper and that hence he tends to distort the truth; that his testimony is largely if not wholly hearsay."

On the basis of "hearsay" I have been slandered and the Community Church of Boston has been attacked. Yet this church for thirty-three years, seventeen of which I have been minister, has been the classic example of the democratic polity of the ancient New England church and the embodiment of the Boston tradition of Theodore Parker. Its pulpit has been occupied by some of the finest preachers, theologians, statesmen, scientists, and jurists which this country has produced, and to it have come tens of thousands of persons from every walk of life, of every color, creed, political and religious background.

The Community Church of Boston, on its record, has served the community as a center of the brotherhood of man. As a center of freedom of speech, press, and assembly it has been without peer. By maintaining a program of education in the fields of religion, psychiatry, and the application of religion to social issues, it has set a standard which has stimulated other institutions. As a pioneer in marriage-problem consultation and group psychotherapy under religious auspices it has lifted the sights of church service to the community. By sponsoring a Sunday School rooted in non-sectarian religion, it has supplied a greatly felt need in a community of diverse religious cultures.

To threaten with false testimony and unfounded rumor, and to bless baseless accusations with government credentials, is to replace American democracy with totalitarianism and to undermine the foundations of this Republic. The Community Church, its members and its minister alike, has acted upon the most profound faith in democracy, the Constitution of the United States, and its Bill of Rights.

The future of that faith and of our Republic is in danger. Let your voice be lifted up in the pulpit, in the hall of justice, in the classroom, in all the places where the culture of our people is cherished, glorified, perpetuated, and enhanced.

BOOKS

Visions of Great Spirits

THE VOICES OF SILENCE. By André Malraux. Doubleday and Company. $25.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE final, and 642d, page of this magnificent book records the date span, 1935-51. It was first published in 1949-50 as a three-volume work under the general title "Psychologie de l'art," the third volume containing three supplementary studies as a long appendix. An English translation, by Stuart Gilbert, was published by Pantheon Books in the Bollingen Series at a total price of $37.50. The current single-volume edition, considerably revised, appeared in Paris in 1951, and Stuart Gilbert has again made the translation.

While the work is essentially the same but a little more accessible in format and price, certain important changes may be noted. The over-all title, which was very misleading, has been enormously improved. For this is a book about the visions of great spirits, from the dawn of history to our own age, from Europe to the Far East, from a Celtic coin to the Sistine ceiling. Its theme is powerfully stated in this passage:

> The artist has "an eye," but not when he is fifteen; and how long it takes a writer to learn to write with the sound of his own voice! The greatest painters' supreme vision is that of the last Renoirs, the last Titians, Hals' last works—recalling the inner voice heard by deaf Beethoven: that vision of the mind's eye whose light endures when the body's eyes are failing.

And later in this one:

> Feeble indeed may seem that brief survival of his [man's] works which does not last long enough to see the light die out from stars already dead! Yet surely no less impotent is that nothingness of which he seems to be the prey, if all the thousands of years piled above his dust are unable to stifle the voice of a great artist once he is in his coffin.

Like the original text, the translation has been perfected, especially in the titles of what were the separate volumes. The first part still challenges the reader with the phrase Museum Without Walls. The second, consisting primarily of the long supplementary essays, is called The Metamorphoses of Apollo. The third, once clumsily rendered as The Creative Act, is now The Creative Process. The fourth, too Spenglerian in overtone as The Twilight of the Absolute, is now The Aftermath of the Absolute—an improvement but still wide of the mark from the probably untranslatable original, *La Monnaie de l'Absolu.* Small Change of the Absolute would be more accurate, no doubt, but wrong in verbal tone.

To keep down the poundage to the portable, the format is smaller and the type denser, though perfectly legible. Color plates have been reduced to fifteen—a serious curtailment of the book's value—but the plates are of the same high standard. The superb black-and-white heliogravures are slightly reduced in size with little loss of impact, and though there are fewer of them, they number 450. Thus the extraordinary range of Malraux's reference is still wonderfully illustrated. There is a welcome seven-page synopsis of the contents at the end of the book, but no index, though one appeared after the final volume of the Bollingen edition. This is a serious loss: Malraux's thought darts so rapidly and with so many unexpected returns to the same theme that one would like to collate everything he says about a given artist or picture. The French edition, "Les Voix du Silence," is likewise without index. I sometimes think the notorious resistance of the French to indices proceeds from the same frame of mind that makes this great people resist a stable form of government.

In reviewing the earlier edition (*The Nation,* May 27, 1950, and September 15, 1951), I said that this monumental and profound apostrophe to the arts lacked clarity of structure. In the new edition the focus has been sharpened. While the argument proceeds substantially as before, whole sections have been fitted into new contexts. Many pages have been rewritten, sometimes to provide more adequate transition from idea to idea, sometimes to perfect and develop the thought. The book is still longer than it need be, and it is still marred by repetitions. Nevertheless, its brilliance and resonance are hardly to be matched in the literature of art. Who, among living writers at least, combines such qualities of mind and poetic insight with such command of the written word, such knowledge, and such a comprehension of man and of history as to be able to embark, à la Toynbee, upon a broad appraisal of man's visions made visible?

AS BEFORE, Malraux's most far-reaching idea is that the museum of today, while it has contributed to the destruction of all absolutes save art itself, has opened up the possibility of a new worldwide culture. The anthropocentric humanism of Greece and Rome, which Western civilization since the Renaissance has thought indispensable, is found wanting by modern man. We can no longer believe that the sculptures of Olympia are art and that the heads of Ife and Benin are not, or even that these Negro images are inferior to the Greek ones in any fundamental respect. In a Gandharan head of the fourth century we recognize an artist incredibly similar to the sculptor of the Rheims angels. The feet of Christ crucified in Grünewald's great altar seem to grow from the same body as Christ's dead hand projected by the anonymous painter of the Villeneuve-les-Avignon Pietà. The Museum Without Walls, aided by the infinite wealth that photography has made available to us, trains us to look at each work on its own merit; we refuse to accept the idea that an abstract superiority of conception, even if it exists, can produce a particular work of art that is automatically superior to one evoked by a theoretically inferior conception.

We believe, then, that the artist, no matter what his time and place, is the true communicant of basic values. All art is one. As Malraux explicitly puts it, art is at once a revolt against man's fate, that is, death, and the most living assurance of man's hope, that is, glory.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., The Nation's *art critic, is chairman of the Department of Art at Williams College.*

Personal Reactions to Israel

LEVEL SUNLIGHT. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

WHAT PRICE ISRAEL? By Alfred Lilienthal. Henry Regnery Company. $3.95.

By Frank Kingdon

ISRAEL is no longer a romantic novelty; it is a hard fact in world politics operating through its own angularities and designs. As these come under scrutiny, the observers reporting on them throw as much light on their own personalities as on the country. This is naturally true to a particular degree of those who have Jewish ancestry. Israel's birth has shattered traditional Jewish perspectives, forcing every Jew to review in a new setting the meaning for him of his faith and history.

Maurice Samuel, with characteristic acuteness, has recognized this and given us an interpretation of Israel frankly formulated in terms of its effects upon his own spirit. The result is a unique book honestly planned and artistically executed.

Samuel is one who has lived by a Zionist conviction, spiritually rooted and informed by a Messianic hope. His prophet was Chaim Weizmann. His vision was of a land revived by the industry of workers whose common zeal would create and maintain a common wealth. His faith was in a Jewish renaissance.

Israel in existence falls short of his anticipated Zion. He has suffered the inevitable sorrow of the idealist who sees his hopes take form in a world of compromise. Painstakingly and brilliantly he portrays the modifications remolding Israel's institutions. His chapters on the *kibbutzim* are the most searching analysis of their dilemmas I have seen.

Though grieved, he is not disillusioned. He keeps bright his faith in the historical destiny of the Jewish people working itself out through the instrumentality of the Jewish community. His account of the crisis in his own soul precipitated by the experience of Israel is beautifully written and deeply moving.

Alfred Lilienthal, at the opposite pole from Maurice Samuel, is a Jew who dissociates himself from Israel and repudiates the thought that it has any peculiar meaning for him or that he has any special responsibility for it. His title sets the tone of what he writes. He is so preoccupied with price that he ignores values. Written in anger rising from fear, his book condemns with equal fervor all who had a hand in Israel's birth, not only the Israeli leaders but also Franklin D. Roosevelt, Thomas E. Dewey, Harry S. Truman, Robert A. Taft, Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, the New York *Times,* and the New York *Herald Tribune.* Israel to him is a plot of politicians contrived to haunt his peace. He plays Cato in a home-made puppet world of knaves and fools.

FRANK KINGDON, author and lecturer, has a regular column in the New York Post.

New Books in Brief

Lowdown on Stalin

THE SECRET HISTORY OF STALIN'S CRIMES. By Alexander Orlov. Random House. $4.50.

Political exposés are only as good as their authors. This is especially true of disclosures dealing with the Soviet Union, for no means of checking them exist. One of the results of this immunity is the steady outpouring of "intimate portraits" of Stalin by persons claiming to have been his uncle, nephew, valet, or some other connection.

The author of the latest volume describes himself as a high official of NKVD for fourteen years—but not, as the blurb writer asserts, a member of "the inner circles of the Communist government" for twenty-one years—who finally broke with Moscow in 1938 while working as an adviser to the Spanish Loyalists. Ever since, the blurb reports, he has been in hiding. The book, parts of which appeared in *Life,* purports to tell the inside story of the purges of the thirties. The story not only covers the published confessions of the

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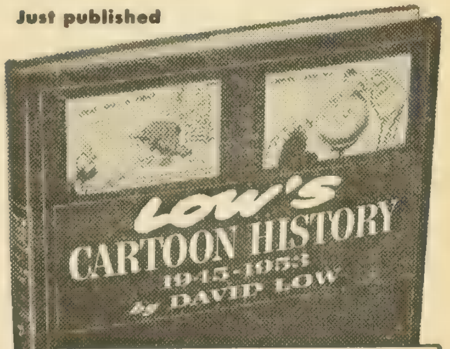

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men purged but reveals how Stalin himself engineered the murder of his political heir, Kirov; "broke" the old Bolsheviks—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Krestinsky, and others; and then killed off the NKVD agents who "knew too much." Stalin is depicted as a cunning maniac who lived in constant dread of assassination, personally directed the murder of his rivals, collected pornographic pictures, held drunken orgies with his NKVD cronies, possibly was a homosexual, probably murdered one of his wives, and could have a "seeing-eye" Alsatian shot, together with its owner, an old Communist, because the dog had awakened him, Stalin, in the night.

From the account it appears that NKVD's "top brass" are an extraordinarily gabby lot, with a passion for confiding, promptly and fully, in the author. Mr. Orlov can not only quote Stalin's ultra-secret conversations with police chiefs but note such details as that Stalin's eyes were "slyly screwed up" during one passage. All in all, it is a story as fascinating as the question of why it was released by a reputable publishing house without a hint to the reader about what had been done to check and confirm it. Or have the American publishers, in this distraught season, been infected by the virus poisoning Russian literature?

As Alive as Music

TEN BURNT OFFERINGS. By Louis MacNeice. Oxford. $2.50.

Louis MacNeice's new book is made up of ten verse quartets on subjects ranging from Elizabethan England, through St. Paul in Greece, to the death of a cat. It is not, however, the subject that matters but the poet's process in the subject. MacNeice's process is the process of high wit, an intellectual music for parts of the world looked at. The looking is generally detached and suave, playful yet devout. In MacNeice's own phrase, he is "Thrusting burnt offerings at a god/Who cannot answer to his name." Those who seek a "message" in poetry will find nothing here. Those who answer to the poem as a self-entering, self-generating, self-sealing form as organically alive as music may well find this the most exciting book of the year or of the decade.

From the first, MacNeice has been one of the rare masters of technique among modern poets. The reservation most critics have expressed about his work, in fact, has been that it is too often merely clever. But if there is a point at which skill becomes its own manifest achievement, this must be it. One thinks of Anatole France's great fable of the Juggler of Notre Dame. Not knowing how to pray to the Virgin, he spread his mat before her altar and juggled for her. And just as the monks were ready to cry sacrilege, they saw the Virgin come off her pedestal and wipe the juggler's forehead.

MacNeice is a juggler, too, but here the juggling has become something so close to the true devotion that certainly at least one muse must be leaning forward to blot the page for him. "Ten Burnt Offerings" is one of the rare rewards—a book for readers (see reservation above) to delight in and for poets to fall in love with.

A "Must" for Bird Watchers

BIRDS AS INDIVIDUALS. By Len Howard. Foreword by Julian Huxley. Introduction by Roger Tory Peterson. With Photographs by Eric Hoskins. Doubleday. $4.

This book seems to have created quite a furor among ornithologists when first published in England. The author, a musician by profession, moved to a country cottage and established an astonishing rapport with local birds, which literally lived with her, roosting in the house, demanding food, and appealing to her for aid at various crises. What dismayed the professionals was not merely the intimacy of the association but innumerable examples of individual differences and, especially, examples of what looked like intelligent, purposeful action. The publishers of the American edition have been cautious enough to get prefatory statements from Julian Huxley and Roger Tory Peterson vouching for the accuracy of Miss Howard's observations. Huxley says: "Miss Howard will not expect professional biologists to accept all her conclusions. But they will be grateful for her facts." Peterson uses Konrad Lorenz's term "mechanomorphism" to indicate that delusion, the opposite of "anthropomorphism," to which scientists are sometimes prone and seems to feel that Miss Howard's observations pretty well shake the whole popular assumption that birds are mere reflex-action machines. Neither the amateur "bird watcher" nor the student of animal behavior can afford to miss this book.

Adultery in Lisbon

COUSIN BAZILIO. By Eça de Queiroz. Noonday Press. $4.

Adultery in Lisbon in the eighteen sixties is the theme of this leisurely and delightful story by the greatest of Portuguese novelists. With irony and with compassion the author tells the tale of pretty Dona Luiza, her naive husband, her seductive cousin, and her blackmailing servant, making from this well-worn material a minor masterpiece of nineteenth-century realism softened by Iberian languors.

Love in Scandinavia

THE PASSIONATE NORTH. By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

A disappointing collection of short stories by the talented author of "The Body." Laid in the Scandinavian countries and the Western Isles of Scotland, the stories are, as the author says in his Foreword, "about places as much as people . . . a series of landscapes with figures." The landscapes are clear and vivid, the figures two-dimensional, and the stories over-dressed anecdotes.

New Zealand Scene

PARADISE BAY. By John Guthrie. Wyn. $3.

If charm alone were enough, "Paradise Bay" could be recommended without qualification. It is the story of a New Zealand town twenty-five years ago, and particularly of the grand celebration on the anniversary of its founding when Captain Blamey got drunk and beached the ship that was enacting the first arrival, when the descendant of the founder who was the guest of honor turned out to be a half-breed, when an oil well gushed to order and stopped gushing when the shares were unloaded—all to the greater glory of Bertie Dryden, flamboyant promoter and philosophical cynic. A novel to read with pleasure today and forget with ease tomorrow.

Theater

Harold Clurman

HOW difficult our reviewers have become! They demand impeccable workmanship, masterful literary quality, sovereign artistry. A play with a valid theme, respectable writing, and good acting is slighted on the ground that it is not a "perfect play." Which are the perfect plays? The much-admired plays of O'Casey are far from perfect—and are almost never produced. The "perfect" plays are usually plays by dead playwrights—also rarely produced and successful in our theater only when "name" actors appear in them, at which times they are discussed as vehicles rather than as plays.

Are we, then, to conclude that only plays which receive unanimously glowing notices, like "The Teahouse of the August Moon" or "Tea and Sympathy," are the perfect plays? Surely the reviewers do not mean that these plays are perfect—only that they are very nice. The perfect plays—those by Ibsen, Chekhov, Synge, for example—are not very nice, were not so considered when they were first produced, and their contemporary parallels—presuming they exist—would probably not be received with unanimous approval today. There is something wrong somewhere.

The trouble is not that reviewers disagree—this is natural, inevitable, and not necessarily deplorable; the trouble is that no one can be sure of what any of the reviewers are talking about, except that they are pleased or displeased. Values are not made explicit, standards are not defined, prejudices and attitudes of mind are not clarified or defended.

"The Trip to Bountiful," by the young Southern playwright Horton Foote (Henry Miller Theater), is criticized for being flatly written, monotonous, and over-extended. On the other hand, Lillian Gish's performance in the central role is highly praised. While all these comments may be substantiated to a greater or lesser degree, their total makes very little critical sense to me.

It is not theatrically sound to speak of a very fine piece of acting as if it were happening in one place, and to speak of the play as if it were to be found somewhere on the shelf of a library several blocks away. True, it is possible, though not always easy, to distinguish among the ingredients of a theatrical production, but they can hardly be departmentalized and pigeonholed as our reviewers generally attempt to do. If, let us say, a Josephine Hull is less brilliant in "Whistler's Grandmother" than in "The Solid Gold Cadillac," the difference cannot be explained entirely in terms of the actress.

Lillian Gish seems to me better in "The Trip to Bountiful" than in any other play in which I have seen her. That does not mean, however, that it is the best play in which she has ever appeared. But this little play has an arresting theme and authenticity of feeling and observation, and is at least in the vein of creative expression.

The play tells the story of an elderly lady who wishes to return to the small, now deserted village in which she was born, return even for a brief moment from Houston, Texas, which to her represents the arid mechanization of the big city. Her son and daughter-in-law are denatured specimens of the humanity which the city produces. Contact with land—the earth itself—bespeaks human dignity to the old lady, a dignity she feels she, along with her son and his wife, no longer have. The theme, in short, is our loss of roots in the transition to the industrialized society we live in. The theme, though real enough, is not one that occurs to us often in the homely terms employed by Mr. Foote, because we who go to the theater have acquired mental habits which reflect a horizon that seems to be bounded on the south by Forty-second Street and on the north by Columbus Circle.

I found the play touching, the characters well drawn, and very well acted not only by Miss Gish but by Jo Van Fleet, Gene Lyons, and the others. I was quite able to bear the play's faults and to be interested throughout, because I heard a sensitive voice communicating something honestly felt. I do not need entertainment to *kill* me. When a neighbor whispered to me during the course of the play, "Don't you think it's too long?" I felt like retorting, "What have you got to do that makes you so impatient?"

"The Solid Gold Cadillac" by Howard Teichmann and George Kaufman (at the happily recovered Belasco) is an enjoyable show in a pure Broadway vein, which is a species of metropolitan folk art. Its style is jazzy journalese, full of a sort of hasty, tart, sophisticated street humor, jeering but inoffensive, clever but unpretentious. It is a fairy tale in distorted advertisement slogans. It is the sort of thing George Kaufman and his various collaborators did with admirable skill from the early twenties to the early thirties, culminating in "Of

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Joseph Wood Krutch, The Nation.

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Thee I Sing." Perhaps now that we have become jittery-prosperous, and Republican again we are ready for this sort of spoofing: the play kids big corporations and their relation to the small stockholder.

George Kaufman has cast and staged the play in a manner that befits it. I have already mentioned the delightful Miss Hull. With amusingly shrewd sets (by Edwin Gilbert), parodied television newscasts, recorded narration by Fred Allen, and assorted attractions (a girl with a sensational figure and a hilariously grotesque secretary), the show is related to a vaudeville and revue technique. All goes well together, is organic —a word more suitable here than in many of our theater's more earnest efforts.

"A Girl Can Tell" (at the Royale Theater) by F. Hugh Herbert, author of "The Moon Is Blue"—than which Mr. Herbert assures us the present item is funnier—is not the kind of play about which any critic need bother to form an opinion. The same may be said of "Kind Sir" (Alvin Theater), which is like a third-rate adaptation of a third-rate play by Louis Verneuil. It is noticed only because of the presence in the cast of Charles Boyer, Mary Martin, and other well-liked actors. One can only say that the whole affair is an example of conspicuous waste. If someone in the profession points out that the play has sold thousands of dollars worth of tickets in advance, I can only reply that I'm not interested, since I'm a spectator, not an investor.

Films

Manny Farber

THE last few years in Hollywood have been a sort of mopping-up act on the assembly lines. Some six or seven directors the public recognizes as artistic have been reworking old skills perfected long before the onslaught of wide screens and 3-D glasses. Big pictures like "Roman Holiday" (which I liked) and "Mogambo" (which wasn't good enough to dislike) are typical examples of rehashings on the part of a couple of old masters, Ford and Wyler, who have been temporarily frozen into academic entertainers by the TV threat. A step down from the big pictures and the big-name people, we find that the honest low-budget film has been eliminated from Hollywood's output. The sensitive, unadorned actors—Widmark, Dan Dailey, Basehart, Wendell Corey, Glenn Ford, Ireland—are either drifting away from Hollywood or being wasted in the rankest pot-boilers. One reason for considering the following movie odds and ends is that they give an immediate picture of the entire recapitulation period.

"The Joe Louis Story." A slow, plodding journey back through the ex-champ's career. For a while it captures the simple, good-hearted quality of the younger Louis but then turns into a shapeless, predictable glad-handing of the hero and everyone connected with him—Marva, Chappie, Roxborough, Jacobs, *et al.* Coley Wallace, performing as the Brown Bomber, tries to be smooth and nonchalant but his slow, unassuming walk and business of switching from dead pan to face-covering grin become tiresome. The real villain of the production—it is hard to believe anyone directed it—is the *Daily News* columnist whose screen play seems determined that the colored hero is a touchy subject and therefore should be "sold" as a sort of saint who did nothing worse than play hooky from his violin lessons and eat too much cake before the Schmeling upset.

"The Big Heat." A compelling crime show. Sydney Boehm's story contains unexpected explosions of sadism at the end of long, tightly constructed dialogue sessions but manages to give off sparks even though it is based on nothing more substantial than several dozen cops-and-robbers films. A crime syndicate, which has half the city on its pay roll and is operated by a sex maniac (Lee Marvin) and an oily, Seagram's-ad type (Alexander Scourby), is broken up by an ex-cop (Glenn Ford) and a few of his war buddies who turn up to help him in crucial moments. The characters seem to be wrapped thinly around steaming amounts of vengeance, avarice, or cruelty, but Marvin and Ford make it a well-acted movie that offers interesting impressions of how a practical-minded American male operates in crises—marring a girl's face with scalding coffee, pulling a woman's body out of a bombed automobile.

"Mogambo." A half-interesting safari adventure, meant as a sequel to "King Solomon's Mines." It is inflated with at least one authentic thrill (a gorilla family charging the camera of an annoying anthropologist), a few tastelessly staged excitements (Ava Gardner playfully loving up a baby elephant), and some dated romancing. It suffers less from its silly dialogue than from the fact that the stars (Gable, Gardner, Grace Kelly) have large blank features and a dull spot in the center of their personalities. Because of Ford's genius for mobilizing the screen with off-the-cuff notions of glamour, Gardner acts for the first time as if she were half-interested in the film, and the African terrain—a big-game hunter's sprawling animal farm, the lush landscape as it is crossed by a line of marchers—seems as authentic as in the jungle films of the Merion C. Cooper era.

"The All-American." Tony Curtis as a halfback from the wrong side of town at a snob college is as convincing as a line plunger as Joe Palooka is as a heavyweight boxer.

"From Mainstreet to Broadway." It took a rare amount of greed and insensitiveness to entice so many Broadway celebrities into such a slipshod tribute to "today's American theater." Lester Cowan managed the feat in a Samuel French-type production that has to do with the troubles of a callow playwright who has written a first play called "Calico and Lust."

"The Actress." M-G-M in a mellow mood, which means the folksy acting by Tracy-Simmons-Wright is full of mugging and around-the-home comedy. Its main trouble is that it underrates the intelligence and talents of the rather impoverished New England family: the seventeen-year-old stage-struck girl moons over the performance of an absurdly stereotyped road-company queen; father tries to put on a nice comedy act but fails because he loses his pants.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Concert Society of New York, which this year is offering late-Sunday-afternoon concerts in Town Hall in place of those formerly given by the New Friends of Music, opened its season with a song recital by the soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, which attracted a capacity audience that knew her singing from records. The concert was to have had additional interest and distinction from the participation of the pianist Franz Rupp; and a possible reason for the substitution of Arpad Sandor suggested itself when Schwarzkopf began to sing Bach's "Bist du bei mir": the play with pianissimos was something that required Sandor's paper-thin tone. This miniature style, it appeared as she went on, was her normal method, and one, it also appeared, that she used with impressive mastery—a mastery in deploying the lovely delicate sounds in phrases that held one with their continuous tension and projected expressive force. This was only part of a mastery of the entire situation which involved—in addition to voice and musicality—the powers of presence and dramatic projection of a remarkable actress. But even with all this mastery the miniature style tended to become monotonous; and the full voice and intensity in the concluding song of a group came as a welcome relief.

At the Society's second concert there was a smaller audience for the singers and instrumentalists of Pro Musica Antiqua conducted by Safford Cape (the Brussels group that is on EMS records, not the New York group that is on Esoteric records) in lovely performances of music of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, of which I enjoyed the later pieces more than the earlier ones.

THE ONLY justification for issuing still another recording of Beethoven's Fifth, Schubert's "Unfinished," Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique," Dvorak's "New World," or even Mozart's "Haffner" and Berlioz's "Fantastique" would be an especially distinguished performance; but of the performances issued on the new Epic records only the one of Berlioz's "Fantastique" in which Willem Van Otterloo conducts the Berlin Philharmonic is justified in that way. It is in fact the best performance of the work now available, revealing a sensitiveness in phrasing, a feeling for continuity of flow and shape that Van Beinum reveals the lack of in his performance on the London record. But it is reproduced with less clarity of texture than the Van Beinum performance, though with more brilliant over-all sound.

You would think its experience with the Beethoven quartets would have taught Columbia not to record the Budapest Quartet in the auditorium of the Library of Congress again; and for that matter you would have thought Columbia would have gone elsewhere after listening to the first playback of the first Beethoven session. But it stayed, and spoiled the Beethoven recordings; and even after that fiasco it used the hall again for the Budapest recording of the six Mozart quartets dedicated to Haydn. It seems only to have done something to lessen somewhat the effect of the bad acoustic properties of the empty hall; for K.387, 421, 464, and 465, which were recorded last May, sound better than K.428, which was recorded in 1950. But they haven't the natural and beautiful sound that comes off the recent Bartok record of the New Music Quartet's performance of Purcell's Pavan and Chacony; and they vary: K.387 and 464 are sharper and otherwise less agreeable than K.421 and 465, and require a greater reduction of treble; but K.458 ("Hunt") is muffled without a treble boost. Recording may also be responsible for a tiny flaw in one of the performances that are sheer technical and musical perfection: the unclear repeated notes of the violins at the end of K.421.

What Rimsky-Korsakov's rewriting and Stokowski's playing around with sound effects and Rossi-Lemeny's quavering and explosive singing make of passages from Musorgsky's "Boris Godunov" (RCA Victor) is something to avoid. The rumor is that Columbia is not going to record the Metropolitan's performance of the original Musorgsky work; perhaps an expression of sufficient interest by the public would cause Columbia to change its mind.

The outstanding performance of the great *Ella giammai m'amò* from Verdi's "Don Carlo" issued last year on a Victor extended-play 45—with impressive singing by Pinza and beautiful playing of the cello obbligato by Frank Miller—is now on an LP with additional performances of arias from "Simon Boccanegra," "Ernani," "Nabucco," and "I Vespri Siciliani," and the performances of arias from Mozart's "Don Giovanni," "Figaro," and "The Magic Flute" issued a couple of years ago. Pinza's voice has to strain for some threadbare, quavering high notes in "Nabucco" and "I Vespri," but lower down it still is magnificent—though I must add that the taxing Champagne Aria is hurled forth in rhythmically slovenly fashion. Leinsdorf provides better orchestral accompaniments for the Verdi arias than Wallenstein for the Mozart. No texts.

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ingly beautiful singing of Schubert songs many years ago I played his record "Bjoerling in Song" (Victor) with expectations that were disappointed. His voice has lost its former ease and flexibility, and his singing of the songs therefore lacks its former sensitiveness and refinement. Coarse-grained accompaniments by Frederick Schauwecker. No texts.

On the other hand, though Flagstad's voice when it rises above F sharp is edged, shrill, and increasingly threadbare, in her "Song Recital" (Victor), its flexibility is undiminished; and she continues to deploy it—in Schubert's lovely "An die Musik," for example—in long, subtly inflected phrases that add up to some of the most wonderful singing one can hear today, and some of the most beautiful too when it employs the still lustrous lower range of the voice. Unfortunately the program of the recital is poor—mostly Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben" cycle and other even less consequential songs, with only Brahms's "Von ewiger Liebe" and "O wüsst' ich doch den Weg zurück" and Strauss's "Ruhe, meine Seele" as good songs in addition to "An die Musik." Edwin McAruthr gives excellent support at the piano. No texts.

Letters

Trieste Military Base?

Dear Sirs: Although very helpful, your editorial Trieste Formula of October 17 misses, I think, at least one point. What is there to prevent our acquiring an additional air and naval base at Trieste after transfer to Italy of the city and port? Or, abandoning naivete, cannot we assume that there is already a firm understanding with Italy that this shall follow in due course?

Berkeley, Cal. CHARLES B. COLLINS

In Defense of Wolfert

Dear Sirs: As a devoted follower of the naturalistic novel I wish to take strong exception to John W. Aldridge's review of Ira Wolfert's "Married Men" in *The Nation* of October 17. Although it is true that mechanistic determinism has been disproved by recent scholarship, it has never been successfully shown that the operation of man's reason and power of choice in a determined universe is philosophically untenable. Determinism, on which the naturalistic novel is based, does not assert that everything has *fixed causes;* it does say that though everything in the universe is caused there is still room for the emergence of new elements through change—and that among these elements are man's reason and power of choice.

It is totally unnecessary therefore to choose between the naturalistic novel of Zola and the psychological novel of Henry James. There is nothing incompatible in the view that man is partially bound and partially free. Both types of novels, however, can, and sometimes do, go to extremes. . . .

Although Mr. Aldridge says some flattering things about Mr. Wolfert's novel, it is apparent throughout the review that he is rejecting it, along with all other naturalistic novels, as "philosophically untenable." As an individual Mr. Aldridge is certainly entitled to his opinion, but as a reviewer he should be careful not to let that opinion intrude on an objective study of a novel.

ROBERT P. SAALBACH
Rapid City, S. D.

Talladega's Open Door

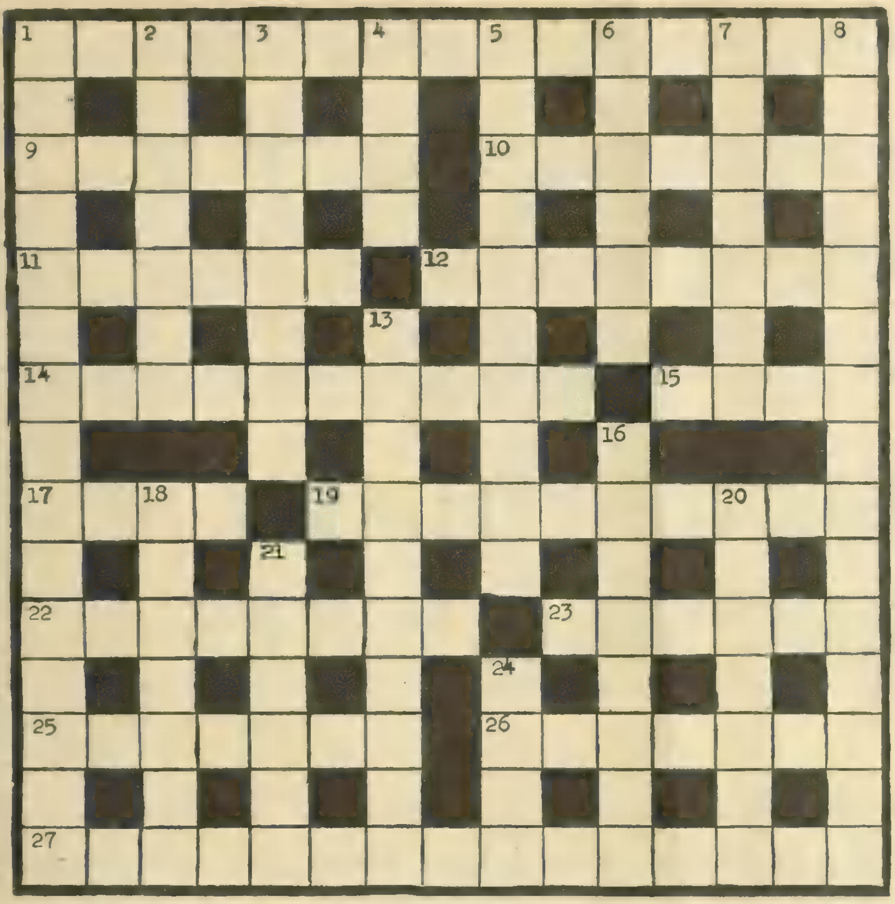
Dear Sirs: The article in your October 10 issue on Aubrey Williams, a courageous fighter for human rights in the South, was a credit to *The Nation.* However, we would like to correct the impression that Mr. Williams, as an opponent of segregation, is without a platform in any of the Negro colleges in Alabama. Mr. Williams has spoken three times within the last eight years at Talladega College. As recently as November 8, this year, he appeared as Founders' Day speaker at the invitation of the college's new president, Dr. Arthur D. Gray.

Segregation does not exist on the Talladega campus. The school has an interracial faculty and has graduated white students from both its high school and its college department. It is perhaps the only place in the deep South where an interracial primary school is maintained.

LORE RASMUSSEN
MARGARET MONTGOMERY
Talladega, Ala.

Crossword Puzzle No. 542

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 17.
9 Williams, when half-blind, composed this, and looked at a rather small amount of money. (7)
10 A number taking a beating, and expressing disapproval, naturally. (7)
11 This goes from knee to ankle. (6)
12 This bush starts dividing a couple of times. (4-4)
14 Old Netherlands? (5, 5)
15 To become engaged. (4)
17 and 1 across. Familiarly, not sober away from the plate, and generous. (4, 4, 3, 8)
19 Typical of even a non-union business on Sundays. (6, 4)
22 The price of eggs? (8)
23 Frequently the novel is the best. (6)
25 In which the wrong spirit in the half-back is confined. (7)
26 Are most conductors typified by it? (7)
27 A court guard is a strangely pacific person at weapons. (9-2-4)

DOWN

1 Indulged in by first star gazers? (7, 8)
2 Order for Archer to quit, or to pull the horse's tail? (4-3)
3 Growing from the stem. (8)
4 Told by an idiot? (4)
5 Sharp claim to primitive living substance. (10)
6 Slightly different, if iced. (6)
7 51 and 6 goes into 1. (7)
8 What we speak in front of box tiers. (7, 8)
13 Did it use to be a presidential barrier to be angry, when turned up under a rock? (6, 3)
16 It takes a fractured skull to let one of the following make it. (8)
18 This guard has the wrong identification disc. (7)
20 Does it hold the arms of a devotee of the one who made "The Planets?" (7)
21 Cooper's work is sometimes in stock. (6)
24 The last word in improper designation of 18. (4)

⁂

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 541

ACROSS:—9 AGAINST; 10 INSTEAD; 11, 4, 30, 1 and 6 THE AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE; 12 and 24 CUCKOO CLOCKS; 12 BOAR; 15 ALSATIAN; 16 PARSEE; 18 DRAGON; 20 PADLOCKS; 23 NERO; 25 ACT; 28 IMBIBER; 29 MAIDENS; 31 MINUSCULE.

DOWN:—1 BEAST; 2 ENAMELS; 3 KING COTTON; 5 TAILOR; 6 TEST; 7 BRETONS; 8 ENDORSEES; 14 BALLISTICS; 15 ANDANTINO; 17 WATCHMAN; 19 ACROBAT; 21 CHAPEAU; 22 ALARUM; 26 TASTE; 27 ABLE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Letters

The Formosa Problem . . .

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 12 Edgar Snow writes of Formosa that "obviously the United States cannot agree to a decision to present the Communists with Formosa any more than it could be party to presenting them with Hongkong or other sovereign territory." In making this statement Mr. Snow compounds confusion. Formosa is clearly not "sovereign territory." By war-time agreement Britain and the United States declared that after the war Formosa was to belong to China. . . . There was no suggestion that Formosa was to be turned over to any particular Chinese regime . . . or that Formosa was to be sovereign.

Since the war the governments of Britain, the United States, and China have all been superseded. Britain recognized the change in China. The United States has not only declined to recognize this change but has unilaterally declared that by this decision it gains the right to dispose of offshore territory which by war-time agreement belongs to China. . . . The United States cannot legally "present Formosa to anybody or withhold it from anybody. The United States government today seems increasingly to take the view that its decisions are law in respect to a number of "strategic pieces of real estate," as our journalists call them. Such a position discredits the claim of the United States to stand for law and order in international relations.

New York HELEN MEARS

. . . And Mr. Snow's Answer

Dear Sirs: I'm sorry but with all due respect to Miss Mears she is mistaken if she thinks I indorse the view that United States decisions alone are law in respect to "strategic" real estate. Where I discussed Formosa I tried to place it in a context of the politically not possible and the politically possible, that's all, in connection with China's demand for a seat in the U. N. during a period when normal diplomatic relations don't exist between us.

If anyone seriously believes it objectively possible for this country under this Administration at this time to "agree to a decision to present the Communists with Formosa" he may be right, but he has access to *Realpolitik* denied me. Of course conditions change; even Republicans change, though not very fast. Meanwhile alternatives may have to be considered before everyone sees as clearly as Miss Mears does that compromise is not permissible.

Another point of logic puzzles me. Miss Mears is sure "the United States has no rights whatever" to agree or disagree about decisions concerning Formosa today. But her reason for this certainty seems based on the bland assumption that the United States did have the right at Cairo not only to take Formosa away from Japan but to confer it on China without consulting Formosans about it. If the United States and other liberating powers have no further collective responsibility about Formosa today, how is the de jure and de facto government there now to be scuttled legally, and satisfactorily to Miss Mears, so as to turn the island over to the Reds by any means short of heavy civil war, likely to hurt quite a few Formosan bystanders?

Palisades, N.Y. EDGAR SNOW

Atlantic Patrol

Dear Sirs: In the editorial paragraph entitled Generous Uncle Sam, in your issue of November 7, you imply that the United States is withdrawing entirely from the International Civil Aviation Organization. This is not quite accurate. This country is withdrawing from the Atlantic patrol maintained by the I. C. A. O. but will presumably continue to support its other functions, such as maintenance of standards for airworthiness, the standardization of air mail charges, and so on. But the principal point you made remains valid: in withdrawing from I. C. A. O.'s Atlantic patrol, this country has abruptly put an end to a useful and symbolically heartening example of international cooperation.

Boston, Mass. JAMES H. STANTON

Dylan Thomas Fund

Dear Sirs: The sudden death of the great poet Dylan Thomas at the age of thirty-nine is an incalculable loss to literature. But there is also a personal tragedy—he leaves a widow without means of support and three children—which gravely concerns his friends and admirers. As spokesman for a committee of his friends we are making this urgent appeal to you for a contribution to the Dylan Thomas Fund, which will be used to meet his medical bills and funeral expenses and, if the response is as generous as we hope it will be, to tide his family over the next difficult months.

Please send your check to the Dylan Thomas Fund, care of Philip Wittenberg, treasurer, 70 West Fortieth Street, New York. An accounting of disbursements from the fund will be sent to the contributors at a later date.

W. H. AUDEN MARIANNE MOORE
E. E. CUMMINGS WALLACE STEVENS
ARTHUR MILLER TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
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For the Dylan Thomas Fund Committee
New York

He Was Warned

Dear Sirs: On September 30, 1948, I met with Attorney General Tom Clark in the Department of Justice building in Washington. The conference gave me an opportunity to protest my "loyalty" discharge as a clerk in the Newark Veterans Administration solely because of my Socialist views and affiliations. It also gave me a chance to tell the Attorney General how he was flouting democratic tradition by his unfair method of placing organizations on his "subversive" list without granting them a hearing.

Trying to show him that a dangerous precedent was set when individuals and groups could be stigmatized as "disloyal" on the mere say-so of one man, I said: "Suppose that you are not in this office as Attorney General next year, Mr. Clark? What guaranty has anyone that your successor will have the same ideas that you have about who is subversive and who is not subversive?"

Mr. Clark was irritated at the question. "I'll have you know," he replied, "that the Loyalty Board includes a number of Republicans as well as Democrats." The implication was that a Republican Attorney General would share his undefined criteria for "disloyalty."

How wrong he was, how dismally wrong. Even he must realize this today, when his own loyalty and that of his ex-chief, Mr. Truman, have been publicly impugned by the first Republican who succeeded him at the Department of Justice. A lot of other eyes are being opened by Mr. Brownell's big smear, and that is a good thing. No one is safe so long as anyone is deprived of his civil liberties. JAMES KUTCHER

Newark, N.J.

Volume 177, Number 22
New York, Saturday, November 28, 1953

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Bermuda Looks East

After a period of doubt as to what the coming conference at Bermuda could find to discuss or hope to accomplish, an interesting idea has come out of London—where the idea of the conference also originated. Instead of centering on the diplomatic stalemate with Russia and its European consequences, the British will suggest, according to Drew Middleton in the New York *Times,* that the Western Big Three turn their chief attention to Asia. The theory behind this is that Soviet power is at least static in Europe, while Asia offers the prospect of immense further Communist expansion and calls for a coordination of Western policy.

This shift of emphasis would unquestionably inject a shot of adrenalin into the talks of the Western leaders. It would permit a new and more realistic approach to the unresolved conflicts in Korea, Indo-China, and Malaya. It would enable the Western leaders to face the implications of their differences on such long-range issues as recognition of Communist China, relations with India, Far Eastern trade, and the best ways of forging links with and strengthening the free countries of Asia.

Quite aside from these necessities, a frank discussion of Asian problems would bring to the surface submerged rivalries and the intense if unspoken resentment of our Western allies at Washington's new dominant role in an area where Britain and France have far more experience—if less power—than the Pentagon and State Department combined. Mr. Middleton suggests that in Paris and London there is "some doubt as to who really directs United States policy in these areas: Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland." These worries and questions may not be put to rest in Bermuda, but it is something if they are openly raised.

The Line Is Fuzzy

The Butler bill (see page 442) is only one of a number of related dangers that now confront the American labor movement. Since the outbreak of the Korean war the trend in arbitration awards and in decisions of the N. L. R. B. has been to back the employer if he decides to fire an employee who is a "red" or who has been charged with being one. Dismissals of this kind have been sustained despite union-shop agreements. An arbitrator upheld the Los Angeles *Daily News* when it fired two members of the Newspaper Guild who had refused to answer questions before a Congressional committee, and in 1951 the N. L. R. B. refused to review the case of an employee dismissed because he had signed the Stockholm peace petition. President Eisenhower's recent executive order making it a dischargeable offense for a federal employee to refuse to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination will now of course be cited as a formal declaration of public policy on the subject.

Despite these precedents many employers are still cautious about making so-called "subversive discharges." But according to *Business Week* (October 24) they may now safely disregard their fears. Not only does the average employee lack the resources to finance a lawsuit, but the present climate of opinion almost insures an adverse deci-

More About Our Book Club

The first two titles to be offered by *The Nation's* Choice, a unique new book club for *Nation* subscribers only, will be announced in the issue of December 12—our second annual sixty-four page Civil Liberties issue. Originally scheduled for November 28, we postponed inauguration of the book club to make it coincide with the Civil Liberties number, which this year, as it did last, will make magazine history.

Last week *Publisher's Weekly* told the trade about the new book club, emphasizing that selections will be devoted to "the kind of books that liberals will want to read and own—the kind which today are often lost in the avalanche of book production and often ignored by conformist critics." This of course is the stated objective of *The Nation's* Choice.

The club will make possible savings up to 40 per cent a book and will offer bonuses in addition. Membership will be automatic for all *Nation* subscribers, yet not a single book will be sent to any subscriber unless he specifically asks for it. Letters from our readers indicate that the project is going to get an enthusiastic reception. We are certain that *The Nation's* Choice for December will interest you.

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The Nation, November 28, 1953. Volume 177. No. 22

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sion. In addition, it is always easy for an employer to find "legitimate" reasons for discharging heretics. "Since the line is fuzzy," comments *Business Week* on the whole business of subversion, "it would be hard to upset the judgment of the board, either way."

In the meantime the N. L. R. B., acting as though the Butler bill were already the law of the land, has refused to hold bargaining elections for the independent Marine Cooks and Stewards, whose president, Hugh Bryson, has been indicted, but not yet tried for, falsely swearing that he is not a Communist.

"The Saar Is German"

One of the obvious purposes of the Bermuda conference is to exert pressure on France to commit itself to German rearmament and the E. D. C. before the NATO meeting on December 14. Last week's debate in the French National Assembly showed the effect of this pressure—a deepening split not only in the government but in the foreign office and in the army. It must be remembered that M. Laniel's success in finally constructing a Cabinet after five weeks of crisis was due primarily to an agreement to postpone decisions on basic foreign policy. Among other things, the agreement called for the fulfilment of Foreign Minister Bidault's pledge to the parties that neither the Bonn peace contract nor the European treaty would be ratified until the Saar problem had been settled.

But the Bonn government's apparently well-grounded conviction that it can get anything it wants out of Washington has led to a situation precisely opposite to what Bidault had hoped for when he made the pledge. West Germany's attitude towards the Saar is stiffening instead of softening. It is true that Adenauer never ceases to protest that the improvement of Franco-German relations remains the achievement with which he would like to crown his long career. But in fact the Bonn government, seizing upon the renewal of the Franco-Saar convention as a leit-motif, is hammering home the thesis that the Saar is and must always remain German. This alone is enough to weaken the force of Bidault's appeal to the French Assembly to accept E. D. C. and to prevent a clear-cut commitment at Bermuda.

Cincinnati's "White Case"

A miniature White case developed recently in Cincinnati which has some extraordinary implications, most of them sinister. Several years ago a man named Sydney Williams applied there for the post of City Planning Director. He was interviewed by Henry A. Bettman, chairman of the municipal planning board, and Wallace R. Collett, a board member, both of whom belong to the City Charter Committee, a reform party. Williams admitted to his interviewers that in 1946 he had joined a

Marxist housing and planning "study group" in San Francisco, but said that he had dropped his connection after a few months. Bettman and Collett, feeling that Williams's excellent technical qualifications overweighed his brief association with "reds," gave him the job.

So the matter rested until the closing weeks of this year's municipal election, in which the Charterites and the Republicans were the chief opponents. It is clear that as of September 28, at least, City Manager W. R. Kellogg, a Republican, was in possession of a two-paragraph F.B.I. report which stated that on the basis of "information received" (though apparently not checked) Williams had at one time or another been a member of the Communist Party and that his wife probably still was. Kellogg showed this report to some of his Republican colleagues before making it public. Now the fat was in the fire. Williams resigned, the Republicans demanded the resignation of Bettman and Collett, and the Charterites were given the Brownell treatment.

Mr. Brownell, Take Note

Spokesmen for the Charter Committee put the finger on the key question: How did the F. B. I. report get into the hands of the Republican City Manager? Leon M. Sive, committee president, pointed out not irrelevantly that Gordon H. Scherer, a former member of the municipal planning board, is now a Republican member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. We don't know whether Mr. Scherer had access to the F. B. I. files. We don't know whether the F. B. I. simply volunteered the information. What we do know is that if F. B. I. reports are hereafter going to be made available to Republicans in order to throw opponents out of office, or to discredit them, then this country has become a police state and its chief executive is not the President, but J. Edgar Hoover.

So much for the sinister in the Cincinnati affair. But there is also a happy aspect. The Republican campaign of smear, vilification, and red-baiting did not work—on election day the voters returned a majority of Charterites to the City Council and Messrs. Bettman and Collett still have their jobs. Mr. Brownell and the Republican National Committee, please note.

Let the Punishment Fit the Crime

News item in Lien Ho Joh Pao, *Chinese-language newspaper published in New York City:*

Formosa, November 6 (Associated Press)—The Formosa *Tu Li Wan Pao (Independent Evening News)* was ordered suspended for three months on October 18 for saying something that offended Chiang Kai-shek. On October 10, reporting on a meeting in celebration of the national holiday, the newspaper declared that Chiang Kai-shek "was mixed up with a pile of people on the reviewing stand." A petty official of the Kuomintang said that the two characters "mixed up" bore "a signification insulting to the President." The suspension followed despite the fact that Li Yu-ch'ien, publisher of the paper, who is reported to have been a member of the Kuomintang since 1919, printed an item of regret and promised not to make the slightest mistake in the future.

The Formosa *Kung Lun Pao (Public Opinion Daily)* commented editorially on October 30 that while the *Tu Li Wan Pao* had been careless in its use of words, the punishment was undoubtedly too heavy, and requested the authorities to be generous and drop the matter.

Middle East Mirage

A NEW trinity—oil, bases, and trade—is being enshrined as the presiding deity of the United Nations in the Middle East. Tossed into limbo are the interests of peoples, peace, and development, which, on paper at least, are still the foundation stones of the U. N. Charter.

Three times in the course of the past month the Big Three was offered an extraordinary opportunity to make marked progress on three fronts—peace in the Middle East, solution of the Arab refugee problem, winning the friendship of the Arab people. Instead, they chose retreat and double-cross. For what? A mirage called "security," rising from the hope of a Middle Eastern pact with the West. Pursuit of that mirage is responsible for the cynical and sterile discussions at the U. N. on Kibya, Arab refugees, and the Syrian complaint, as well as for decisions alienating both the Arab nations and Israel.

Let's take a look at Kibya. Surely the "mourners" over Kibya, if they had in mind the interests of the Arab people, could have planned a more fitting memorial than the resolution presented to the Security Council by the Big Three. For what is this resolution other than an incitement to new violence, and therefore to new loss of life?

Important to the interests of the Arab peoples is not censure of Israel but a decision that could prevent violence on either side. The joker in the resolution is that the Israeli action which its sponsors call "retaliatory" is described as "a violation of the cease-fire provisions of the Security Council resolution of July, 1948" and "inconsistent with the Armistice agreements in the Charter." But the acts which produced the retaliation—namely, the infiltration from Jordan into Israel and attacks on Israelis—are characterized as breaches neither of the peace nor of the Armistice agreements nor of the Charter. As long as the Council fails to consider them as violations, so long will the Arab governments feel encouraged to continue them along all four Israel frontiers. Thus violence grows instead of diminishes.

Did the Big Three have any other choice? Obviously. They could have argued that all the Security Council needed to do was to invoke the preamble and Articles 1 and 12 of the Israel-Jordan Armistice agreement. These articles make discussion of a settlement mandatory. And what moment was more opportune than a crisis created by violence?

Let's take a look at the Syrian complaint concerning Israel's construction of a canal for power purposes. After more than a month of discussion, it is likely to be referred back for decision to the truce-supervision organization. Clearly, Syria has no territorial rights in the area and the complaint, which caused the United States to hold up temporarily economic aid to Israel, should have been thrown out by the Truce Commission when initially lodged.

What did Syria hope to gain? Harassment of Israel, the stoppage of the work on the canal, leverage to satisfy other national interests. But if the Security Council should continue to lend itself to Syria's harassing tactics, Israel has an alternative possibility which would preclude both U. N. and Syrian intervention. The Israel canal could be constructed in such a way as to by-pass the demilitarized zone entirely and involve only land and water under exclusive Israel sovereignty. The enterprise would be much more costly and, from an engineering standpoint, more difficult, but there is little that Syria or anybody else could do to stop it.

The action of Syria is understandable. The collaboration of the Big Three in it is reprehensible.

AND FINALLY there is the Arab refugee problem.

After five years there are still 872,000 Arabs on the relief rolls of the United Nations. In its report to the General Assembly the United Nations Works and Relief Administration admitted that very little progress had been made and that practically the whole of its $200,000,000 integration fund was unexpended because the refugees resisted all programs that were not temporary. U. N. W. R. A. pointed out that resistance to permanent settlement was both political and economic and asked for the assistance of the member governments of the U. N. in bringing about a change. It cited the need simultaneously to raise the standard of living of indigenous populations by helping the Arab governments develop their ample natural resources for this purpose.

What did the U. N. do under Big Three stimulus? It decided to allow the present relief operations to continue for another year and to let U. N. W. R. A. continue to wrestle with the problem, even though the organization had stated clearly that the political-economic factors were outside its milieu.

But much more important than that: American leadership fortified Arab intransigence by suddenly injecting the idea that Israel should consider the repatriation of Arab refugees. This despite the fact that three years ago the U. N., with United States support, recognized that repatriation was impossible and that the only solution was resettlement in Arab countries. To continue to delude the Arab refugees that repatriation is possible is criminal cynicism, whether projected by the Arab governments or by the State Department.

What is the purpose of all this maneuvering? Obviously, the proffer of Israel as a sacrificial lamb is intended to gain the good-will of the Arab states. By this time one has become inured to the banishment of morality. But what of reality? What do the Big Three gain? When Mr. Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, bluntly told the United States that if it were interested in petroleum, bases, other material resources, and trade with the Arab states, it had better stop being friendly to Israel, he was only using the constant blackmail tactic of the Arab world. But Mr. Hassouna and his associates do not hold all the winning cards. Let's take a look at the oil situation. Last year four Arab countries drew oil royalties of $440,000,000. This year the royalties will be considerably increased, with every outlook favorable for further increases. The royalties account for the largest part of the budgets of the countries involved. But this huge income depends in large measure on the continued availability of Western technicians as well as Western markets. The lesson of Iran has not been lost on Irâq and Saudi Arabia.

So the Western world has leverage to apply in peace time if it so chooses. And in war? Either the oil-rich countries will be overrun or their defense will be undertaken by the Western world. There is not a single Arab country capable of defending itself against a putative Russian invasion. In a moment of acute crisis the Arab governments will choose the course they think most advantageous. Can they deliver their people to either side? Hardly likely. Throughout the Arab world there is ferment against poverty, coupled with opposition to the presence of any foreign power. In the event of world war, this ferment could lead to civil war. The present ruling caste would be the first to go.

AS LONG as the Big Three deal with the Middle East situation solely in terms of bases and of winning support from governments which, with perhaps the exception of Egypt, have shown little initiative in improving the lot of their people, they are alienating rather than winning the friendship of the Arab peoples.

What the Arab peoples need are peace and assistance in improving their standards of living. Yet every action taken by the U. N. on the Palestine question in the current debates has been in the opposite direction.

The Big Three can of course greatly retard the development of Israel, the only certain friend of democracy in the Middle East. The irony is that in pursuing their present course, they are endangering their own "security."

Next President of France

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

THE presidential election, now only two weeks away, dominates the whole French political scene. Among the candidates most talked of are Joseph Laniel, the present Premier; Henri Queuille, the expert politician and former Premier whose name crops up every time France is without a Cabinet for more than a month; and finally Edouard Herriot. There are also many others in the race: René Pleven, the present Minister of National Defense, whom the Communists tag "America's man" because his views on Indo-China and the European army coincide with those of Washington and also because of his long-standing associations with American big business; Georges Bidault, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs; Yvon Delbos, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Education, as well as less important leaders of various political groups. Former Premier Antoine Pinay, whose chances would have been pretty good, has announced that he will not stand and will refuse the presidency, if elected.

Of these men, Laniel seems at present to have the best chance. Pleven has just suffered two setbacks. The National Assembly has defeated a measure to lift the parliamentary immunity of a number of Communist deputies, which he had demanded with great insistence. The most remarkable thing about the anti-Pleven majority was that it comprised not only Communists and Socialists but also fifty-three members of the Catholic M. R. P., thirteen Radical Socialists, and fourteen independents. His other defeat was administered by his own party. At its recent congress a majority disagreed with M. Pleven on Indo-China and pronounced itself in favor of negotiations with Ho Chi-minh, a policy he opposes. In consequence M. Pleven resigned from the party chairmanship.

A NEW preelection trend is the growing movement in favor of the candidacy of Edouard Herriot, president of the National Assembly and chairman of the Radical Socialist Party. He is eighty-two and rheumatism has forced him many times to enter the Chamber with the assistance of two ushers. But once seated in the presidential chair he shows himself as witty and effective as he was thirty years ago. His biggest chance is related to the stand he has taken against German rearmament. At last year's Radical Party congress at Bordeaux his position created a sensation. At this year's congress he was more cautious. But a statement by him read at a recent meeting at the Mutualité, where members of various political groups ranging from the Gaullists to the Socialists condemned the European army, was clear and energetic. He said: "I regret that the proposed treaty has not been examined line by line, as it should have been, and I am convinced that many of those who defend it have not examined it because they are aiming at a peace that can only be a half-peace. Never in her entire history has France had to take a decision as important as the decision to ratify or not ratify the European-army treaty. The problem thus presented requires the most careful study, for once the decision is made, it cannot be unmade. It is the destiny of France that is at stake."

There are those who think that the choice lies between Herriot and Auriol. True, Vincent Auriol wishes to leave the Elysée Palace, but in France this does not imply a desire to quit active politics. If no candidate receives the required majority in December, Ariol may be requested to remain at the helm for another seven years, in view of France's critical position.

BUT THE OTHER candidates named have not given up hope. This is why they are none too pleased about the coming Bermuda conference, which may put at least two of them, Laniel and Bidault, into a less favorable position. The columnist Pertinax, as well informed as ever, writes in *Paris Soir*: "To all appearances, the place and date of the coming meeting of the three Western chiefs of state and their Foreign Ministers have been selected by Sir Winston Churchill and President Eisenhower, and MM. Laniel and Bidault were not given an opportunity to present their objections, if any, or to suggest alternatives." From this Pertinax concludes that the only European politician to feel happy about Bermuda is Chancellor Adenauer, "who sees that France has finally been sent to the back of the line as far as the European army is concerned. She is still maneuvering; but the German Federal Republic will pretty soon be allowed to rearm, within the framework of NATO or some other way."

The position of the French political parties with regard to the presidential elections is further complicated because both General de Gaulle and Edouard Daladier have outlined an "alternative foreign policy"—an alternative, that is, to the ratification of the European army—which represents nothing more and nothing less than a return to the traditional French policy of friendship with Russia in the face of the German peril. "France has always been Russia's ally," De Gaulle declared at a press conference, referring to the Franco-Soviet treaty signed after the war and still valid. "Do you think," asked Daladier at the above-mentioned Mutualité meeting, "that a nation of 200,000,000, conscious of its very real power, can be asked to quit the countries which it occupies and to which it was led by the Americans and the English?"

This agreement on foreign policy between groups antagonistic on domestic issues might obtain for a presidential candidate like Herriot—or for that matter for any other opponent of the European army—the votes of Communist, Gaullist, and Daladier-Radical senators and deputies. And these votes represent a respectable force.

H-BOMB FOR UNIONS

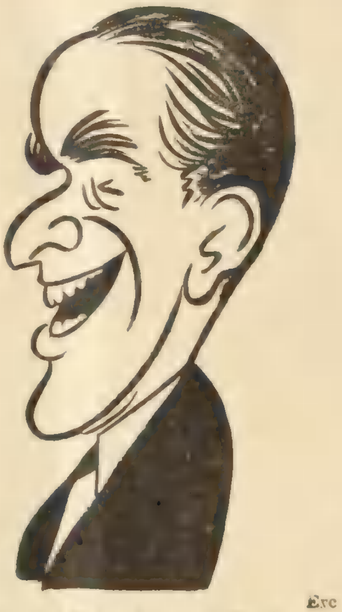
The Butler Bill . . *by Laurent B. Frantz*

AGITATION to have the government chase the "reds" out of the unions with a big stick has come to a head this month with a Senate "task force" opening public hearings on the Butler bill, S. 1606, a legislative H-bomb designed for use on the home front. The bill provides that any union charged with being "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by Communists, ex-Communists, or persons who once worked with Communists shall be summarily stripped of its bargaining rights and then placed on trial before the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine whether those rights should be restored.

Its author, Republican Senator John Marshall Butler of Maryland, whose campaign for office was substantially controlled by Senator Joseph McCarthy, is a hunter not only of Communists but of "crypto-socialists." These interesting game birds may be readily identified, Senator Butler has declared,

> . . . by certain basic assumptions which they fervidly profess and which have their origin in socialism. Among these assumptions are: government is good and to be expanded, business is evil and to be regimented; labor unions are good (with the C. I. O. better than the A. F. of L.), employers are wicked; the federal government, at least since 1932, is progressive, and should increasingly supplant the states, which are regarded as reactionary and obsolete; public ownership is better than private enterprise, which is looked upon as selfish and corrupt; wages are good, profits are sinful; public welfare measures should replace private charity; the executive branch of the federal government, and in particular the regulatory agencies thereof, should be given more power and wider discretion, the Congress and the courts should be subordinated and curtailed.

Persons who display these alarming ideological symptoms are, in the Senator's view:



Senator John Marshall Butler

> . . . disloyal in the sense that they, whether from good or bad motives, seek to subvert the American system of limited government, free enterprise, and democratic society and replace it with a system hostile and alien to our traditions as a nation. Because the socialist "liberals" operate under the camouflage of respectability, they may fairly be deemed a danger to the national interest, independent of the effective cover they provide for the Communist infiltration.

The chairman of the committee holding hearings on Mr. Butler's prescription for securing the loyalty of the labor movement is Butler himself. His fellow-Republican is Herman Welker of Idaho, another freshman Senator for whom McCarthy campaigned and who has in turn supported Jumping Joe in the Senate. The Democrat who completes the team is none other than Pat McCarran, author of numerous measures for the whittling away of civil liberties, including the Internal Security Act of 1950, which the Butler bill seeks to expand. This "task force" is a unit of Senator Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee, which recently reported that the whole New Deal was nothing but a Communist plot. With the preliminaries in such eager hands, it may be assumed that a floor fight in Congress over the Butler bill, or something essentially similar, is on the schedule for 1954.

WHAT TEST is proposed for identifying Communist domination in unions?

"Whenever it is charged that any 'labor organization' . . . is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by any individual or individuals (whether officers of such labor organization or not). . ."

Let it be noted at the outset that the persons whose influence is relied on to show "Communist domination" need not have any defined or objectively verifiable authority. Their control need not be complete, only "substantial." Thus the decision may rest on a mere hunch as to how much some persons have been influenced by others. In any such speculative and intuitive judgment, the controlling factor is likely to be the prejudices of the fact-finders—in this case the members of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

By the use of this language, moreover, unions are virtually required to judge all proposals put before them, not on their merits, but on their sponsorship. Acceptance of any proposal which turned out to be of Communist origin—even though the union was unaware of this fact and even though the proposal was quite unobjectionable on its own merits—might lay the union open to a charge of being "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by a Communist minority within the organization.

". . . who are or ever have been a member or members. . . ."

There may be as many as several hundred thousand ex-Communists around. Most of them are not known as such to their associates. Probably a considerable number are active in unions, even in very conservative unions. Yet the Subversive Activities Control Board could deprive a whole organization of bargaining rights because one such person was found in a position of influence. It

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LAURENT B. FRANTZ was co-author with Norman Redlich of the widely read article Does Silence Mean Guilt? in The Nation *of June 6.*

would not need to be shown that this person was still pro-Communist; the action could be taken if he had indisputably long been bitterly anti-Communist. Perhaps the board would not want to take action against a union in such circumstances, but it would have to do so to enforce the act as written.

" . . . of the Communist Party or of any Communist-action organization, or Communist-front organization. . ."

Organizations characterized as "Communist fronts" are almost by definition built around some program or objective which many non-Communists consider desirable. The aim may be defense of civil liberties, opposition to war, opposition to racial discrimination, protection for aliens or for refugees from fascism, and so on through causes without number. To be at all effective, the "front" must contain a substantial number of non-Communists. Some of these may know they are working with Communists but believe that all who have a common purpose should work together for it, irrespective of their differences on other questions. Others may have refused to believe, if they ever heard it, that their associates were Communists. In a calm and rational atmosphere neither position could possibly be regarded, by its most determined opponent, as more than a political indiscretion. Yet under the Butler bill anyone who has ever worked with Communists in an organization for any purpose, whether he knew it or not, is forever barred from union leadership.

". . . or who have consistently aided, supported, or in any manner contributed to or furthered the activities of such organizations. . ."

Thus for the unions the dictum, if the Communists are for it you have to be against it, would become law. This requirement, which the McCarran act has already laid down for the guidance of organizations in general, obviously throws the door wide open to political and ideological censorship. What may not be immediately obvious is that unions are in a peculiar position which makes its effect on them even more drastic.

In 1948 the C. I. O. expelled a number of unions alleged to be Communist-dominated. In December, 1951, the United States Chamber of Commerce declared: "In spite of a partial housecleaning, the C. I. O. has never rid itself of its Marxist economics. Virtually every important speech and publication . . . is replete with class consciousness, hatred for employers, and is designed to intensify the class struggle—things foreign to most Americans." And in February, 1953, the *American Machinist*, summarizing the results of a survey made for the Timken Roller Bearing Company, said: ". . . the report does show a surprising coincidence of attitudes between C. I. O. official publications and Communist papers. Where attitude toward free enterprise is involved, C. I. O. follows the Communist Party line with the persistence of a shadow." It would not be particularly difficult to analyze A. F. of L. statements and reach similar conclusions. For example, the preamble to the A. F. of L. constitution states: "A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

SUCH COMPARISONS are possible—and always will be possible—for a quite simple reason. Communists believe that the form of society they seek can be achieved by a working-class victory. Consequently, whatever else the Communist line may be, it is generally strongly pro-labor. And however anti-Communist a union may be, many of its objectives will receive Communist support. The requirement of total non-concurrence in the Communist "line" is one which unions simply cannot meet without ceasing to be unions.

Thus the real effect of this condition is to put all unions at the mercy of the Subversive Activities Control Board. No union could exist unless the board's subjective judgment on its political tendencies and reliability were favorable.

Its efforts to improve the economic status of its members, which are the union's reason for existence, can be regarded as an argument against it. The Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations felt impelled to warn:

> No union-management relationship is free of grievances of one sort or another. It is difficult to detect the precise motivation which edges a grievance into a strike or slow-down. The Communist union leaders do not usually proclaim in advance that the motivating factor in a strike or slow-down is political. It is even not unlikely that most Communist-led strikes are legitimate strikes arising out of genuine trade-union grievances. There may be just a hairline of judgment separating the attitude of the patriotic, militant trade-union leader and the Communist party-line follower. One feels that the grievance is not weighty enough to justify a strike; the other, concerned with implementing the foreign policy of a foreign country, does move for strike action.

The last statement is an imaginary bugaboo, since moving for strike action is not enough: a strike must be voted by a majority of the membership. The significant thing is the nature of the objective data which will distinguish the two hypothetical trade unionists described by the committee. The first one does not prove his quality just by making patriotic speeches. He clears himself only by deciding that the grievance was not sufficiently weighty. A cablegram from Malenkov is not discovered in the other's briefcase. His "concern with implementing the foreign policy of a foreign country" will be inferred from the fact that he did move for strike action.

The committee recognizes that the "patriotic, militant trade-union leader" and the "Communist party-line follower" have frequently both voted to strike. In this situation the Control Board will have to sort out its subversives on the basis of its own best guess as to their secret motivation. Since all strikes affect production and almost all production affects in some degree the nation's potential military strength—and since all strikes also necessarily involve something for which the workers are willing to strike—the board will be perfectly free to characterize any strike as either "legitimate" or "political" and thereby to obtain whichever result it desires.

In speaking of "crypto-socialists" Senator Butler explained that "in the field of labor, which next to foreign affairs is the most sensitive and fertile field for Socialist infiltration, collectivist attitudes . . . manifest themselves primarily in a pro-union, anti-management bias." In short, in the view of the author of the Butler bill, a union may be considered subversive if it is pro-labor. This proposition, which the National Association of Manufacturers has long been bending its efforts to establish, is embodied in the bill in a slightly disguised form.

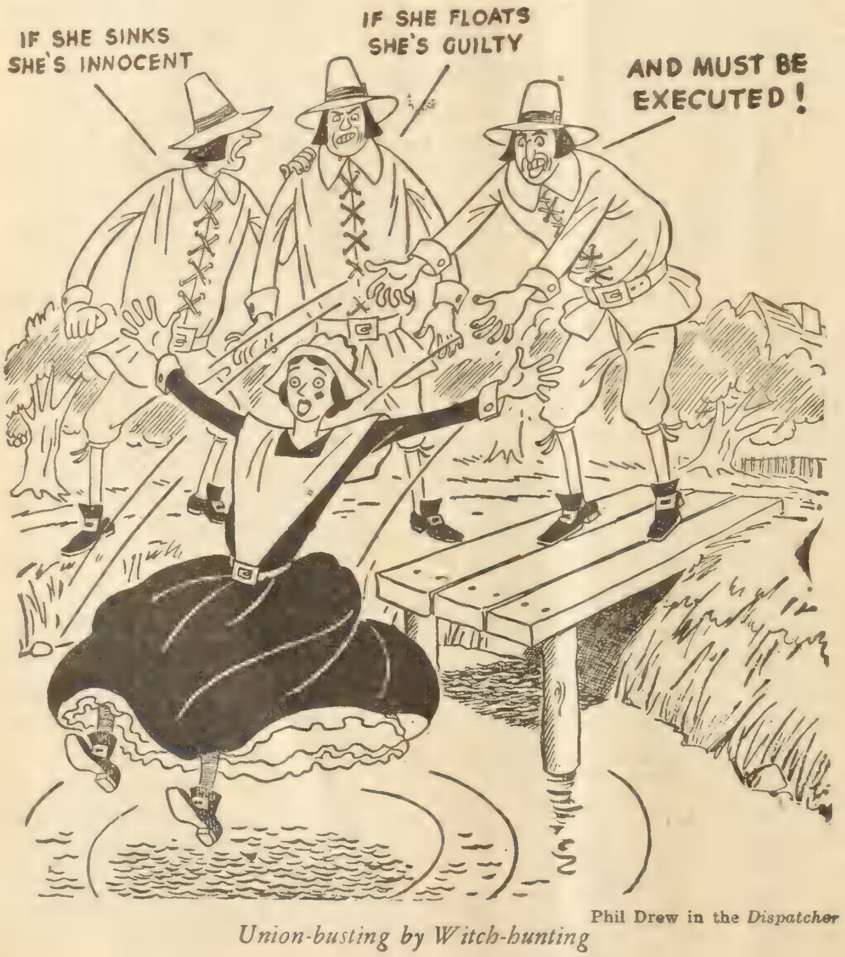
SOME OF the procedural features of the bill are equally important. Charges on which the union is deprived of bargaining rights can be brought by anyone—an employer, a rival union, a disaffected group in the union which wants to retry before the board issues already argued before the membership and lost. Rival unions are actually solicited, perhaps bribed, to bring such charges. By doing so they can obtain a National Labor Relations Board election without first signing up 30 per cent of the bargaining unit as the law would normally require. In such an election the accused union would be refused a place on the ballot because, although not yet found guilty, it is already "ineligible . . . to become, or to continue to be, the recipient of any procedural or substantive benefit under or by virtue of the Labor Management Relations Act."

The accused union loses it bargaining rights, not when final judgment is reached, but when the complaint is first issued. The bill says:

> Simultaneous with the service of such complaint and notice of hearing on such labor organization, the Subversive Activities Control Board shall cause to be served on the National Labor Relations Board . . . an intermediate suspension order providing that such labor organization shall be ineligible to act as exclusive bargaining agent.

Thus even a union which is ultimately vindicated will have been prevented from functioning for several months or perhaps years. Of course this reverses the presumption of innocence, one of the fundamental principles of our law. The practical consequence will be that the unions must trim their sails not to avoid the possibility of an adverse decision but to avoid the possibility of being accused. They will have to cater continually to employers, to rival unions, to dissident elements in their ranks, to non-union workers, to government officials, to labor commentators and gossip columnists, and to professional red-hunters, super-patriots, and inquisitorial Congressmen. The resulting labor movement, if one remains, should be docile enough to satisfy its worst enemy.

To issue the intermediate-suspension order which puts the union out of business in advance of its trial, the board need only have "reason to believe that allegations therein contained are meritorious." If a Court of Appeals later holds that the conclusion was erroneous or illegal, the suspension order shall nevertheless "retain its full force and effect" pending Supreme Court review. This amazing provision goes far to show that the possibility of ruining a union which may ultimately be vindicated is in the bill by design and not by accident. As now written, the bill authorizes the government to appeal to the Supreme Court if it loses in the Court of Appeals but denies the union that right.


IF SHE SINKS SHE'S INNOCENT
IF SHE FLOATS SHE'S GUILTY
AND MUST BE EXECUTED!

Phil Drew in the *Dispatcher*

Union-busting by Witch-hunting

IT WOULD BE nice to think that the bill was sponsored by a lunatic fringe and had no prospect of enactment. Unfortunately, the indications, at least so far as the general outlines of the scheme are concerned, are to the contrary. Its main features may even have Administration support, although the signs here are not conclusive. In his recommendations for Taft-Hartley revision, later withdrawn, President Eisenhower, as reported in the New York *Times*, suggested that the non-Communist affidavits "be eliminated and the problem of Communist influence in unions would be dealt with in general legislation." Attorney General Brownell, in a copyrighted interview in *U. S. News and World Report*, said that Communists were "a greater menace now than at any time" and that he supposed "there are more in labor unions than anywhere else." The Department of Justice, he added, would cooperate closely in a forthcoming Congressional study of the problem. The President's statement may, as his Attorney General's clearly does, refer to the efforts of the Butler-Welker-McCarran "task force."

Some of the provisions of the Butler bill are so nakedly outrageous that it is hard to see how even a hunter of "crypto-socialists" could put them forward with serious intent. Possibly some of the details may be primarily bargaining points to be surrendered in the process of making a smashing defeat for labor look like a compromise.

Not only the methods but also the purported legislative aim of measures like the Butler bill deserve more critical analysis than they are likely to get in these times. The notion that Communists in union leadership offer some kind of immediate threat to "security" is pure speculation. In reality the unions most frequently charged with Communist domination are under heavy fire from employers, government, and rival organizations. Their survival can only be explained by the fact that the leadership has won and retained the confidence of an overwhelmingly non-Communist membership. Since raiding unions are constantly hovering around to pick up any element which becomes disaffected, even a momentary lapse of confidence on the part of a substantial minority would mean disaster.

Another objection to the purported legislative aim is more fundamental. A union officer, like a Congressman, is elected to represent a constituency. The only people before whom an elected representative's political tendencies and possible future breach of trust can be discussed are those to whom he must appeal for reelection. To allow any other body to pass upon such questions is to disfranchise the electorate.

The sponsors of legislation of this kind would do well to ponder the statement of William Green, late president of the A. F. of L.:

> Legislation would serve to substitute compulsion for voluntarism. Workers resent compulsion; consequently the enactment of legislation designed to prevent Communist domination of unions would have a bad psychological effect.

They might also study the words of Walter Reuther, C. I. O. president:

> The Communist issue must be settled inside the unions themselves. It is up to the union membership. There is no other way to handle the question.

Clearly, opposition should be focused on the general scheme rather than on the name or details of any particular bill. This scheme is to make unions liable to ideological trials which may deprive them of bargaining rights and to subject the employees' choice of their bargaining representative to a government-wielded political veto. It was condemned by a Senate subcommittee in these words, "This ideological testing of a union's right to survive is foreign to our traditions of a free labor movement," and by the late Alan Haywood, C. I. O. vice-president, as follows:

> This amounts, whether or not it is so labeled, to government licensing of trade unions. It means that the government determines which unions are legitimate and may continue to function, and which shall be proscribed. . . .
>
> Government licensing of unions would inevitably involve thought control, since it would turn not on acts but on beliefs and loyalties. The determination of whether a union should be proscribed would necessarily "reflect the individual political and economic views and attitudes of the government officials making the determination. Once the gate is opened to government proscribing of unions, the temptation will be present to use the device to destroy any union with whose objectives the Administration in power may happen not to agree."

Many signs—for example, the Eisenhower-Durkin break and the tough pro-business orientation given to the N. L. R. B. by recent appointments—point to another curb-the-unions build-up like that which produced the Taft-Hartley act a few years ago. The theme "this is just what we need to fight communism" is being used these days as an advertising gimmick useful for selling anything.

RED HERRING—AND WHITE

The Great Crusade Picks Up . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE feverish exploitation of the case of the late Harry Dexter White is by all odds the most significant step that the Eisenhower Administration has yet taken. The future of the Great Crusade has been baldly staked on the theory that in the emotional climate now prevailing the anti-Communist issue is the unfailing master-key to political power.

Here is an issue, it is hoped, that may resolve all the contradictions arising from the dizzy blend of public-relations build-up, the give-away program, and the ominous gap between campaign promises and administrative performance. In it healing may be found for the political pains which have begun to afflict the Administration ten months after it came triumphantly into office.

In a way this makes sense. It at least explains various things, like the continued refusal to restrain Senator McCarthy, and the sweaty embrace from Senator Jenner to which the victorious candidate submitted out in Indiana a little more than a year ago. McCarthyism cannot be disavowed, for it pays off politically; and who but Senator Jenner provided the proper stage for the televised proceedings which got the whole maneuver back on the rails?

All of which is to say that the current investigation must be assayed in the context of the existing political situation.

Barely a fortnight ago Leonard W. Hall, Republican national chairman, bluntly admitted that the party and the Administration were in serious trouble. The details of that trouble are worth examining briefly. Some extremely significant elections had gone wrong—in Wisconsin, in New Jersey, and in New York. The party was split into reactionary and mildly liberal wings. The elections had seemed to indicate that the personal popularity of the President was non-transferable. A new session of Congress was coming up, lamentably unprepared to cope with a number of hot political issues whose settlement had been postponed to the eve of a difficult Congressional election.

As recently as November 16, *Newsweek* drew attention to this situation and remarked that President Eisenhower's

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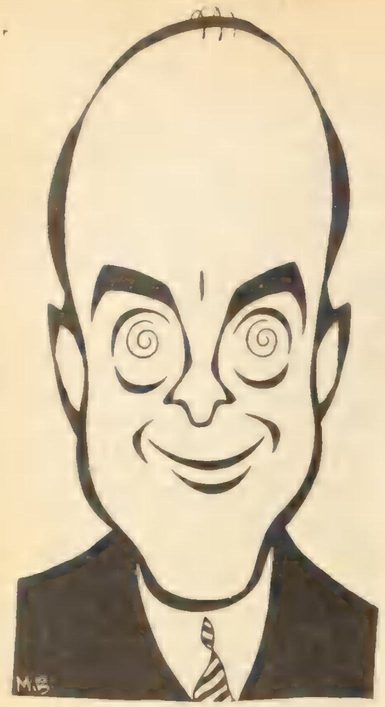
BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *reports frequently on developments in Washington.*



Attorney General Brownell

associates were urging him to lay down a program with genuine vote-getting appeal. Unfortunately the program was already fairly clear, and its utter lack of voter appeal was even clearer.

There was a confused farm program which at the very least seemed to be inviting a new agricultural depression.

There was a hard-money program which had provoked so many symptoms of an economic recession that the Treasury was beginning to back-pedal.

There was an attitude toward organized labor which had driven Martin Durkin out of the Cabinet and was renewing all of labor's traditional distrust of Republican leadership.

There was a hardening attitude toward public power, reclamation, and the public domain which seemed likely to prove all the accusations made by Democrats in the last campaign.

In addition, the Republicans' airy promises to balance the budget were colliding head-on with equally airy promises to reduce taxes. And there was, and still is, for that matter, every indication that the second set of promises would presently be redeemed even if that put the first set beyond all hope of fulfilment.

On top of everything else the Republicans' pet issue of corruption in high places was back-firing badly. In Governor Dewey's own bailiwick of New York a malodorous situation was winning some highly unpleasant headlines.

It was against this background that Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., took his script in hand and told a Chicago luncheon-club audience that when the Truman Administration put White on the International Monetary Fund it did so in the full knowledge that the man was a traitor.

Extravagant charges of evildoing have been made before by the Republicans. After all, General Eisenhower got the Presidential nomination very largely as the result of loud charges that the Taft people had "stolen" various delegates in Texas—charges in whose formulation Mr. Brownell himself was generally believed to have had a prominent hand. There was also Senator Jenner, now serving as master of ceremonies in the White production, who had asserted that General George C. Marshall was no better than a front man for traitors.

Mr. Brownell's speech brought swift reactions. The first came from National Chairman Hall, who stopped wailing low and jubilantly proclaimed that "communism in government" would be a principal issue in the 1954 Congressional election campaign. The second came from Mr. Truman himself, who got radio and television time to reply.

TRUMAN'S SPEECH was a good job. But his press section, in advance of the speech, committed a tactical blunder of the first magnitude by spreading the word that J. Edgar Hoover himself, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had at least tacitly approved the business of naming White to a new job so that he could be watched. This gave the Republicans full opportunity to retrieve the error which Mr. Brownell had committed, and they made the most of it.

On the day before the hearing the staunchly Republican New York *Herald Tribune* asserted that Hoover was refusing to accept any responsibility for Truman's action in the White case. The F. B. I. chief, it predicted, was "likely to become a highly damaging witness as far as Mr. Truman is concerned and a very favorable witness for Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr." That was a very sage prediction. When the mikes and the lights were turned on, what was at issue was not the extravagance of Mr. Brownell's language but the ineffable sanctity of Mr. Hoover's reputation.

The head of the F. B. I. is Washington's one, original untouchable. No one will criticize him, no one will question him—least of all, a Senator in front of the television apparatus. He took the stand amid fervent applause, with Chairman Jenner of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee presenting him as "the custodian of the nation's security." The Senators accepted his assertion that the F. B. I. does not draw conclusions or express opinions and sat in awed silence while he drew extensive conclusions and expressed the most forthright opinions. When he had finished, the question was no longer whether Mr. Brownell had wrongly accused Mr. Truman of something; it was whether Mr. Truman had wrongly accused Mr. Hoover. The Great Crusade is back in business again.

Several morals can probably be drawn from all this. One of them is that from the standpoint of practical politics the Jenner embrace has certainly paid off. It may have been hard to take at the time, but its fruits are delectable. For it was Jenner who came to the Administration's rescue when the erratic Representative Velde, rushing to get into the act, seemed to be placing a martyr's crown on Mr. Truman's brow. Jenner even got a little ammunition for his own use. When Mr. Brownell, discussing various spies who seemed to be enmeshed in the White case, mentioned that one Harold Glasser had even served as an adviser to the Secretary of State during a 1947 meeting of the Big Four foreign

J. Edgar Hoove

ministers, Senator Jenner quietly asked: "Who was that Secretary of State?" "Mr. Marshall," replied Mr. Brownell.

Another moral may have to do with the exact nature of whatever it is that the Administration is up to in this maneuver. At his press conference the day after the Hoover hearing President Eisenhower was asked whether his Administration had now embraced McCarthyism. With some asperity he replied that he would leave that to the press corps itself. The New York *Times* representative, accepting the challenge, managed to poll about half the correspondents immediately after the conference. The majority of those polled did indeed believe that the Administration, though perhaps not the President himself, was guilty as charged.

Not since Grant's time, when Republican politicians answered all complaints about maladministration with the assertion that unreconstructed Southerners were persecuting the colored man, has there been a tactic quite like this one. The one important question, of course, will not be answered for months to come—namely, will it work?

The Administration's political program is still what it was. The problems which the next session of Congress will have to handle, just before the members ask the voters for approval, are fully as tough as they were two weeks ago. Farmers are still unhappy; budget-balancing is still out of sight; the Korean settlement is still delayed; labor is still disturbed; and the ominous indications of a possible industrial recession are still visible. Public power, reclamation, soil conservation, and the retention or loss of the public domain are still matters with highly explosive potentialities.

Can the effect of all these be offset by a simple return to the tactic of the 1870's known in those days as Waving the Bloody Shirt? It would take a rash man to say flatly that it cannot. The Jenner committee is rolling, and it has the material to keep going for a long time. Mr. Brownell dumped approximately a dozen names on the table—names of alleged spies operating in the federal government during the immediate post-war years. The committee can take these one at a time, rehash all the material about each, and make a continued story without a visible last chapter.

Certainly, the Democratic strategists will have to show a great deal more skill than they have shown during the past ten days if this attempt is not to succeed.

QUESTIONS ON GUIANA

Dr. Jagan in Britain . . *by Graeme C. Moodie*

Glasgow, Scotland

DR. JAGAN, legislative leader of the People's Progressive Party and until recently Prime Minister of British Guiana, accompanied by L. Burnham, chairman of the P. P. P., have been speaking at meetings throughout the United Kingdom during the past few weeks, in spite of the great difficulty they have had in finding any organization to sponsor them. The Tories could not be expected to be sympathetic. Transport House issued an edict telling local Labor parties to have nothing to do with these men. And, obviously, the Communists would not be the most desirable sponsors, regardless of whether or not the P. P. P. is a Communist "front." Incidentally, I do not know whether the Communists offered any assistance.

Dr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham were in Glasgow on their speaking tour on November 10 and 11. They held a large number of meetings, including two at the university, finishing their visit with a public meeting attended by some two thousand people. I attended two of the smaller gatherings and in addition talked with both men on a more informal occasion, in typically British fashion, over a cup of tea.

It is impossible not to be impressed by them as men. Despite their youth—Jagan is thirty-five and Burnham only twenty-nine—they strike one at once with their poise and their charm. Later one is equally impressed by their intelligence and ability. Jagan has probably the better public manner, in that more of his warmth and personality gets over to a crowd, while Burnham strikes one as having the clearer and more powerful intellect. This personal difference may reflect the fact that Jagan is of Indian and Burnham of African stock, but I prefer to ascribe it to the influence of their education—Jagan having been trained as a dentist in the United States, and Burnham having obtained his law degree at Oxford, England. Neither of them, however, has the hard-faced, humorless, tense quality so often associated with agitators and subversives.

Are they Communists, arsonists, totalitarians, and all the other things they have been called by the Europeans in Guiana and London? I do not know. All I know is that if what they said is true, Oliver Lyttelton has still a great deal of explaining to do. They gave the impression of being sincere and honest, and in any case what they said raised questions which need to be answered.

HERE ARE some of the main points they made in their defense. First, they pointed out what should be news to no one—that British Guiana has long been run largely by, and in the interests of, the three companies in control of the sugar industry, upon which, along with rice farming, the bulk of the people depend. (As yet only a start has been made toward developing the abundant mineral resources of the colony.) Then they told us the familiar story of poverty, land hunger—the result, there, of the lack of proper drainage and irrigation rather

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GRAEME C. MOODIE, former Commonwealth Fund fellow at Princeton, is now a lecturer in political science at the University of Glasgow.

than a physical shortage of territory—unemployment, inadequate education, and so on. The P. P. P. obtained its 51 per cent of the votes by promising to deal with these problems. It was turned out as it tried to implement its promises.

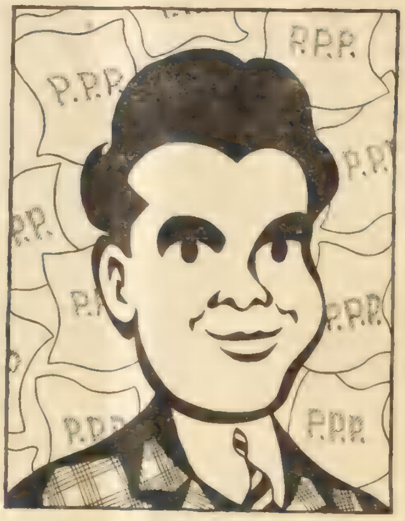
The measures it proposed were not Socialist, let alone Communist, in essence. Its planned labor legislation was derived directly from the Wagner act. Under the system to be set up inquiries and polls could be held in any industry to decide upon the union to be officially recognized. The inquiries and polls were to be conducted by a British official. What is more, a new union challenging the position of an established bargaining agent would have to get 65 per cent of the workers' votes before it could be recognized. It was under these conditions that the P. P. P.-supported union, the Guiana Industrial Workers' Union, hoped to replace the existing Man-Power Citizens' Association as the official organization in sugar and elsewhere.

The latter union is at present affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the attack on it seems to be the main cause of British Labor's opposition to the P. P. P. However, Jagan and Burnham claim that the Man-Power Association has now become, in effect, a company union and has lost the support of the workers. They point out that some of its officials were defeated in the elections for the Legislative Council in constituencies containing up to 80 per cent sugar workers by officials of the "breakaway" Industrial Workers' Union.

In education they proposed to take over the schools, now owned and controlled by the churches although largely financed by the government, and to try to alter the content of the instruction, placing greater emphasis on practical subjects and in purely scholastic studies teaching more about Guiana and less about Britain. Teachers could thus obtain promotion without being obliged, as at present, to subscribe to the faith of the particular Christian denomination running the school. But religious instruction of any variety would be available to children who desired it. This measure, as described, hardly merits the epithet Communist.

They were studying the land question; no detailed proposals seem to have been made, and nationalization was not immediately contemplated.

In addition, they proposed to repeal an order giving the governor power to censor books and publications and to ban any that appeared "undesirable"—a category which has included, they say, issues of the *New Statesman and Nation.* They had raised a ban on the admission to Guiana of West Indians branded as Communists in other British colonies. The pressure of time and business had prevented them from making any other important proposals. The opposition of the upper chamber, with delaying powers, had kept any of their bills from being passed before the constitution was suspended.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Dr. Cheddi Jagan

Jagan and Burnham were at pains to emphasize that they were advocating nothing not already realized in some or all of the Western democracies. If this is true, the charges of communism and dictatorship leveled at the P. P. P. leaders smack at best of hysteria and at worst of naked reaction—unless, that is, it can be established that these men were planning to undermine the democratic institutions through which they had obtained office. On several occasions Jagan and Burnham stated most vigorously that at no time were they warned by the governor to mend their ways or face the consequences. The ministers were never requested to improve their administrative efficiency or to make up the arrears of work since referred to as justifying their removal.

The White Paper asserts that a plot was uncovered to use arson to further the P. P. P.'s purposes. Needless to say, Jagan and Burnham deny the existence of such a plot. It is laughable, they say, to maintain that the "reliable police agents" who are now alleged to be prevented by intimidation from giving evidence in court about the plot could not be protected. And they point out that Lyttelton does not seem to have made up his mind whether the plot was for October 2 or 7—an important item in that the order-in-council suspending the constitution was presented to the Queen for signature on October 4. One is left wondering what the P. P. P. was expected to gain by resorting to arson, and how much faith to place in the accusations of unknown police agents who have testified in secret and not on oath.

SO FAR, insufficient evidence has been produced by the government to justify suspension of the constitution as against making use of the governor's reserve powers. But this is not the only debatable point. It is not yet absolutely clear that there was justification for any special action against the P. P. P. The British government must provide more information on the following questions: (1) What precisely was the evidence showing that the P. P. P. was about to resort to arson and violence? (2) Were there any actions of the P. P. P., other than this alleged plot and the measures mentioned above, that clearly demonstrate its anti-democratic—and not simply its anti-planter—intentions? (3) How far is the Colonial Office prepared, now or at any time, in British Guiana or any other colony, to assist in carrying through reforms desired by the local populations but strongly opposed by vested European interests? In short, was it a concern for democracy and good government or pressure from the planters that motivated the government.

In turn the P. P. P. must provide more information on these questions: (1) How did it decide which bills should have legislative priority? Why, for example, was a measure dealing with drainage and irrigation not introduced while such relatively contentious measures as those on unions, education, and undesirable literature were? (2) Why is it that the other Caribbean labor movements have not supported the P. P. P.?

Answers to none of these questions will be forthcoming unless the questions themselves are given a public airing.

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BOOKS

Life History of an Army

A STILLNESS AT APPOMATTOX. By Bruce Catton. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By David Donald

ON MARCH 10, 1864, the Army of the Potomac got its first look at Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant. The new commander of all the armies of the United States—twenty-one corps, in eighteen military departments, totaling 533,000 soldiers—did not make a favorable impression. "He was slouchy, round-shouldered, a red bristly beard cropped short on his weathered face, with a look about the eyes of a man who had come way up from very far down; his one visible talent seemingly the ability to ride any horse anywhere under any conditions." The hard-bitten veterans in the Army of the Potomac had seen generals come and go, and they reserved judgment. Time alone "would tell whether this new general's first name was really Ulysses or Useless."

The "quiet stolidity" of the new commander was in keeping with the changed character of the Civil War, now "just finishing its third year, the end . . . nowhere in sight," with what lay ahead "almost certain to be worse than what had gone before." It had commenced "with waving unstained flags and dreams of a picture-book fight which would concern no one but soldiers, who would die picturesquely and without bloodshed amid dress-parade firing lines." But after three years, after Bull Run and the Peninsula, after Antietam and Fredericksburg, after Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, "glory was out of date, a gauzy wisp of rose-colored filament trailing from a lost world. Victory could no longer be imagined as a bright abstraction, lying like the sunrise at the end of a shining road. It was an ugly juggernaut that would crush and smash many values and many lives into the everlasting mud, and it was the only thing that counted nowadays."

Bruce Catton's "A Stillness at Appomattox" is the story of the final grim twelve months of the war in the East, "the year of the Wilderness and the Bloody Angle, of Cold Harbor and the Crater; the year that killed John Sedgwick and saw Abraham Lincoln under fire; the terrible year when war became total; the year of U. S. Grant." In May, Grant's direct advance against Lee led to the battle of the Wilderness, "the last place on earth for armies to fight," where "nobody could see anything" and men "fired by ear-sight." Deterred but not daunted, Grant began moving "in a series of wide zigzags." "Wanting to go due south, the army was forever going southeast in order to find a good place to cross a river," carrying on meanwhile "a confused, meaningless series of little fights" with the Confederates. Checked again at Spotsylvania, the Union command ordered an attack on the Bloody Angle, the war's "darkest cockpit." At Cold Harbor there was another assault; this was "coffin corner," and the only result was "more names for the casualty lists, testifying to nothing except that war was a madman's business."

Then Grant changed his plans and moved south of the James River, and like "the aimless groping of frozen men stumbling down to the last dead end of a cold trail," the army settled into trenches before Petersburg. "Since May 4 everything that had happened had been part of one continuous battle, a battle three months long, with advance and retreat and triumph and disaster all taking place together, so that words like victory and defeat had lost their meaning." For nine months the troops before Petersburg played an inglorious role. While Sheridan was "peeling" the Shenandoah Valley and Sherman was piercing the heart of the Confederacy, the Army of the Potomac "won no victories and earned no applause; its job was just to hang on and fight and make final victory possible." Then in March, 1865, the army began to move "with a rush and a roar toward the final smashup." It had the Confederates on the run, and Grant summed up its history in a telegram: "This army has now won a most decisive victory and followed the enemy. That is all that it ever wanted to make it as good an army as ever fought a battle."

The tragedy was that during the twelve months victory had been within grasp a half-dozen times. In the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, before Petersburg, in the Crater catastrophe, the end of the war had been "within whispering distance." But the absence of planning, insufficient reconnaissance, and faulty communications had turned victory into defeat. Mr. Catton is convinced that the Army of the Potomac owed little of its final success to the Administration in Washington. The Secretary of War was suspicious and unpredictable; Halleck, "always apathetic." In 1864 the War Department adopted "an almost foolproof system for getting the wrong men into uniform," and the new recruits "often included hopeless cripples, lunatics, and men far along in incurable disease." Though "the government in its wisdom might be doing everything possible to show the men that patriotism was for fools, in the end the veterans simply refused to believe it," and they stayed on to see the job through.

NOR DID the generals in the field contribute much to the ultimate victory, for Mr. Catton agrees with an angry soldier that the Army of the Potomac made gains "by brute force and not by generalship." The federal commanders "had been brought up wrong," for they had learned the tactics of close-order fighting in the open country. The rifle and the trench had made open-field fighting "as dead as Hannibal," but the generals seemed not to get the idea. For most of them—choleric Meade, bumbling Burnside, tardy Warren, "Baldy" Smith, and their like—Mr. Catton has small praise. Only Sheridan, with his "driving flaming will to victory that would stop for no obstacles and accept no excuses," wins Mr. Catton's enthusiastic approval, and even here, one suspects, he is judg-

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DAVID DONALD, associate professor of history at Columbia University, now on leave, is lecturing in American history at the University College of North Wales. He is general editor and author of the text of "Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War, 1861-1865."

ing a dramatic personality rather than actual military ability.

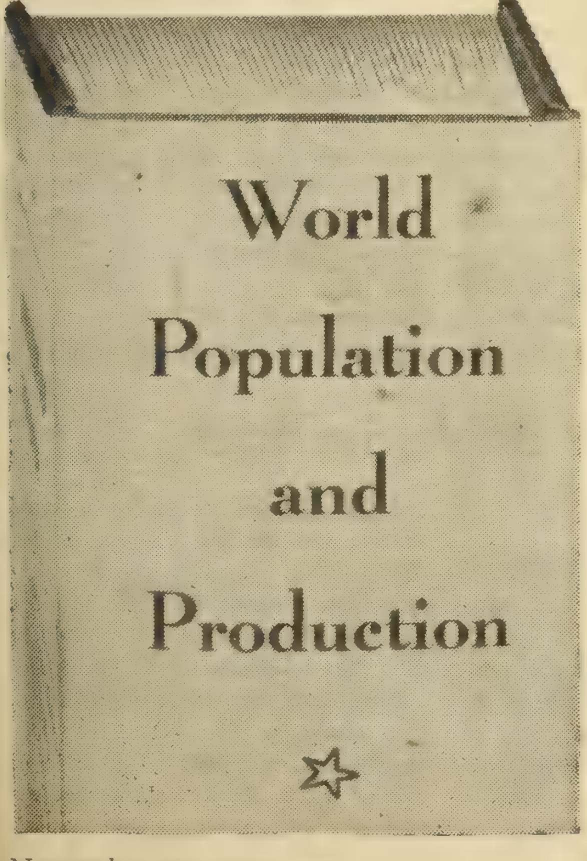
Grant is the central figure in Mr. Catton's story, and like many a previous student of the Civil War he finds the General a curiously ambiguous character. Grant's grim determination he admires, and he is convinced that his strategic objective was the only correct one. "From the moment he headed down to the Rapidan fords . . . he had just one idea in mind: to destroy Lee's army." "In the end," Mr. Catton concludes, "everything depended on the General." At the same time, though, "A Stillness at Appomattox" offers a damning indictment of Grant's tactics, for at Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and the Crater it was all too clear that the commander shared his subordinates' belief that the "way to beat the enemy was to pile into him head on, and if a great many men were killed that way it could not be helped because to get killed was the soldier's hard fate and it would never be any other way."

Neither the politician nor the general is Mr. Catton's hero. Where neither politics nor strategy could bring success, he concludes, "the only value that seemed to amount to anything any more was the simple courage of the enlisted man." "A Stillness at Appomattox" is a powerful tribute to the American volunteer soldier, "the old-timer—rusty in a worn uniform, wearing his forage cap with its broken visor tugged down over his eyes, tolerant of high authority but not especially respectful toward it (one fussy brigadier was greeted on all sides as 'Old Bowels'), taking eventual triumph for granted, but fully aware that he himself was the man who was going to pay for it."

THIS SAME THEME has been dominant in Mr. Catton's two previous books, "Mr. Lincoln's Army" and "Glory Road," which traced the Army of the Potomac from its 1861 beginnings through the terrible climax of Gettysburg. "A Stillness at Appomattox" completes the trilogy and makes it clear that Mr. Catton has produced what is unquestionably the best-written military history of the Civil War. The events here described have of course been related by other historians, but never before with such literary skill and such profound sympathy. Mr. Catton's books are in a class by themselves. He has deliberately avoided writing a history and critique of Union strategy, of the sort that Kenneth P. Williams is producing, for he feels that neat battle maps and orderly official reports do not reveal the war which the soldiers were actually fighting: "reports coming in out of a blinding fog, orders going forward into the fog, nothing that was ordered having any relation to reality, the men who wrote the orders never once seeing the place where the orders were to be executed or the people who were to execute them." Though Mr. Catton's books abound in skilful word portraits as graphic as the photographs of Matthew B. Brady, he has not attempted to write a study of commanders, such as Douglas Southall Freeman so magisterially provided for the Confederacy. And unlike J. G. Randall, he has not made a detailed analysis of the political aspects of the war, and some of his incidental pronouncements on Northern war-time politics will not bear close scrutiny.

What Mr. Catton has done is to write

IN ONE ENCYCLOPEDIC VOLUME



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New York in Pictures: 1614-1953

THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL PORTRAIT OF NEW YORK. By John A. Kouwenhoven. Doubleday and Company. $21.

By Evans Clark

THIS truly fabulous volume represents a monumental effort by a skilled antiquary who loves New York to paint a composite portrait of the city as it is now and has been down the years since 1614. His materials are some 900 illustrations with a running comment at the top of each page and more detailed captions for each picture. Like all painters, and unlike most authors of books of this kind, Mr. Kouwenhoven realizes that a portrait is not a picture of the subject itself but of what it looks like to the artist. The author, by the way, is professor of English at Barnard College, Columbia University, which adds more point to the book's sponsorship by the university than does the fact that Columbia will be exactly 200 years old next year and that New York is only, very roughly, 300 years old now.

The personal point of view affects the book in two ways. The illustrations not only represent the author's feeling about the city; he has also consciously chosen them to show how others have felt about New York and what their special interests in it have been. For example, the earliest pictures reveal no concern for the people of the city or its intimate daily life—they are panoramas, maps, distant views. "New York was more than a century old before any of its pictures showed it as it might be to someone walking up its streets." An indication of Mr. Kouwenhoven's own concern is the number of pictures which show the seamy side of city life—notably the eloquent photographs by Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine.

The march of illustrations down the years also, of course, dramatizes the striking changes in the techniques of pictorial reproduction—pen-and-ink drawings, water colors, engravings, prints, daguerreotypes, photographs; and in the treatment of subjects—realistic, documentary, sentimental, "artistic." The social conscience of the early twentieth century, for example, produced "the clarity and precision of 'straight photography,'" especially in dealing with the squalor of the slums.

This personal quality adds a great deal to the interest and pleasure of the reader and, surprisingly, does not seem to detract from the value of the book as a great historical document. The essential features of the city's development are all there: its physical expansion from the Battery north, south, and east, the growing height and bulk of its buildings, the mechanization and increasing coagulation of its transportation; the reader sees them all, even though one may have reservations about the emphasis here or there. Why, for example, should the author give only sixty-four pages to the forty-three years of greatest change, 1910-53, while eighty are lavished on the twenty years of 1890-1910, especially since so many readers are interested in the record of what they themselves have seen? Just as a book it has great distinction. The binding, type, lay-out, and pictorial reproductions make it a real joy to leaf through—and return to again and again.

New Books in Brief

Soviet and Comintern

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-23. By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. $6.

In the record of major historical projects Mr. Carr's one-man study of the Bolshevik revolution is surely one of the most distinguished and awe-inspiring. This particular 600-page book is merely the third part of the initial instalment of a history of Soviet Russia, dealing with the first six years of Bolshevism. Mr. Carr reveals that he is already at work on the first volume of the next series, which will presumably carry him to around 1929. The current volume deals primarily with Soviet foreign affairs in their crucial formative years. Mr. Carr's thesis is that up to the end of 1920 the Russian leaders saw their revolution as "a first and comparatively minor chapter in a story of world revolution." For this reason the prestige and authority of the Comintern overtopped those of the Soviet government, whose main function was to serve the world revolutionary cause. But by the time the fourth Comintern congress was convoked in the late days of 1922, it had become apparent that the Soviet regime had survived all its early trials, while the revolutionary attempts in every other land—and especially in Germany—had failed. Thus the "balance of obligation" was reversed, the Soviet government began to dominate the Comintern, and each foreign Communist party now set as its main goal not revolution in its own country but the furtherance of Soviet interests. Mr. Carr indicates that this development was more or less inevitable and that Lenin alone probably understood its long-range implications—and he was already dying. Stalin, who had a minor role in the development of this new trend, merely fell heir to it. In developing this thesis, Mr. Carr employs documentation that is often unfamiliar to non-Russian readers and at all times prodigiously rich. In fact, when Mr. Carr looks at the same event from the non-Russian angle, his material suffers by comparison. But, all in all, this is a brilliant job of historical research and writing that illuminates some of Moscow's current problems and attitudes.

The Great Tycoons

THE AGE OF THE MOGULS. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Doubleday. $5.

This is the first volume of "The Mainstream of America" series, edited by Lewis Gannett, which promises us "a new approach to American history." But there is nothing very new in Stewart Holbrook's account of the great business tycoons from Vanderbilt to William Randolph Hearst. Once again we have the stories of the looting of the Erie and the building of the Rockefeller empire, the familiar anecdotes of Jim Fisk's women and J. P. Morgan's nose. Clearly Holbrook has depended very largely on secondary sources; his lively but carelessly written book is pretty much a rehash of Myers, Tarbell, Josephson, *et al.* Where he differs from the muckrakers is in the moral—or rather amoral—gloss that he applies, which approximates to that developed by the rising school of entrepreneurial historians who tend to excuse the unethical means of the "robber barons" on the ground that they usually produced desirable economic ends. "I happen to believe," he says in his foreword, "that no matter how these men accumulated their fortunes, their total activities were of the greatest influence in bringing the United States into its present incomparable position in the world of business and industry."

Space Travel

CONQUEST OF THE MOON. By Wernher von Braun, Fred L. Whipple, and Willy Ley. Edited by Cornelius Ryan. Viking. $4.50.

THE MARS PROJECT. By Wernher von Braun. Illinois. $3.95.

While many of us are inclined to pooh-pooh, some very competent people are really serious about going to the moon and beyond. The first of these books, based on a *Collier's* series, is intended for the layman interested in a certain amount of technical information; the second is a bleakly austere set of calculations setting forth in considerable detail the engineering specifications for a trip to Mars. You can't read the one without sensing the sort of dedication to a problem which often solves it. You can't look through the other without being impressed by the fact that so obviously competent a specialist as the designer of the German V-II has been working out the figures on such details as the skin temperature of the rocket at crucial moments.

Both the moon and the Mars project presuppose multi-stage rockets and a take-off platform revolving as a satellite some thousand miles from the earth. Nobody supposes that the start can be made tomorrow, but von Braun insists that there are no problems whose solution is not within sight, and he says that a trip to the moon wouldn't cost more than a medium-sized war. With the question whether or not this would be the best way to spend what we shall save if we are fortunate enough to avoid war he is not concerned.

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Leland Olds will review "Revolt of the Atom," by Gordon Dean, in next week's issue.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

"SABRINA FAIR," by Samuel Taylor (National Theater), is the theater equivalent of what the book trade refers to as summer fiction. It is less than fluff. In fact, it is almost impossible to recount its plot or even to remember it.

Sabrina, daughter of Fairchild, chauffeur extraordinary and literary to a family of Long Island millionaires, has been sent to Paris to complete her education. On her return she is full of "ideas" (I never found out what they were except that she discovered that boar hunting in Belgium, while exciting, was not the ultimate aim in life) and is considering marriage to a good-looking Frenchman with an impressive bank account. The younger of the millionaire's sons proposes marriage to Sabrina; the would-be groom's family is upset by the thought of such a mésalliance. The elder son tells Sabrina that considerations of money shouldn't stand in her way. But it turns out that there is no problem at all, since Sabrina's chauffeur-father is himself a millionaire. So Sabrina marries the more successful of the Long Island boys.

The snobbishness of this story—recalling a little the old-time (1910) plays in which the nice American hero defies everybody to marry a girl with some Indian blood only to find out before the final curtain that she is the foundling daughter of a thoroughly white Senator—this snobbishness is quite inoffensive because it is to be taken no more seriously than any other aspect of "Sabrina Fair." The play is the occasion for a few bright quips, an amusing characterization of the distracted Long Island pater familias charmingly acted by John Cromwell, and is smoothly written.

The total effect of the play on me was tepid. It looked and felt like agreeably scented soap. Yet the play is a smash. You may protest that this should be no concern of mine since box-office success or failure has nothing to do with criticism. This is not altogether true. A play's success tells us not only about some operative quality within it but also something about its audience—the theater's crucial element. Our audiences today have a greater appetite for sugar than at any time since 1917.

Besides this, the play has a pretty company of actors, all of whom do their jobs with handsome competence. The counterpart in a novel of a play like "Sabrina Fair" would be nothing any serious critic would undertake to notice. But this is irrelevant, since we do not go to the theater to read a script but to see a play, which is not at all a purely literary affair. The presence of the stage and all that it holds—actors and their clothes, settings and their lights, etc.—make the theater what it is.

Is the acting of "Sabrina Fair," then, so good? It is good in so far as it gives pleasant substance to the faint tracery of the text. We like Margaret Sullavan—and we are rightly willing to overlook the fact that she is not so young as the plot suggests—because she has a fragrant personality, just as Russell Collins, who plays her father, has a certain sweet humility, Cathleen Nesbitt an elegance, and so on.

None of this is important acting even to the actors themselves, virtually all of whom are capable of more interesting and challenging tasks. There is, however, a tendency nowadays to speak rapturously of almost all acting that is technically facile and personally attractive, a tendency partly encouraged by reviewers and others as an excuse for their gushing over what they know to be exceedingly meager material. Now it is possible and proper for a play to be admired to a high degree because of very fine acting. I shall never forget Sidney Howard's "They Knew What They Wanted" because of Pauline Lord, or "The Glass Menagerie" because of Laurette Taylor. Great performances give a play a quality and stature in the theater which creatively exceed every other contribution, although the seed of such creation is always somewhere in the text or scenario of the play itself.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

ONE of the anomalies of modern architecture in America is its split reception in institutions of higher learning. Generally speaking, the local faculty in art or architecture is sympathetic to its aims and accomplishments, while the administration is opposed to it, often directly controverting the advice of those whose very position on the faculty would imply a greater competence in such matters than the average administrator could rightly claim. The insistence that modern architecture has no place on the college campus has been particularly strong in New England. Among institutions with the resources to initiate and exemplify architectural progress, Yale University has been, I believe, the least venturesome. Despite the gradual growth of an excellent school of architecture over the past twenty-five years, Yale has consistently muffed great opportunities to pioneer in the design of dormitories, graduate centers, auditoriums, gymnasium, library, theater, and art gallery.

Now the log-jam has been broken. Yale's new art center, opened on November 6, indicates a willingness on the part of the administration to work harmoniously with its own school of architecture and to respect the arrangements desired by the director and staff of the gallery. It also implies that there is no necessary contradiction even when a modern building is to be grafted onto one that came out of picture-book souvenirs of the wonders of Viterbo. By an extraordinary exercise of tact the new façade on Chapel Street is set back where it joins the older one, and a shallow entrance court is maneuvered before the street alignment is continued. Inside, the building may be described as loft construction, with movable partition walls and ceilings like waffles. The utmost flexibility of interior space, color, and artificial lighting is thereby achieved. The several floors provide a fine setting for Yale's important and fast-growing art collections, for drafting rooms, design workshops, and small classrooms. They are connected by a remarkable staircase rather like a great silo with the flights climbing in a series of triangles inside its concrete circumference. The effect is dramatic and powerful.

THE BIG retrospective of Fernand Léger which opened last April in Chicago and later journeyed to San Francisco is now at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. As there have been six exhibitions of Léger's work in New York during the past three years and several comments on Léger in this column, I shall merely point out that one can take stock of past opinion and gain a detailed idea of Léger's development not only from the pictures themselves but from Katherine Kuh's excellent catalogue. Miss Kuh makes an interesting case out of the apparent effect of several extended visits to America on Léger's art—how America's restlessness upset Léger's Gallic restraint. I think it also upset, in the 30's and 40's, his sense of scale; or something else did: The Builders (1950) will not be able to erect such a city as Léger designed in 1919. The grandeur is gone. Léger is quick to attack good taste, and his blunt and virile art, like Courbet's, often gets along very well without it. But when the intention loses scale and a decorative and fussy interlace begins to take over, then coarseness leads not to power but to boredom. The most interesting of the later pictures, Three Musicians, was completed in 1944, but Léger laid it out in 1925. I should certainly agree with the artist that Woman in Blue, an all but abstract picture of 1912, is one of his finest canvases. It could hang with the best Braques and Picassos of the same wonderful year of painting. Compared to it, The Builders marks a sad decline of sensibility. If Léger has not quite gone full turn from his refusal to reproduce a beautiful thing—but to make the painting itself a beautiful thing—he has come awfully close to it.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Toscanini recordings of Beethoven's Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies that were issued last spring in the limited edition have now been issued to the general public, apparently after having been reprocessed from the original tapes. And as I took my review copies out of the envelopes I could see one thing I was going to hear. Among the features Victor claims for its latest records is "improved quiet surface"; but what they need is rather a surface without the fine scratches inflicted in manufacture or the coarser ones from the grinding of particles of grit in the envelopes—scratches which the quiet vinylite surface makes more disturbing than the steady hiss of the old shellac record. In the five years of LP the companies, including Victor, haven't eliminated this annoyance; and the complicated patterns of scratches on these Toscanini records were something that hit the eye even before the ear began to hear the counterpoint of sharp crackling, sputtering, and clicking that overlay the musical sound much of the time.

As for recording, the Eighth, which was reproduced atrociously last spring, and the Seventh, which was reproduced imperfectly, now come off the records with sound that is spacious, solid resonant, and luminous. That sound also comes off the second side of the record of the Sixth; but the sound from the first side, excellent last spring, now is curiously reduced in amplitude and brilliance. The first movement of the Second still lacks luster, but the later movements are now good, though with exaggerated echoing resonance. The Fifth still requires the increased bass provided by the 800-cycle turnover for adequate solidity; and even then, although the sound is full and clear, the plucked bass-notes at the beginning of the second movement still are barely audible. The Fourth, which was muffled last spring, now has an excess of treble requiring a 20-db roll-off and an insufficiency of bass requiring an 800-cycle turnover, and exaggerated echoing resonance.

Thus the present practice of recording on tape and processing stampers from the tape has made it possible to go back to the original tape and produce a new stamper that gives us a good Beethoven Seventh or Eighth in place of the poor one of last spring. But it also made it possible to produce the poor one of last spring from an evidently excellent tape. And additional illustration of this is provided by the Toscanini recordings of the two "pops" programs he broadcast in the summer of 1952.

The sound of the Dance of the Hours from "La Gioconda"—astoundingly beautiful and natural in its richness, its clarity, cleanness, and distinctness in quiet, its amplitude, spaciousness, and solidity (except when the volume is cut down near the end)—is evidently a faithful transference of the sound on the original tape, which presumably was the same in the other performances. And we do get the same sound from the first part of the "Mignon" Overture; but in the second part, as in the "Carmen" Suite, the sound has been made shallow and given a coarse, noisy brilliance by reduction of bass, boosting of treble, and the addition of artificial resonance. It is questionable whether the artificial resonance should have been added even to the flat, unresonant sound of the "Otello" recording, since it coarsened the voices; but surely it should not have

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been added to sound with sufficient natural resonance, like that of the "Mignon" and "Carmen" recordings. And surely, when the sound is perfectly balanced with beautiful result, there should be no monkeying with treble and bass that destroys the balance and the beauty, as in the "Mignon," the "Carmen," the "Zampa" Overture, and to a lesser degree the "Hänsel und Gretel" Overture.

But what of Toscanini, who must approve a recording before it may be issued? Is it possible that he could hear the "Gioconda" and approve the "Carmen," hear the beginning of the "Mignon" and approve the end? The way to answer that is to ask a few more questions. Is it possible that Toscanini approved a Beethoven Fifth with inaudible bass-notes in the second movement; a "Pines of Rome" with breaks in sustained notes of the solo oboe and clarinet in the Janiculum section and a repeated cutting down of the final crescendo as he built it up (this being apparently what Victor means by the "ideal dynamic range suitable for home listening" of its latest records); a Beethoven Septet with a measure's pause inserted after the exposition in the first movement (tape making such insertions possible)? It seems to me that to ask those questions is to answer them: I cannot conceive of Toscanini's hearing such things and accepting them; and so I can only conclude that he never heard them. In pre-tape days what was recorded on the wax or lacquer couldn't be changed; and Toscanini could be certain that what he approved was what would be issued. Today what is recorded on the tape can be changed for better or worse in the transfer to the stamper, and can continue to be changed as long as the tape continues in existence. The defective Beethoven Eighth of last spring and excellent one of this fall, the superb "Gioconda" and defective "Carmen" are evidence that beautiful Toscanini recordings on the tapes are sometimes changed for the worse; the interpolated pause in the Beethoven Septet and the broken notes in the "Pines of Rome" are evidence that changes and substitutions sometimes continue to be made in what Toscanini has heard and approved. And the arrogance and presumption are not justified by their results.

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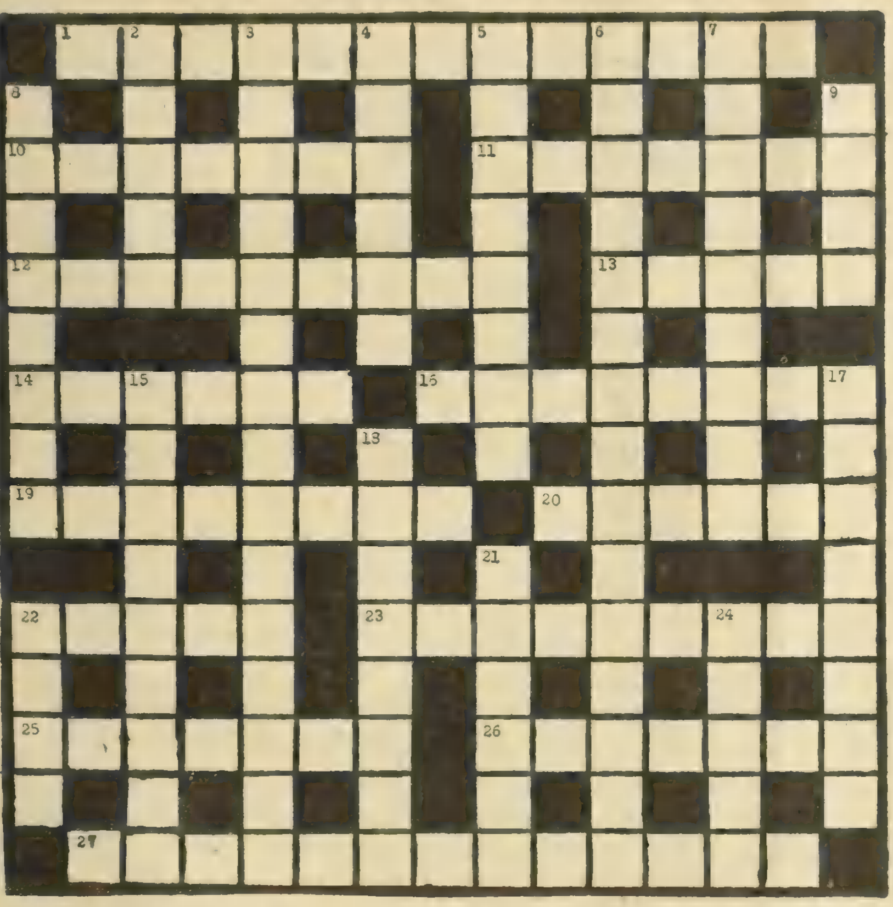

ACROSS

1 Crested dinnerware? (5, 8)
10 A gaffer, or cramp iron. (7)
11 Some school departments and board meetings are. (7)
12 Tellers. (9)
13 Not necessarily rubber. (5)
14 Light study, concerned with the way you look. (6)
16 Is it plagiarism if you do? (8)
19 Misusers of opinions. (8)
20 Vinegary, almost austere. (6)
22 You'll be sticking your neck out if you do. (5)
23 Deviations of the otherwise sane vicar. (9)
25 How to get rid of that squeak? (7)
26 First flower of spring? (7)
27 Run too often, between complementary colors. (7, 6)

DOWN

2 Comparatively like a June day? (5)
3 Perpetually a current issue with D. C. (15)
4 Solid alcohol sounds pure. (6)
5 Invalidating, since Rio reformed. (8)
6 and 8. Does the speaker permanently engrave that which is supposed to lead to gold? (2, 6, 7, 8)
7 Still congenial, even though one might find the paper torn. (2, 7)
9 German river poet? (4)
15 Kaolin, for example. (5, 4)
17 Did Mossedegh try to out of Iran? (8)
18 Sort of double-bass that goes below B, as a Shakespearean character. (8)
21 Force. (6)
22 Cut in farm production, perhaps. (4)
24 A noble figure? (5)

* * *

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THE GARRISON STATE BY LOUIS SMITH

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THE *Nation*

December 5, 1953
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Colin Cameron, M. P.

Canada's Revolt Against U.S.

Farmer-Labor Unity *Lyle Cooper*
France's Little Hitler *Alexander Werth*
Writer's Notebook *Van Wyck Brooks*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

"YOU cannot even collect your thoughts, nowadays without being accused of unlawful assembly" said Charles Beard of the post World War I witch hunts. Aware of the truth of Professor Beard's comment, *Nation* editors have nevertheless assembled a sizable body of some of the finest and most original writing being done today on civil liberties. This will appear next week in our annual special sixty-four-page Civil Liberties issue: "Freedom and the American Tradition." With major elements in the Republican Party rushing pell-mell toward an American form of fascism, the issue appears at a particularly appropriate time. (For further information see announcement on back page.)

The Civil Liberties issue will also mark the launching of *The Nation's* Choice, the new book club for *Nation* subscribers only. This is one book club you are going to appreciate—since you will get *only* the books you want. The books offered will be selected on the recommendation of *Nation* editors and of various distinguished critics who write for this magazine. They will be distributed at reductions ranging up to 40 per cent (more if possible); the saving will be increased by the fact that excellent books will be given as bonuses with the purchase of every four.

Some people say we are sticking our necks out—nothing new for *The Nation*—getting into the book-club business now, what with so many around. However, we believe our club will be unique in that it will offer the kind of books which the conventional clubs do not offer. We also believe that the choices and the prices will appeal to the literate, liberal audience which reads *The Nation*—and thus guarantee the success of the club.

There is one other factor: a successful book club will enable *The Nation* to undertake many projects planned to improve the magazine and expand its influence.

. . . Readers have been enthusiastic over the article in the November 21 issue, The White Case: Crisis of Democracy, by Professor H. H. Wilson of Princeton. Here's what some have to say:

Marshall J. Foster, Madison, New Jersey, writes that it "was by far the best article I have read on the subject. Unfortunately, I am afraid the Democratic Party is not going to be willing to take the courageous position he suggests. . . . What a lift it would give liberals everywhere if it did take a firm stand."

"Crisis of Democracy deserves a ten-year subscription," writes William J. Reddan of Aquetong, Pennsylvania; Thomas Cambell of Brooklyn believes the Wilson piece is "a most admirable and timely statement of what should be called 'The Conspiracy of Reaction.'"

Mrs. Virginia B. Larkey of Greensfork, Indiana, "would like to see a copy of it in the hands of every government official, from the President down" and she wants more like it. (Professor Wilson has another excellent article coming in the special Civil Liberties issue.)

From Washington, Jeff Kibre writes that "Wilson's article is the clearest and most forceful statement which has been made about the top issue of the day." He suggests that "it would be something if Stevenson or a group of outstanding leaders would call a national conference around the issue of McCarthyism, particularly if they could be persuaded to adopt the thesis set forth in Wilson's article."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Burke and Hare

Dear Sirs: Dylan Thomas's scenario about Burke and Hare, "The Doctor and the Devils," is surely the work of art and morality Jacob Korg described it to be in your November 14 issue. I have not read it. But if the story is to have a hero, I wonder if Dr. Robert Knox ("Dr. Rock") ought to be it. True he was a fine student and a victim of his own servants. True he was ruined by the poverty around him. The near-sighted, Mamlock-type scientist who has to have a fire built under him to be waked up is tragic.

The heroic are people who are already awake and struggling, and such a one was Thomas Wakely, founder of the *Lancet.* In his fight for legalization of anatomic study he fared worse than Ibsen's Dr. Stockmann. He laid the groundwork for the Warburton Anatomy Act, which was passed after the Edinburgh scandal broke.

ELIZABETH TOOHY

Indianapolis, Ind.

Politically Dead

Dear Sirs: The report of John Rankin's death in your November 7 issue is greatly exaggerated, though he is dead politically.

I also have taught at Vanderbilt and attended the Fisk conference, and the article in your October 31 issue (South's Eve of Decision by Bernard Crick) bears the marks of naivete. Mississippi is not guilty of the demagogic statements which Georgia and South Carolina have expressed on the school question. In the article the influence of the Fisk conference is heavily overrated, along with that of the Society of Friends, which is practically non-existent in the South. Southern Baptists admitted Negroes to their seminaries while Methodists and Congregationalists have not done so. . . .

CHARLES G. HAMILTON

Corinth, Miss.

The Russell Formula

Dear Sirs: I only want to express my gratitude for A World I'd Like and Solution in Korea in your November 7 issue. I believe Channing Liem has the best solution yet offered for Korea. And Bertrand Russell has managed to combine into one statement the few principles that are basic to the world solution. He is different from so many who stress the importance of food but omit consideration of the population problem.

Moose, Wyo. CLAUS J. MURIE

Coming in THE NATION

Writing from Geneva for our December 19 issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation's* foreign editor, will review the situation in Communist China in an article based on the latest reports available at the Geneva headquarters of the United Nations.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Value of the Closed Door

Added together and divided by two—two representing the opposing power blocs—the current theories about international relations come out something like this: Nobody is willing publicly to make any of the concessions that might help "reduce tension" and ultimately bring about a settlement; thus nobody really wants a Big Four conference on major issues; but nobody wants to be held responsible for saying no to such a conference. So each adversary first makes unacceptable conditions and then, being charged with obstruction, rescinds them again; thus a conference will surely take place in spite of both sides and will accomplish nothing beyond an exchange of charges and counter-charges for propaganda purposes. After which, presumably, the chronic hostile stalemate will be resumed.

Accept this theory, and you either sign up for the great crusade against imperialism—Communist or capitalist—or you decide that Prime Minister Churchill should be given a chance to try his off-the-record top-level talks with the Russians. The chief advantage of such talks is secrecy. Only behind closed doors with no one else present can the responsible heads of the great powers feel each other out and, if results warrant, begin to bargain in terms of their real interests and intentions. The time has come when no word spoken in public means more than what the speaker wants his constituents or his opposition or his friends or enemies abroad to think he means. Malenkov can no more concede free elections for all Germany than Eisenhower can admit that Mao Tse-tung must speak for China in any realistic discussion of an Asian settlement. When every word is cold-war ammunition, negotiation does not exist.

The Bermuda Front

Now that Moscow has deleted the most unacceptable of the conditions it set in its earlier note answering the Western proposal of a Big Four meeting—has in fact accepted the proposal—the Western leaders assembled in Bermuda must presumably try to collate their plans and ideas in preparation for that meeting. For Washington to utter warnings and call the Soviet note a "trap" is to reveal how little this country hoped for an acceptance, and to admit that the coveted initiative has been captured by the other side. But how can they create a common front when France, quite plainly, cannot promise ratification of the European-army plan or any plan for German rearmament? Laniel's barely won mandate goes no farther than support of the general principle of Western unity—which would include West Germany only under conditions that Adenauer will never accept.

Common sense would suggest an agreement among the Western powers to drop German rearmament in return for solid concessions by Russia. But, again, such an agreement could never be announced until a reasonable quid pro quo had been assured, and that would have to be arranged privately if at all. Such are the uses of secret diplomacy, which, we have reluctantly come to believe, is the only feasible way out of a cold war.

Who Runs the G. O. P.?

It should have been obvious to all not blinded by paranoia or bewitched by the cynical concentration on "smart political tactics" that the Administration's attempt to preempt the anti-Communist hoax would boomerang. Since Senator McCarthy's reasseveration of his monopoly of genius, in the course of a nation-wide television and radio address, even Brownell must be smarting, if not smarter. There are dangers for the uninitiated in gargling poison. The shrewd operators who sought to cover the bankruptcy of the Republican legislative program and those who merely sought to divert attention from the revealed blemishes of Governor Dewey's immaculate administration have been had.

In the days since Brownell's application of McCarthy techniques we have witnessed depressing developments. Mr. Truman's speech was pugnacious but inadequate. He could have issued a clarion call for a return to sobriety and rationality. He might well have confessed that his Administration launched the loyalty program which led inexorably and logically to the denouement that the ex-President too was a protector of the "spy ring." Though Mr. Truman exhibited outrage at the attack on the late Chief Justice Vinson, he callously ignored the assault on Harry Dexter White. And Mr. White, like his chief, was merely accused, not convicted, of wrong-doing.

Tragically, neither Mr. Truman nor his associates in high ranks of the Democratic Party reveal awareness of the issues at stake. Even Mr. Stevenson assumes that

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the Administration has "taken McCarthyism away from McCarthy." The truth is that Brownell and the Republican National Committee have bolstered it for the use of the Senator from Wisconsin in his drive to total power. The issue is not, as Mr. Stevenson states, how to deal with espionage. The McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes seek power. Judged by any standard, their professed interest in the welfare and security of the United States is denied by their deliberate flouting of our allies, their contribution to the degradation of America's prestige abroad, and their undermining of democracy at home.

The President's Last Chance

In his declaration of war on decency, as on conservatism, Senator McCarthy made explicit what many had recognized as implicit in his career. He is driving for the White House. He has the weapons, the skill, the ruthlessness, and the total amorality to exploit his opportunities. For the first time in American history we are confronted by a demagogue with national appeal whose tactics cut across all the barriers of race, class, religion, and income which have previously served to frustrate the pursuit of absolute power. Furthermore, his tactics have been strengthened—more than that, they have been prepared for him—by the high priests of the mass media. Attempts to answer McCarthy by reliance upon reason are undercut by the cultivation of unreason and the destruction of critical intelligence by habits inculcated by the hucksters. This corruption is further underlined by the weak-kneed capitulation of the radio-television moguls in conceding to the Wisconsin Senator the use of a full half-hour of time on a national network. Mr. Truman did not attack McCarthy. He took at the most a minute to explain the contemporary meaning of McCarthyism. Does this imply that Senator McCarthy is the acknowledged spokesman for Mr. Brownell and the Eisenhower Administration, which were, after all, the primary subject of Mr. Truman's attack?

Those who voted for President Eisenhower in good faith must recognize this as the showdown. McCarthy has challenged both the President's policy and his position as leader of his party. If Eisenhower does not assume leadership now, if he does not accept this challenge and go to the American people with a forthright declaration of independence and responsibility, McCarthy will boss the G. O. P. Positive, aggressive, dynamic leadership now is demanded, even if it means that the President's golf game suffers.

U. M. T. and the Garrison State

Louis Smith's astute analysis of this country's drift towards the garrison state (see page 461) is given added timeliness by the report of the five-man National Security

Training Commission scheduled to be turned over to the President this week. According to the *Daily News*, the commission has decided to recommend a "national lottery for draft-eligible men to determine whether they get six months of universal military training or two years in regular military service." The men selected for U. M. T. would be automatically transferred to reserve or National Guard units after they had served their six-months active duty and for seven and one-half years thereafter would be subject to first call in the event of an emergency.

If the *Daily News* version of the plan is correct, the American boy faces the alternative of serving two years' full time or eight years' part time, depending upon the vagaries of the lottery wheel. Which he would consider the less onerous would in turn depend upon individual circumstances. But for all young Americans the lottery could only mean bad luck, wherever the wheel might stop. And for the country the adoption of any such plan would provide what Mr. Smith might call an additional "psychological impetus" to our drift towards the garrison state.

Fortunately there is some powerful legislative opposition to U. M. T. under any guise, including that of Congressman Dewey Short, chairman of the influential House Armed Services Committee. Here is the kind of simple, down-to-earth issue on which a Congressman's vote is likely to be determined primarily by one factor: the kind of mail he gets from his constituents.

Subsidies for Advertising

Expenditures for advertising, which this year will exceed $7.7 billion, are expected to be even higher in 1954. Yet the hucksters are worried, and with reason. The excess-profits tax, which has stimulated advertising expenditures, will soon expire. Obviously some new rationale must be found to justify continued indirect subsidies. Rather ingeniously, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Economic Policy has found one in the obvious fact that advertising expenditures tend to rise and fall with the business cycle. Therefore, it is argued, some new tax gimmick should be found which would make it possible to use advertising, like public works, to stabilize the economy. The proposed remedy is to amend the tax laws so as to permit corporations to deduct advertising expenses on the basis of appropriations rather than actual spending, thus permitting a corporation to build up reserves for advertising which could be used, should business decline, to stimulate sales.

The difficulty with the plan is that it may have effects quite other than those advanced to justify it. Nowadays it is only the concern which earns super-profits that can afford to make the maximum use of such extremely effective but enormously expensive media as television. The expensive TV programs which these firms sponsor are not primarily aimed at increasing sales; the real purpose is to make it increasingly unlikely that the smaller outfits in the same industry will ever overtake the giants. The proposed new rationale, therefore, would simply make it possible for the giant corporations to continue to finance a large part of their costly advertising programs, which are used to minimize actual and potential competition, at the public's expense.

McCarthyism in Bonn

Germany's "*affaire* Gehlen" is a curious inversion of our own White case. A former army general, Gehlen was entrusted by the Bonn government with the building of a huge intelligence machine consisting of the equivalent of four batallions of the former German army. Most of his 1,000 military and 3,000 political specialists were recruited from the cadres of Hitler's Security Police, which means that they are 100 per cent Nazi and—according to the new table of values—100 per cent "safe for democracy."

Such an imposing force had to justify its existence. Its agents were sent everywhere, even into Chancellor Adenauer's own offices, where cases of disloyalty were built up against some of the Chancellor's closest collaborators, who were accused of maintaining contacts with the Russian enemy. The restless Grand Inquisitor sent his operatives into the Soviet zone, too, where unhappily they came a cropper. The Russians discovered his nest of agents and promptly proceeded to arrest the majority of them.

This was a hard blow for Gehlen, but even harder is the fact that the Chancellor, who at the beginning defended him, is now letting him down. Adenauer argues that it is not possible to maintain an investigatory machine which uses as operatives men who "have been working with the occupation authorities." Ostensibly the Chancellor is referring to the fact that some of the agents who have been tapping his own wires were refugees from East Germany who were suspected of working not with Gehlen, but with the Russians. But the argument could have a double meaning, for Gehlen got his start in the spy business as a "protégé" of the American occupation authorities.

What About Peace?

Israel has now been censured by the Security Council of the United Nations. But the question still remains: what about peace? And even more pertinent: how and when is the United Nations going to discharge its responsibility to bring about peace in the Middle East? We suggest that a beginning might be made with Jordan.

The most shocking aspect of the discussions just concluded was the careful avoidance by all the permanent members of the Security Council of either talk or action looking to a permanent Arab-Israel settlement. It remained for Israel to invoke Article 12 of the armistice agreement in order to seek a conference between itself and Jordan on the situation which had provoked the month-long Council discussions.

Should the conference, for which the Secretary General has now issued a call, be held there is of course no assurance of any constructive outcome. Jordan will unquestionably be guided both by the views of the Arab League and the pressures of Britain, its protector, neither of which for the moment at least is on the side of permanent settlement.

It is here that the United Nations can exercise its greatest authority and is in fact *obligated* to do so if it is to discharge its Charter responsibilities. Unless the U. N. makes it clear that it is interested in permanent settlement in a much more forceful fashion than it has done to date, the outlook is for a stalemate and a resultant deterioration of Arab-Israel relations. The new Secretary General has perhaps his first real opportunity to demonstrate his capacity as a mediator for peace. Mr. Hammarskjold does not require any special resolution of the Security Council to press for a necessary settlement, desirable though such a resolution might be.

To achieve peace it is also important that a certain atmosphere should be created. It is worth asking therefore at this time whether the U. N. will continue to allow itself to be used as a forum for the spreading of slanderous talk of "international Jewish conspiracy." In default of other arguments, representatives of the Arab states since 1947 have consistently fallen back on the odious and discredited "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Never has this vicious libel been more frequently used than in the recent Council debates by the delegate of Lebanon and other Arab spokesmen. If there are no rules of procedure which could bring the Arab spokesmen to order, then common decency should be called into play.

CANADA'S REVOLT

Against the United States . . *by Colin Cameron*

Ottawa

THE latest accomplishment of the McCarthyites has been to turn the last firm, disinterested friend the United States had in the world into a hostile and suspicious neighbor. The first demand of the Jenner committee to be allowed to interview Igor Gouzenko was dismissed here as a piece of gaucherie, stupid and in bad taste but not of very great importance. The second demand, in the face of the refusal of the Canadian government to accede to the request and its expressed conviction that Gouzenko had no further information to offer the committee, was regarded here as a piece of intolerable impudence. Coupled as it was with an attempt to blackmail Canada with the hint that the committee had some discreditable information regarding the Honorable Lester B. Pearson, Minister of External Affairs, this impudence appeared to be that of the gangster underworld.

The general indignation was given voice in the House on November 23. David Croll, Liberal member from Toronto, led the assault with a blistering attack on "political blackmailers" in the United States. "By trying to smear the Minister [Pearson] they hope to blackmail this government into handing over for their purposes and for their use Igor Gouzenko, who is a ward of the government, in order that he may provide for them another act in their variety show," he said. Croll demanded that President Eisenhower exert his authority to repudiate the attack on Pearson. In doing this, Croll was also obliquely giving voice to the growing distrust with which Canadians regard the Eisenhower Administration and the President himself. It would be a pity if Americans in general and the President in particular were to be deluded by the apparent cordiality with which Eisenhower was greeted in this capital two weeks ago into imagining that Canada and Canadians are easy in their minds about the Administration in Washington.

Following Croll in the debate in Commons, Stanley Knowles, a Cooperative Commonwealth Federation member from Winnipeg, continued the attack on the Jenner committee. Knowles pointed out that if the government yields to pressure and permits Gouzenko to appear before the committee, any public man in Canada who at a later date refuses to appear will risk being smeared as a Communist sympathizer. Indeed, there is widespread feeling here that Gouzenko, falling into the clutches of the Washington witch-hunters, may succeed in smearing half the men in public life in Canada today. It must be borne in mind that the Canadian political scene is much more sophisticated than the American. In addition to the twenty-three members of the C. C. F. who are avowed socialists, innumerable members of other parties hold and express some views which would undoubtedly be labeled "Communist" by the political illiterates of American Congressional investigating committees. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that Canadians, who have viewed with a hitherto somewhat amused contempt the American

---

COLIN CAMERON is a Canadian member of Parliament from British Columbia.

practice of trial by legislative bodies, are now aroused to the danger of these practices involving their own nationals.

The attack on Lester Pearson bears for Canadians all the earmarks of that vicious method by which Adolf Hitler forced the governments of neighboring countries to drop from their Cabinets ministers who were persona non grata to the Nazi regime. Canadians have the reputation of being a dull and phlegmatic people. Any American sitting in the House of Commons during the debate on the Jenner demands would have been sharply disabused of that idea as he listened to the vigorous desk-thumping approval of the denunciations of current witch-hunting practices in Washington.

As for the press, a typical Canadian editorial comment appeared in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* during the height of the debate. After referring to Walter Winchell's attack on Pearson as having dragged Canadian-American relations into the gutter, the editorial went on:

> It [the Canadian government] should say that if Gouzenko wants to take part in the Jenner-McCarthy vaudeville show he is free to do so—on his own responsibility and at his own considerable risk. Having made that clear, it should say, as bluntly as possible, that it is finished with the whole business; that publicity, not security, is the sole issue involved; and that this being the case any further communications on the subject that come from across the border will be treated with silent contempt.

There is considerable regret in Canada that the government has not seen fit to go so far. At this writing Pearson has made it clear that Gouzenko, as a Canadian citizen, is free to go to Washington on his own responsibility, or alternatively that representatives of the Jenner committee may interview him in Canada in the presence of Canadian security officials, provided that any information so obtained will be released only on the authority of the Canadian government. Regardless of Senator Jenner's reaction, the offer is regarded by many here as a regrettable capitulation to Washington pressures. The safeguard imposed by Ottawa on the release of information has not impressed those who recall the breach of confidence by Attorney General Brownell in declassifying certain material in connection with the White case.

Needed: an Un-Continental Activities Committee

Washington, November 23 (International News Service).—A State Department appraisal of the current situation in Latin America was requested today by Senator George Smathers of Florida in the wake of Dr. Milton G. Eisenhower's report of Communist infiltration in the area. Smathers warned: "While we are devoting so much attention to Europe and Asia, the Soviets seem to be slipping inside our guard and hitting us where it will hurt much worse."

The Senator declared he will also urge Congress, when it reconvenes January 6, to adopt a "more realistic" as well as a "more helpful" program toward Latin America.

THE GARRISON STATE

Offspring of the Cold War . . *by Louis Smith*

MIRABEAU once said that Prussia was not a state possessing an army but an army possessing a state. Many people in America, noting how greatly military factors and military leadership have come to the forefront of public policy in recent years, are fearful that this will soon be the case here. One official group studying our organization for national security remarked that "the military have picked up the ball of national policy and are starting down the field with it." Albert Einstein, whose concern for the survival of human rights in America is well known, believes the nation is already far along in this terrible illness—"the Prussian disease."

LOUIS SMITH, dean of Berea College, is the author of "American Democracy and Political Power."

Civil control of the military arm is one of the basic principles of our government. And this control must be exercised not merely by civilians but by officials who are democratically responsible to the people. This tradition goes back to the Puritan Revolution in England in the seventeenth century and was cherished by the Founding Fathers, who ingeniously included it in the governmental system they devised at Philadelphia in 1787. During the century and two-thirds since that time, the American people have always insisted on the subordination of military to civil authority, and with good success.

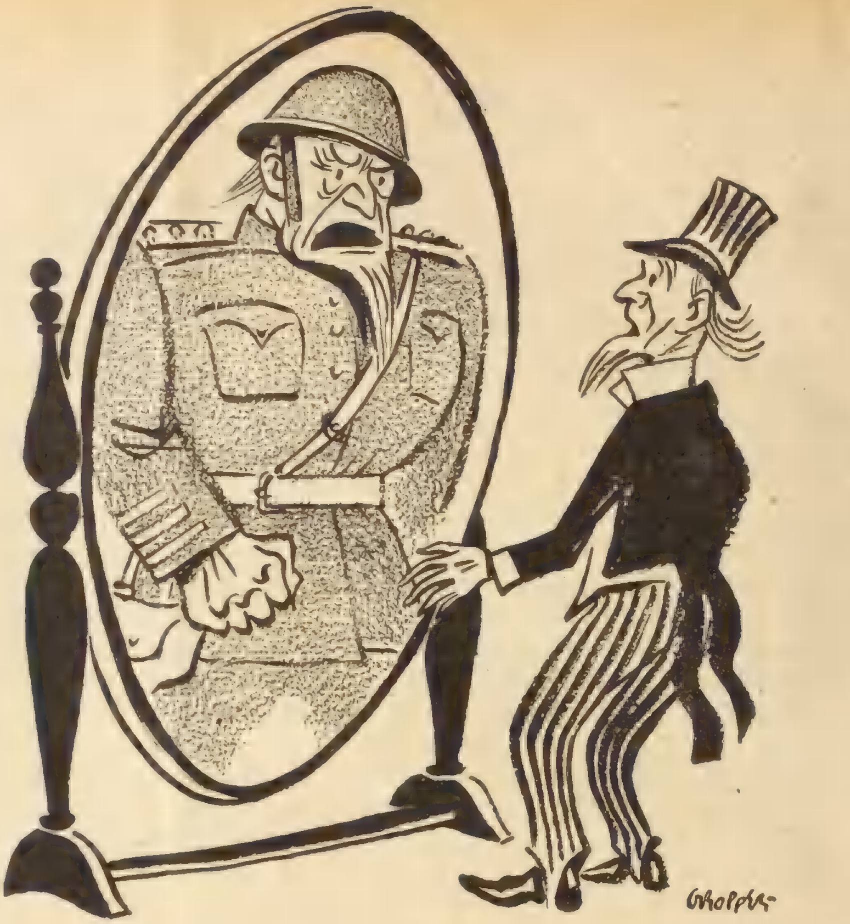
Historically, military control of government has resulted from a lawless seizure of power by the armed forces. The classic forms of such control are "praetorianism," named for the bloody domination of the Roman palace guard and meaning rule of the country by the military for the military, and "Caesarism," rule by an élite using the military as its instrument. Today there is little fear of these forms of military control. What is feared is the garrison state, a modern totalitarian state in which a rigid discipline, growing out of military ideals and military considerations, dominates all aspects of the people's lives. It is not necessarily a state ruled by an army, although this may be the case; rather it is a state with its whole population on a quasi-military footing, with all other considerations subordinated to the purpose of attaining national security by the maximization of power.

Looking at the current scene in Washington, one finds it fairly easy to prepare an impressive bill of particulars showing military participation in areas of government formerly monopolized by civilians. Military influence is strong in all high-level policy discussions. This is not accidental or conspiratorial but due to a recognition that if our chief problem today is security for ourselves and the nations associated with us, we must consider, even if we do not always heed, the military's view on national policy.

IT DOES NOT follow that the military are in the saddle in Washington or deliberately intend to achieve control. They recognize the right of others to make final decisions and have accepted such decisions almost without exception. Recalcitrant individuals have been relieved of command or otherwise disciplined. If the garrison state comes here the military are not likely to be its builders.

This conclusion is supported by the long history of the military establishment in America. Though its relations with the civil authority have occasionally raised problems, it has always accepted without question the principle which gives it a secondary and instrumental position in the nation. It is true that out of the fighting in Korea have come a few instances of strong differences between the Chief Executive and the commander in the field, as in the cases of Generals MacArthur and Van Fleet. General MacArthur's contention in Boston two years ago that the military command owed its primary loyalty to the Constitution rather than to the President —who by the Constitution is commander-in-chief—is about as far as such a spirit of intransigency has gone, and it has found no public echoes from fellow-generals.

In singling out military leaders for such censure as may be due them, we must not overlook the danger of unduly neglecting their role in the formation of national policy. There is no denying that this nation is in a position both of peril and of responsibility. To survive and to meet our responsibilities as the leader and defender of the non-Communist portion of the world, we must be strong militarily. At the moment, particularly if a Korean peace is effected, there is reason to fear that budget-balancers, economizers, and isolationists may team up to cut our military and foreign-aid programs to levels inconsistent with our risks and responsibilities. Here we face a cruel dilemma. We know that "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." But we know equally well that they who do not take it perish also.



That the garrison state is not likely to come from direct action by the military is comforting. But it does not dispose of the danger that it will prevail in America. There are more subtle ways in which it can come to pass. It is possible that it will emerge gradually, the end product of multitudinous concessions to military necessity made either in war time or in a period of grave and prolonged crisis. For most of the past fourteen years this nation has lived under conditions of war or threat of war. Because of this protracted emergency numerous departures from liberal tradition have been condoned by custom or legitimized by statute or administrative order. Atomic war or invasion of this country would create a new emergency, and new bills are being drafted at this very time to empower the government to act swiftly and drastically.

These legal controls are reinforced by economic factors. Last year over fifty billion dollars was spent on military goods for Korea and elsewhere. In three years more than one hundred billion dollars was spent on Korea alone, approximately two-thirds of what was spent on World War II during an equal period of time. In addition to military spending for the Korean conflict, billions of dollars were spent on other programs directly related to security planning. Such vast expenditures for military strength and foreign aid may tend to make full employment and business prosperity precariously dependent on the perpetuation of the crisis. Moreover, the volume and nature of this military spending may give top-level military procurement officers virtual control over the economy. This is not happening to any appreciable extent now, largely because of the 50 per cent expansion in national productive capacity since the end of World War II, but if a third global war should come or if by some other severe intensification of our security crisis the rate of military spending should have to be swiftly and enormously increased, the danger would become a reality.

This is illustrated by the famous controversy during World War II between Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and General Brehon

Burke Somervell, in charge of procurement for the army. There was conflict between the civilian and military points of view on war production from the start. Finally, after repeated attempts to establish harmonious working relations with Somervell and his associates, Nelson charged that the military were out to obtain outright control of the economy. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson angrily defended Somervell from this accusation, terming it "palpably preposterous." What the army desired, Stimson declared, was not control, but supplies.

Very probably Stimson was right in saying that the army did not seek over-all control of the economy. The general principle of civilian predominance was hardly challenged. On the other hand, Nelson's complaint had a de facto basis, since the aggregate of decisions on the allocation of labor, machines, raw materials, and industrial output—decisions which the army apparently sought to dominate—actually represented control, whatever the formal acknowledgment of the principle of civil control.

THE FACTORS most likely to bring the garrison state to America are not military or economic but psychological. The great danger is that the minds of civilians, both leaders and the common people, will be militarized by the psychological pressures in that direction caused by long-protracted cold war with its recurrent and ever-graver crises. Each crisis has thus far been resolved without precipitating a third world war but points none the less to its ultimate inevitability. Under such pressures the President, who is both chief magistrate and commander-in-chief, may let the latter role become predominant in his thought and action. Faced with total war involving atomic weapons, the President will be under almost irresistible pressure to expand war powers to the limit and to restrict any individual rights which might impede the attainment of maximum strength.

The same danger will exist for other high officials in the government, such as members of the National Security Council, the Secretaries of Defense and the armed services, and the heads of the armed-services committees of the House and Senate. These are all civilians, with very considerable responsibility for our military policies. The members of the United States Supreme Court are also exposed to it, as men who have to interpret the Constitution in a national emergency. At times the justices must ask themselves whether it is more important to preserve the letter of the Constitution or to save the nation. Just as the court is said to follow the election returns, it follows in a far more consistent way reports from the fighting fronts. All this probably justifies the conclusion that in time of defense emergency our rights are in greater jeopardy from expansion of the war powers than from encroachment by the military establishment.

In our history major invasions of our liberties in war or security crises have been launched not by the military but by the civil leaders who legally control the military. The resettlement of the West Coast Japanese Americans during World War II is a good illustration. This action, perhaps the worst invasion of civil rights ever experienced in this country, may have been suggested initially by a military commander but it was authorized by President Roosevelt, subsequently legalized by Congress, largely carried out by a civilian agency, and ultimately approved by the Supreme Court.

If our civilian leaders have been subject to this kind of psychological militarization the general public may be even more easily affected. We are, at the moment, showing a weariness of cold war and a hunger for some kind of settlement. At the same time there seems to be general acceptance of the fact that for the foreseeable future we must continue to live under the threat of war. There is in us all a grave disquiet, a fear that this country is not strong enough, or ready enough, or smart enough to defend itself from catastrophic assault from without. As to attack from within, the strength of public support for McCarthyism is sad evidence of our exaggerated anxiety.

We cannot comfort ourselves by assuming our basic fears are hysterical and unfounded. They are tragically reasonable. We know that Russia possesses atomic weapons, that our radar screens and air defenses are probably inadequate to warn and protect us, that two or three bombs could make a shambles of any one of our major cities, and that these bombs are saturation killers. Senator Stuart Symington has estimated that there would be 13,000,000 casualties in the first phase of an atomic air attack on this country.

Throughout our past we have shown an abiding reverence for democratic and civil control of the government in war as in peace. We have a good record of living up to these principles. But let the third world war appear imminent, and let it seem that the atomic weapons we used against Hiroshima and Nagasaki are to be employed against our own population centers, then the garrison state may be brought into being by the frenzied demands of our own people that they be not exposed to annihilation by the omission of any security factor. As Alexander Hamilton wrote in the *Federalist* papers a long time ago, "Safety from external danger is the most powerful directive of national conduct," and the people in order "to be more safe, . . . at length become willing to be less free."

IF WE ARE to avoid the tragedy of the garrison state or the immeasurably worse catastrophe of atomic war, the mandate to the Eisenhower Administration is plain: a solution of our differences with Russia must be sought by negotiation rather than by conflict. Such negotiation cannot succeed on a unilateral basis. All parties must have a genuine interest in settling the issues and in avoiding conflict; each side must be willing to bargain and to compromise. In the past it has not seemed to the people of the United States that Russia has had this interest. Undoubtedly the Russians have felt the same way about this country. But for the first time since 1946 indications in Russia, the United States, and elsewhere suggest the possibility of successful negotiation. The prospects may not be as promising as they appeared earlier in the year, but they remain too substantial to be ignored.

Reports from behind the Iron Curtain point to growing unrest. Tension is mounting in Czechoslovakia. From Poland comes news of slowdown and sabotage on the part of the workers. East Germany in the early summer witnessed spectacular anti-Russian demonstrations. In Russia there are signs that the people have become tired of the strains and sacrifices required by long-protracted mobilization for cold war. Gone from the Kremlin is the tough, crafty, single-purpose Josef Stalin. Uncertain of their power at home, the men of the Kremlin may feel peace is essential. Despite their familiar tactics of alternately blowing hot and cold, they may now be ready for a meeting with Western leaders.

The United States likewise seems more willing to negotiate. As in Russia, a new Administration is in power. Eisenhower, having brought about a Korean truce, is plainly anxious to lessen the military emergency throughout the world, to reduce the mobilization rate, to lower federal expenditures, and to cut taxes. Recent political events show that his Administration is losing popularity. He might find himself in real trouble if the fanatical old Syngman Rhee should precipitate a renewal of the fighting in Korea. But of course this would be grave trouble for all of us. We should find ourselves again in a war we could afford neither to lose nor to prosecute on a large-enough scale to win. To commit our military resources to a major war on the Chinese mainland would probably impair fatally our ability to defend Western Europe, a consideration not lost on the people there. NATO is dragging. The logic of the situation points to negotiation.

There is no magic in the word "negotiate" which will solve our problems. There is no guaranty that the process of negotiation, however sincerely and intelligently we push it, will provide a secure and durable settlement of the issues which have divided the world into two armed camps. Whether there is sufficient good-will on both sides to push for mutually acceptable solutions cannot now be known. Whether with the best will in the world the differences between the two blocs can be resolved peacefully cannot now be said. But this much is certain—to refuse to make the effort is criminal, for by such refusal we insure for ourselves the garrison state, even if we escape becoming the annihilated state.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

New Links Are Forged . . *by Lyle Cooper*

Chicago

SIGNS point toward a much closer working alliance between city wage-earners and farmers than seemed possible even six months ago. Any cooperation that develops will take chiefly a political form, though it will have been brought about by economic pressure. Economic also will be the content of any farmer-labor program.

These conclusions are based on observations at three recent hearings of the House Committee on Agriculture—at Norfolk, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; and Cheyenne, Wyoming. The committee has been collecting the views of organizations and individuals on what is needed in the way of new farm legislation. Farm-organization spokesmen, together with farmers and ranchers who speak only as individuals, provide most of the witnesses, but a few representatives of labor usually appear also.

Members of the committee and farmers in attendance feared at first that these union-sponsored witnesses would take the "wrong" position. Were they not likely to oppose some of the main features of existing farm legislation, particularly government price supports for "basic" agricultural products? Most newspapers and radio commentators had been "educating" urban consumers to believe that they were being gouged by farmers in two ways—first, through high food prices caused by "high, rigid price supports," and, second, through the "billions of taxpayers' money" that Uncle Sam was compelled to collect in order to finance these price supports and subsidies. But union spokesmen soon made it clear at the hearings that they are no more gullible in swallowing this big-business propaganda than are most farmers, Indeed, they hammered on the theme that the slide in farm income—amounting to about 12 per cent so far this year, on top of declines in 1951 and 1952—had already hurt many city workers as well as the farmers.

The most dramatic evidence was offered by witnesses representing the two unions in the farm-machinery industry, the United Electrical Workers and the United Automobile Workers. These men gave the names and locations of companies which had laid off thousands of workers as a result of the farmers' widespread inability to buy tractors and other equipment. Sizable layoffs and cuts in hours of work per week were cited by spokesmen for the United Packinghouse Workers. The hog and pork departments of many packing plants, large and small, had reduced man hours of work because the extremely low prices paid farmers for hogs in 1951 and into 1952 had forced these meat producers to cut back sharply on hog breeding. This, in turn, caused much higher retail prices on pork.

The Packinghouse Workers have also observed the existing critical situation among ranchers and farmers who produce beef cattle, and predict more layoffs and short weeks in the beef departments of the packing plants. The trouble originates in the demand of the leaders of the "old line" cattle associations for a drastic reduction in today's "large" cattle population. For example, F. E. Mollin, secretary of the American Cattlemen's Association, has seriously urged *halving* the number of beef-cattle cows. This would briefly increase the supply of low-quality beef but would drastically reduce the calf crop. Since cattle, in contrast to hogs, multiply slowly and require several years of feeding to reach marketable weights, it would be a slow process,

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But among the more than ninety witnesses who had their hurried say at Cheyenne a decisive majority strongly favored price supports for cattle. The small or medium-sized ranchers fully understand that a curtailment program—getting rid of half their breeding cows—would, at best, place them in a much weaker position relative to the big ranchers. At worst, it would drive many of them out of production and into bankruptcy, and the range and herds they lose would fall into the hands of the "big boys." Sensing what the curtailment program would mean to them, the "little fellows" at Cheyenne booed and hooted in old-time Western abandon at the "rugged individualism"—"galloping Hooverism," one witness aptly phrased it—advocated by the big ranchers.

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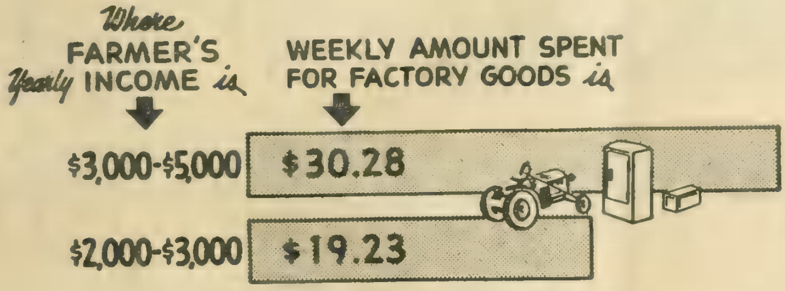
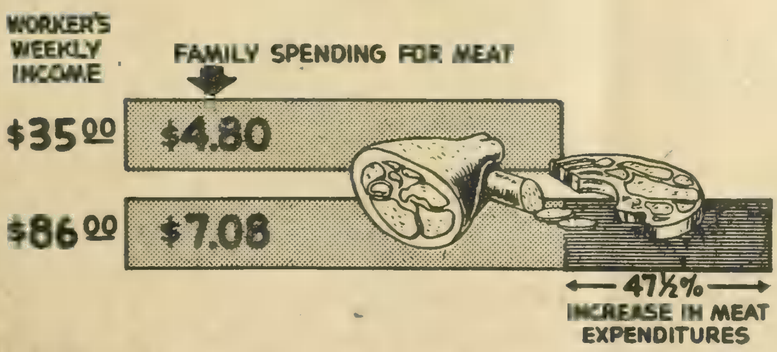


The Farmer: The less he earns, the less he buys of Labor's products.



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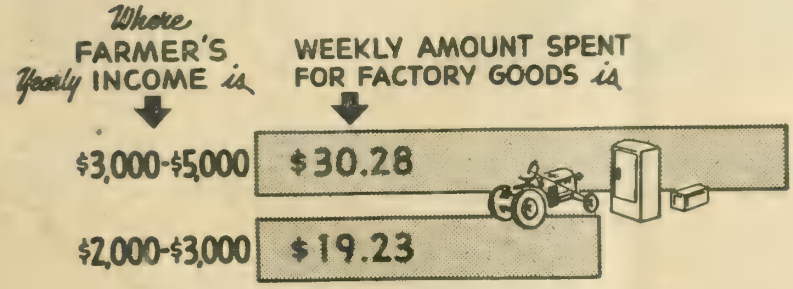

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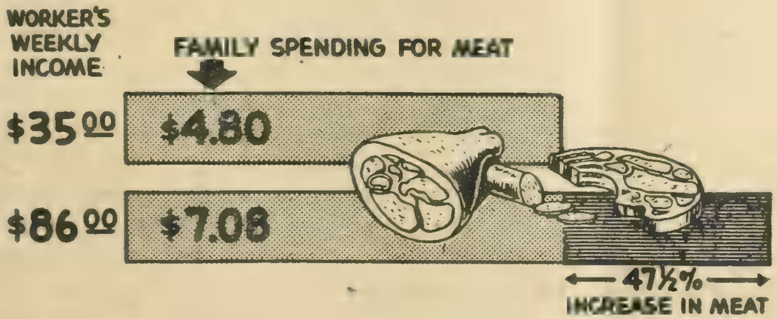

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widening area of agriculture is sick. Recognition of this situation is causing millions of farmers to search for remedies that will provide assurance of minimum family incomes. Price supports are not the complete remedy, any more than "better credit." Distrust of the "big boys," whether they are cattle barons in Wyoming or their political mouthpieces in Washington, such as Secretary of Agriculture Benson, is only one aspect of the ferment stirring among farmers. An upsurge of new organizational activity and fresh leadership is evident.

Teamwork between organized city workers and organized farmers must also be developed. Farm residents now form less than 14 per cent of our total population, and it is imperative for them to find political allies. For its own reasons, organized labor, too, is beginning actively to seek allies, and the most promising ally is the farmer. Labor's growing understanding of this has been shown at the committee hearings. Joint programs, votes, and other forms of action are now essential.

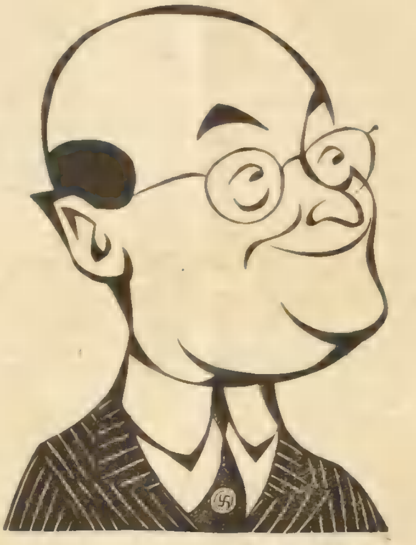
FRANCE'S LITTLE HITLER

McCarthyism in Paris . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

WHILE the French Finance Minister, Edgar Faure, is struggling with his 1954 budget and trying to reduce the present deficit of seven hundred billion francs to six hundred billion—though nobody yet knows how—and while the country's blood pressure is mounting slightly all the time, no solution for its outstanding problems being in sight, some strange conflicts are going on almost imperceptibly. These conflicts came to the surface on three occasions last week, and people are beginning to take note of them, and to wonder when they will come lastingly into the open.

First, there was the conflict over the Communists: are they "part of the nation" or are they to be treated as outlaws? Then there was the smashing defeat of M. Pleven at the congress of the United Democratic and Socialist Resistance Party at Nantes, as a result of which he resigned the chairmanship of the party. Finally, there was the incredible speach of the Minister of the Interior, M. Martinaud-Déplat, which has already earned for him the nickname of "our little Hitler."



Drawing by Brandel

M. Martinaud-Déplat

With respect to the Communists, the National Assembly by a small majority, but still a majority, rejected the government's demand, supported chiefly by M. Pleven and M. Martinaud-Déplat, that it revoke the parliamentary immunity of Duclos, the Communist leader, and four other Communist deputies, and also, ironically enough, of the expelled ex-Communist André Marty, for their allegedly "demoralizing" and "anti-national" activities. What they had really done was to demand an early termination of the war in Indo-China. When the charge was first brought against them over a year ago, a case of sorts could have been made out for it, but to prosecute them under what is virtually a treason act for saying something nearly everybody else in France is saying today would have made the Assembly look much too ridiculous. It would also have undermined its position as an auxiliary to the judiciary, which, as it is, has been gravely questioned on grounds of law. For, as the *Monde* puts it, can one seriously expect a political assembly to act in a case like this with the non-political impartiality required of a court of law; should not a more distinctly legal body be set up to deal with the question of parliamentary immunity, which would, of course, imply a revision of parts of the constitution?

In any case, there is much debate over what attitude to take toward the Communists. One cannot get away from the fact that a quarter of the people of France vote Communist—for economic, political, or only sentimental reasons, or, in many cases, because there has always been a revolutionary tradition in France, and the Communists alone advocate, in theory at least, the overthrow of the existing order. In the view of the *Monde* the question arises whether the Communists are to be fought by legal or by arbitrary means; a foretaste of the latter was provided in May, 1952, when M. Brune, then Minister of the Interior, and M. Martinaud-Déplat, then Minister of Justice, organized the police frame-up of Duclos and his famous "carrier pigeons" and of other Communist leaders and journalists—a frame-up which was quashed by the legal authorities a month or two later.

Is France, indeed, gradually moving away from democratic methods; is there something "in the air"? The speech recently made by M. Martinaud-Déplat, the present Minister of the Interior, has certainly been something of an eye-opener; apparently all sorts of very strange ideas are being played with in high places. Suddenly putting on the boots of Clemenceau, M. Martinaud-Déplat declared war on "treason." And

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ALEXANDER WERTH, a contributing editor, is The Nation's *correspondent in Paris.*

who are the traitors? The Communists of course, "with their millions coming from Poland and elsewhere," but also the "old-time nationalists," who will not hear of the European army at any price, and—this is something quite new—"the homosexuals." A strange assortment of traitors! Only, as the press has rightly pointed out, one should add to the "Communists, ultra-nationalists, and homosexuals" certain other persons equally hostile to the European army—Daladier and Herriot and Jules Moch and General de Gaulle, as well as millions of ordinary Frenchmen.

But is it only opposition to the European army which has become "treason" in the eyes of M. Martinaud-Déplat? There is more and more talk that M. Martinaud-Déplat may put himself forward as a "strong man" who might, in certain circumstances, and with or without General Juin, attempt an authoritarian revolution. There is talk that M. Queuille, though old and harmless enough to look at, may become a tool in the hands of ambitious men if he is elected to the presidency of the Republic. Is not all this excitement about "Communists, old-time nationalists, and homosexuals" (no doubt the Jews will be added later) a cheap form of demagoguery calculated to appeal to a discontented *petite bourgeoisie?* Does not the very inclusion of degenerates and homosexuals closely resemble Hitler's methods of appealing to the nice respectable German middle class? Martinaud-Déplat is the man most hated by French intellectuals, and is not all this "homosexual" nonsense essentially directed against the intellectuals? The question also arises in the light of Martinaud-Déplat's speech: who *is* France's enemy No. 1? Is it Russia or is it Germany? Cannot France maintain a noncommittal attitude, or must it finally break with Russia and become a German satellite—which is what many have read into Martinaud-Déplat's program? Apart from being pro-German, the Martinaud-Déplat speech also suggests a strengthening of a certain McCarthyist tendency inside the French government.

The resignation of M. Pleven from the chairmanship of his party—a party that grew out of one of the Resistance organizations and is now affiliated to the Radical Party—is symptomatic. M. Plevin is very right-wing, very pro-American, very pro-European army, and a supporter of a tough policy in both Indo-China and North Africa. The majority of the party takes a very different line on practically all these matters. The most vigorous attack on M. Pleven appears to have been made by M. Mitterrand, who criticized as short-sighted the government's policy in French North Africa. M. Mitterrand argued that France could turn North Africa into "another California" if it were not wasting its money and energies in Indo-China. Instead, North Africa is rotting in poverty for the benefit of a handful of settlers—this is particularly true of Algeria with its huge "surplus population."

STATE OF THE UNIONS

The 1953 Picture . . *by Mary Heaton Vorse*

THE C. I. O. convention, which closed two weeks ago in Cleveland, unanimously voted to accept the two-year non-raiding agreement voted by the A. F. of L. at its convention in St. Louis in September. The two great labor organizations, both under new leadership, are at last responding to the rank and file's insistent demands, and unity is for the first time a possibility.

The convention provided a good vantage point from which to take stock of labor's progress since the big split in 1936. It mirrored the thinking not only of its own organization but of all labor and revealed the changes in labor's power and status. In less than twenty years labor organizations have grown from approximately 3,500,000 members to more than 16,000,000. A little less than 10,000,000 of these are in the A. F. of L.; about 4,700,000 in the C. I. O.; the rest are in the Brotherhoods and independent unions. Together with the men's families, organized labor today comprises about one-third of the population of the United States.

Contrasting the two conventions, the A. F. of L. delegates have grown younger and the C. I. O. delegates older. The men attending this year's two conventions were about the same age, averaging in their forties. And as they have been converging in age, they have also been converging in thought.

The C. I. O. convention was volubly anti-Administration and the A. F. of L. convention almost as much so. Through political bungling the Taft-Hartley Act has become of major importance to all American labor. The resignation of Martin P. Durkin and his blow-by-blow account of his experience with the Administration almost turned the A. F. of L convention into a forum for the Democrats.

The Cleveland meeting was fairly calm as C. I. O. conventions go. At Walter Reuther's request there was not even a snake dance when he was re-elected president by acclaim. It was clear, however, that Reuther had gained strength since last year's close election. The small unions which then opposed him have been won over by his capacity for hard work and his practical idealism. As their memberships have grown, their confidence in him has mounted. A few, including David McDonald of the Steelworkers, still seem unreconciled, still opposed to him.

The C. I. O. became its old, noisy self during Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's anti-Administration address. It whooped applause when he said: "Big business at last has the bankers' admini-

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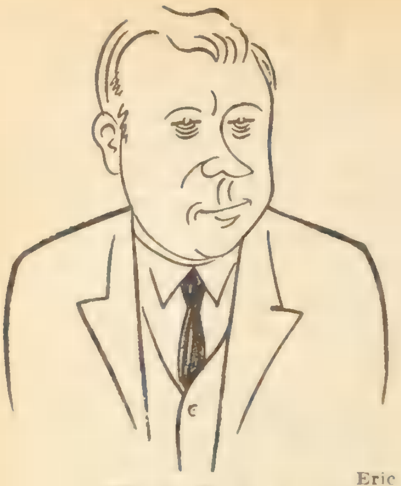
MARY HEATON VORSE has been a labor reporter and editor since 1912.



Walter Reuther

stration it has long sought and long paid for. . . . These modern-day pirates have hoisted a new Jolly Roger over Washington, with a dollar sign for the skull and crossbones. They make old Captain Kid look a social worker. . . . I charge this Administration with callous disregard for the public interest."

The C. I. O. found everything the present Administration has done against the best interests not only of farmers and workers but of small business. The lessened buying power of the farmers—17 per cent below the level of last June—will have repercussions on the workers and the whole country. With the scrapping of controls the price of living is going up. The hard-money policy makes it harder for the little fellow to get money. The proposed tax changes benefit big business and leave the tax-burden on the small-income group. The country's resources are being recklessly handed over to the big interests.

The curtailment of appropriations for the Department of Labor was bitterly criticized, and the new Secretary of Labor's conciliatory speech, his first since his appointment, was coolly received.

The recurrent theme at both conventions was what would happen if the "slight recession" which certain business circles are said to favor should occur. It was pointed out that the productivity of the individual worker has increased 13.2 per cent between 1949 and 1952 while wages have risen only 7 per cent, and that according to the *Wall Street Journal* 116 companies and 27 industries show increased profits of 24 per cent since last year. Both conventions emphasized that only an expanding civilian buying market would increase production.

The C. I. O. has always been the pace-setter in labor's continuing struggle for better conditions. Today an important item in its economic program is the guaranteed annual wage.

THE STATUS of labor has changed completely since 1936. It is hard to realize that twenty years ago "factory worker" was a term of contempt and the bulk of unorganized labor held a position little higher than that of the migrants today. When government gave its blessing to organization, workers flowed into the unions by millions. Other legislation favorable to labor followed the Wagner Act. Then came the shattering revelation that high wages meant good business. In the old days, when one in every seven workers was foreign-born, people generally believed that if workers made more, what they did not spend in drink they would send out of the country. After Ford instituted his five-dollar-a-day wage, as revolutionary as mass production, the members of every Rotary Club saw that the workers had become a new home-grown market.

With its improved status, labor has assumed new responsibilities. At the C. I. O. convention a banner stretching across the podium proclaimed in high letters, "What's Good for the Nation, Is Good for the C. I. O." Below was a list of people's desires, such as "Sound Expanding Economy" and "A World at Peace." The identification of the community's good with the union's good has long been fundamental with Walter Reuther.

Community services are an important division of C. I. O. activities but are not its monopoly. William P. Schnitzler, who succeeded George Meany as A. F. of L. secretary-treasurer, stressed labor's role in the community in his Labor Day speech. "The A. F. of L. is your neighbor," he said. "Whatever the A. F. of L. does we do it for all people. When we want better housing or safe and adequate social security, we want these for everyone." The dynamism formerly supposed to be monopolized by the C. I. O. is now noticeable in many A. F. of L. unions.

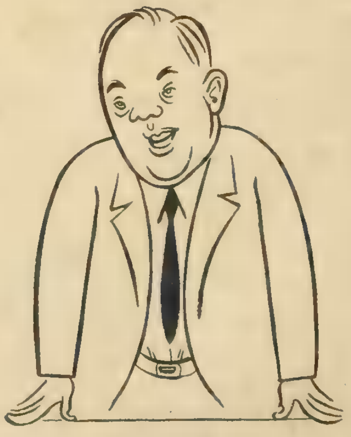
Participation in national and local affairs has led to a lively interest in international affairs among all union members. In recognition of this development Secretary of State Dulles addressed both conventions.

American labor has swung away from its old ideas of the class struggle almost without realizing it. While the A. F. of L. was never socialistic in thought, many of the outstanding leaders of an earlier day agreed with the preamble of the I. W. W.'s constitution, which stated, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Whether they talked about the class struggle or not, many of them were motivated by it. Today, as Father George Higgins of the Catholic National Welfare Council said in a speech recently, "there is not an ounce of class struggle in a carload of American labor leaders."

We have developed in this country the only great labor movement in the world not based on socialist concepts. The American movement sees itself as part of the democratic process and it is ready for better relations with management.

The great changes which have occurred in labor's thinking were reflected in many Labor Day speeches. The Teamsters, for instance, one of the fastest-growing unions in the A. F. of L.—their president is Dave Beck—asked labor and management "to rid themselves of old-fashioned, actually Marxian notions that they are forever locked in bitter opposition. . . . The key to a magnificent future lies not in industrial peace, which implies a compact between warring factions, but in industrial fellowship based on a common understanding and goal."

This "magnificent future," however, depends on peace in the unions. A ban on raiding must precede labor unity, and the Teamsters have yet to sign the non-raiding agreement. From every point of view, it is necessary now for labor to close its ranks.



George Meany

BOOKS

From a Writer's Notebook, II

By Van Wyck Brooks

HOW many literary careers suggest the fabled serpent that eats its tail. By good work a writer earns a reputation; then his reputation earns him a lucrative job; then the lucrative job destroys the reputation. So the serpent in the end consumes itself.

★

Let me quote three statements by three scholarly authors and leave them, in this order, to speak for themselves:

"The historians Motley, Prescott, Bancroft, Parkman, Rhodes, Lea, Fiske were not professors; books like Taylor's 'The Mediæval Mind.' Henry Adams's 'Mont St. Michel and Chartres,' Thayer's 'Cavour,' Villard's 'John Brown,' and Beveridge's 'John Marshall,' even Ticknor's history of Spanish literature were not written within college walls."—J. E. Spingarn, "Creative Criticism and Other Essays."

"Such as they are [his own books], I could not have written them had my time been taken by teaching or academic administration."—Henry Osborn Taylor, "A Layman's View of History."

"I soon learned [as an editor] that it was virtually impossible to get fair consideration for a book written by a scholar not connected with a university from a reviewer so connected. Invariably the review, if it did not damn outright and outrageously, would begin by saying that for an amateur the work was commendable, *but*. . . . Envy seems to have abundant place in the present halls of Academe."—Paul Elmer More, "With the Wits" (preface).

VAN WYCK BROOKS is the author of the five-volume work "Makers and Finders—a History of the Writer in America," the first volume of which, "The Flowering of New England," won a Pulitzer price. Selections from his Notebook appeared in The Nation *of November 14 and will be continued in a coming issue.*

★

My chief complaint against what is called scholarship in the United States—in which we seem virtually to have supplanted the Germans—is that, like a certain person of whom Emily Dickinson wrote, it has "the facts but not the phosphorescence of learning."

★

Historical writing in this country has virtually dropped out of literature. This is because the historians respect science more than they respect art and greatly prefer to be, or appear, "scientific." But they also feel nowadays that they must know everything, psychology, economics, semantics, and so on, the result being that the historical mind has been swamped with new material which it has been unable to digest.

What Wordsworth said of poetry in the preface to "Lyrical Ballads" applies, in this connection, to history as well: "The remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist, the mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the poet's art as any upon which he is now employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings." What Wordsworth means is that all subjects can serve the poet if he can apprehend them with a certain emotion, if they have become involved with his own intimate being, but that until this has occurred they cannot be turned into poetry, they cannot be transmuted into art.

Is not this the case with history also? Only when all these sciences have come to be intimately synthesized and *felt* will they be transmutable in this realm either. In the meantime, there is truth in Lytton Strachey's statement that "ignorance is the first requisite of the historian." Prescott knew nothing about ethnology, Gibbon knew nothing of economics, but both have as many readers now as they had in the days of their first fame. When, on the other hand, one knows too much, one cannot write history, properly so called, at all.

★

What curious tricks our minds play on us. Looking up from my work, I saw a fly crawling on the window-pane. Then I saw that he was crawling between the window-pane and the storm-window outside it, and I knew he could never escape from this huge glass trap. At once I began to sympathize with him, toiling over this desert of glass with nothing to eat or drink day after day, and at last I walked over to the window and raised it so that this fellow-creature could escape so sad a fate. "To open the window and let a wasp out—ah, is this not happiness?" a Chinese writer once exclaimed; and who forgets Uncle Toby in "Tristram Shandy"? When, catching the fly that tormented him, he thrust it out of the window, saying, "Get thee gone, poor devil! Why should I harm thee? The world is surely large enough for thee and me."

But how shortlived in me was this noble feeling! No sooner had I opened the window inward than it struck me that this fellow-creature had become simply a fly in my study; and I knew he would soon be buzzing about my ears. All my tender feelings suddenly turned cold—I forgot Uncle Toby and the Chinese writer—and before I knew what I was doing I had crushed that fly.

★

A publisher in England, advertising a new novel, says, "It contains no obscenities in the new American tradition," and I am wondering how long this tradition is going to last and why it thrives especially in this country. It is understandable that the modern mind requires discord with its harmony, that the beautiful must be "damned" beautiful to be mentioned at all, and I am aware of the prudery that dogged the American literary mind in the generation when I was growing up. But how long does this kind of reaction perform a real function?—and does one not feel now a sort of monotonous adolescence in our use of the cloacal word and the picture it evokes? When a character in a recent story, referring to the setting sun at sea, says it "looks like a big red behind being lowered into a bathtub," I think of some of the images that scene called up before Buck Mulligan spoke of the "snotgreen" sea. In countless minds this phrase of Joyce deflated for all time the association of the sea with majesty and greatness that Homer had kept alive for two thousand years, and while this may have been called for at the moment, deflation ever since has been virtually the rule in literary usage. And how tiresome is this flatness, this dull concentration on the mean—as tiresome as the witless grins that seem to be obligatory in the photographs of public persons nowadays.

★

In her study of Alexander Pope, Edith Sitwell speaks of the willow under which he sat so often in his Twickenham garden. Cuttings of this willow were sent by Pope's successors in the Twickenham house to various parts of Europe, and especially to the Empress Catherine of Russia; and Edith Sitwell says of the tree, which died in 1801, "It is said to be the ancestor of all the weeping willows in our gardens." If that is true, Pope's willow must have more descendants than any other tree in history except the Tree of Life; for, according to the poet Bryant, in one of his published orations, it was the ancestor also of the Connecticut willows, or at least of all the willows on the Housatonic River. The first president of Columbia University, Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, called upon Pope on one occasion, and the poet gave him a cutting from this willow which he planted in his garden on the river. The others spread from this.

Of all trees, perhaps, the willow is the most philoprogenitive. Did not Benjamin Franklin raise willows at home from the withes of an old "dead" basket which he had picked up in a gutter in France? My friend Joel Spingarn planted an avenue a mile long, lined on both sides with willows grown from the cuttings of a single tree.

★

When one thinks of the newspapers of fifty years ago, with their classical allusions and their regard for style—the *New York Tribune,* for instance, and the *Evening Post*—one can almost say that nineteenth-century journalism constantly aspired to the condition of literature. One may add that, in the same degree, after about 1900, literature as constantly tended to the condition of journalism.

★

It is a long time since I have seen the word "imponderable" used as a noun in the intellectual weeklies, but there was a day when no issue of *The Nation* or The *New Republic* could have been described as complete without it. One was always reading of the "imponderables" of this and that, and I remember when and how it first appeared, when it dawned as it were in the mind of our liberal circles. The word was Disraeli's —it was a favorite word of his—and Harold Laski quoted it in a review in *The Nation.* After that, for several years, scarcely a fortnight went by without one's hearing of "the imponderables, as Disraeli called them."

How many of these phrases—"Ripeness is all," "It is later than you think" —bloom for a season and then are heard no more. They wear out their welcome in the end like the phrase "a dim view," and as fireworks sparkle for a moment to be suddenly extinguished. One of the longest to survive has been "No man is an island." John Donne uttered it and T. S. Eliot popularized it when he rehabilitated Donne, and it is surely unlikely that Hemingway would have unearthed it himself if Donne's writings had not already been above ground. But when it became the motto of "For Whom the Bell Tolls" it passed with lightning speed into the public domain, and instantly new editions of Donne were published and disposed of and booksellers were obliged to report that they were "out of Donne." One could not keep up with the rage, and the phrase itself became overnight a cliché of advertising. "No man is an island" was soon as familiar as *E Pluribus Unum,* Virgil's ancient phrase for a salad dressing.

★

I note that Robert Frost is now called a "popular" poet by critics for whom this is the last word of contempt. It is a fixed idea with them that, as Edwin Muir says, "one can be popular only by writing falsely," and the fact that a writer appeals to a large number of readers is in itself sufficient to condemn him. I have seen this idea repeated by at least one member of the avant-garde who has himself in the meantime become a best-seller, as Henry Adams became a best-seller when his "Education" was finally published and George Santayana when he wrote a novel. Have we not seen Eliot a popular playwright and writer for the screen with an audience almost as large as Hemingway's?—"the largest immediate audience ever reached by a serious writer," as *Time* said when he published "The Old Man and the Sea."

This mode of criticism by numbers is a curious development of the literary fashion-making mind, all the stranger when we have seen William Faulkner's novels repeatedly appearing in a series called "good reading for the millions." The idea persists in it that a writer must be worthless if he has more than about five thousand readers, and that everything has changed in this respect since the days of Mark Twain or of Thackeray and Dickens. But with Faulkner selling like bags of peanuts and in view of the enormous sales of Scott Fitzgerald, Wolfe, and so many others, how can we feel that the question of numbers means more or less in our time than it meant fifty or a hundred years ago? As often as not, the best books have always been the most popular books, as "Two Years Before the Mast" was in 1840, when two thousand British sailors in Liverpool bought it on the day it was published and apparently enjoyed it as much as the best critics in England. Is that not really all one can say on the subject? How vast was the contemporary popularity of "The Red Badge of Courage" and of Frank Norris's "The Octopus" a few years later! Norris's book was so popular, in fact, that in order to live undisturbed in Chicago while he was preparing to write "The Pit" he was obliged to go into hiding in the town.

I suggest that this notion is a delayed reaction from the nineteenth-century worship of numbers that Matthew Arnold deplored in one of his essays. It springs from an anti-commercial complex that is deep in the minds of American writers and quite distorts their feeling for the realities of the matter. The fact is that popularity or the reverse of popularity has no connection whatever with the merit of a book. Generally speaking, popular books have two traits in common, a subject of central human interest and a certain vitality in the presentation, and these traits may be found equally in good books and bad. Meanwhile, to call Frost a popular poet, using the word as derogatory, is to keep in reserve no word for common rhymsters.

★

"Pissarro's letters remind me again that no artist should paint to sell." Thus John Sloan, the painter, in one of his notes. "I am always a little shocked to find that these independent French artists expected to make a living from their pictures. Even Millet—so poor and with a large family to support—never considered any other way of making a living."

This indicates an American trait, one we have developed because we live in a society in which money "talks." Because it talks and talks so loud, American artists shrink from it, and even the mere idea of it, like no others in the world, and I suppose that John Sloan would have thought less of himself if he had made a living, or a good living, from his pictures. If, like Picasso, he had made a million dollars, he would have lost all faith in his integrity and talent. This is the psychological twist that drives into communism so many Americans who have made money in the arts.

I call this an American trait because our writers share it—along with the superstition regarding popularity and numbers—and an English friend, a very good novelist who is interested in the "cash nexus" of writing, tells me that American writers are "incurably genteel." He writes to me, "They pretend there is no cash nexus," adding, "It is bad manners in the United States even to allude to what a man gets for his work." The fact is that in all this we are rather prudish, but it is because in this country the commercial world intrudes into every sphere of life. The English mind is safer, or perhaps one should say it used to be, and is therefore freer. Samuel Butler had the same unaffected interest in money that Dr. Johnson had and my friend has, and Trollope, who felt "somewhat as I suppose . . . an undertaker feels when he is called upon to supply a funeral," did not hesitate to "make money-return a first object." Not one of these writers was ever corrupted by either having this interest or professing it frankly. Still, I like our rather airy American notions. They keep alive the feeling that poverty and good work are somehow allied, a valuable feeling where money talks too much.

Germany, Russia, and the West

GERMANY: KEY TO PEACE. By James P. Warburg. Harvard University Press. $4.75.

THE INCOMPATIBLE ALLIES. A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations, 1918-1941. By Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer. The Macmillan Company $5.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN DIPLOMACY, as in all bargaining, it is always wise to ask for more than you hope to get. The other side will do the same. If both are prepared to horse-trade, a viable bargain, quid pro quo, will result. Since Stalin's death Moscow has been prepared to bargain. The crucial question is whether Washington can bargain. On the eve of the delayed Bermuda conference our allies and enemies alike are given to wonder. Our spokesmen, when not wholly preoccupied in chasing "Russian spies," seem to be saying: we will make peace in Korea if the enemy will give us at the conference table what we have been unable to win on the battlefield—that is, control of North Korea by Syngman Rhee. They also seem to be saying: we will conclude a German treaty with Russia provided that the Kremlin will assent to the unification and territorial enlargement of the Reich, rearmed and allied with the United States against the U. S. S. R. If Moscow dissents, this proves that the Russians are "insincere."

These postures are useful if intended for bargaining purposes. But if, as some suspect, they represent inflexible demands, then no negotiation is possible and "cold war" must go on until our allies, who are wiser in these matters, can change our official minds.

Apart from the "Society for the Prevention of World War III" few American voices are raised to question our German policy. The most eloquent and authoritative is that of James P. Warburg, who knows his Germany intimately from long past experience. His new book is erudite, documented, and frightening. His contention is that the rearmament of the Reich as a bulwark against Communist aggression is a course of folly and that a less dangerous solution to the problem of European security can be negotiated. He analyzes in detail the development of American policy since 1945 and concludes, most convincingly, that the course we are now committed to can lead only to disaster.

Mr. Warburg's alternative, which he has presented to sundry high officials and Congressional committees, seems to me partly realistic and partly fanciful. He urges that we propose the restoration to Germany of all the eastern "lost provinces", save East Prussia and Upper Silesia; that the Saar be placed under a "U. N. mandate," pending a plebiscite; that a united Germany be provisionally demilitarized and neutralized; and that an East-West settlement be based on these terms. This trenchant volume is the most important contribution thus far made to a clarification of the riddle

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, professor of government at Williams College, is the author of "The Commonwealth of Man—an Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government."

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of the Reich. I fervently hope it will influence opinion and policy. But the author has neglected the central question: on what terms may Moscow be expected to consent to the liquidation of the East German regime? The answer, I would guess, is: on condition of the *permanent* demilitarization and neutralization of Germany plus Western guaranties of, or at least acquiescence in, the eastern frontiers as they now stand. Warburg's territorial "revisionism" is inconsistent with prevailing demographic realities and with Russian "security" as any regime in Moscow is likely to define it. But he has given us a persuasive and dynamic challenge which none of us, in or out of public life, can afford to ignore.

GUSTAV HILGER, born in Moscow in 1886, was counselor of the German embassy in Russia, 1920-41. With the able editorial and literary aid of Alfred G. Meyer, now assistant professor of political science at the University of Washington, and financial support from the Carnegie Corporation via the Russian Research Center of Harvard, he has written the most complete account yet published of Russian-German relations between world wars. As a German diplomat he did not know, since no German diplomats knew, when Hitler decided to attack Poland in 1939 and Russia in 1941. But as a statesman he knew that these decisions were mad. His recollections are fascinating, both for their exceptional readability and for the many new lights which they throw on the events and personalities of the long armistice.

These memoirs, wisely, avoid generalizing and moralizing. Yet they constitute most impressive support for a familiar thesis, which also lies behind Mr. Warburg's exposition and dates from Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Rathenau, Brockdorff-Rantzau, and even Hitler in his saner moments—that is, that German interests are best served by collaboration with Russia; Germany invites catastrophe by conflict with Russia.

Our policy-makers are currently dedicated to restoring German military might. A rearmed Germany, as Warburg and Hilger both demonstrate, will either "make a deal" with Russia or go to war with Russia, depending upon the wisdom of its rulers. The latter course will mean the ruin of Western Europe. The former will mean German domination of Western Europe. Our statesmen are apparently unaware of the alternatives. If they were aware, they would now seek a German settlement by negotiation with Russia which would preclude both possibilities.

New Books in Brief

A French Intellectual Looks at America

AMERICA DAY BY DAY. By Simone de Beauvoir. Grove Press. $4.

Four months in America gave the author of "The Second Sex" material for a volume of travel impressions that is delightful to read and invaluable for the American who is curious to see his country through the eyes of an intelligent, witty, sensitive Frenchwoman. Her passion was to enter, as far as possible, into the lives of average Americans. She haunted bars and night clubs, quizzed college girls and taxi drivers, argued with intellectuals, and wandered for many hours through Harlem and the slums of Chicago. And always with an eye for the revealing gesture, an ear for the illuminating phrase.

In view of her keenness as an observer, it is a pity that she should also attempt to play the seer, for her interpretations are warped by the standard preconceptions of the French intellectual. "The arid basis of American life is boredom. Boredom and solitude." Or "There is a ruling class which believes that it is serving this entity, 'America,' and the average American serves certain concrete interests that are not his own. That is to say, individual liberty has no concrete reality." Nevertheless, the book, apart from its generalizations, is so good that one regrets the more keenly the failure of the publisher to correct the factual errors inevitable for a writer who saw so much so quickly.

Collision of Ideas

W. B. YEATS AND T. STURGE MOORE: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE 1901-1937. Edited by Ursula Bridge. Oxford. $3.50.

Yeats's versatile friend, T. Sturge Moore, was a poet, playwright, critic, and artist. He often designed the covers of Yeats's books of verse, providing towers and unicorns at Yeats's request, and many of his drawings are reproduced in this volume together with the

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letters pertaining to them. The chief interest of this correspondence, however, is a long and earnest exchange of views on the nature of reality. Against Yeats's belief in the supernatural, Moore constantly urged the claims of the empiric philosophy of Russell, Eddington, and others, only to be met with accounts of visions and miracles. Moore patiently re-expressed his ideas in ever clearer terms, but Yeats was not to be turned from occultism by mere lucidity, for the spiritualism of Madame Blavatsky and the Rosicrucians had had too profound an effect upon him. In addition to fine insights into Yeats's mind, these letters provide an interesting example of the collision of scientific thought with the mysticism that has drifted into Western culture from Asia.

Social Worker's Career

NOR BY POWER. By Morris D. Waldman. International Universities. $6.

Reminiscences of Morris Waldman's professional career as social worker and secretary of organizations, this book will have especial interest for members of the American Jewish Committee. But anyone interested in the operation of voluntary organizations will find in it useful side lights on the relationship between the volunteer and the professional in such activities.

A Musical-Comedy Life

BRING ON THE GIRLS! By P. G. Wodehouse and Guy Bolton. Simon and Schuster. $3.95.

This one reads as though most of the book as well as the lyrics had been written by Mr. Wodehouse. At seventy and more he looks back on a life which seems to have been merry after the fashion of his characters and suggests that he not only wrote musical comedy but lived it. At twenty-eight he came on a visit to New York, decided to stay, met Mr. Bolton and Jerome Kern shortly afterward, began his almost endless collaboration with them, and wrote seventy-two novels and stories on the side. This, apparently, left plenty of time to be a man about town in New York, London, and Hollywood, in all of which places he entered with zest into a gaudy society observed with an eye at once sympathetic and satiric. The best of his often quite funny book is the large collection of anecdotes illustrating the ostentation, vulgarity, and, often, the incredible meanness of producers and players. For all his good humor, no punches are pulled, and there are stories about the still living which would make their hair curl if they were not obviously immune to any such self-conscious reaction. Ziegfeld, always on the verge of bankruptcy but outsplurging Chrysler and Paul Block at Palm Springs, and W. C. Fields, anxiously warning a deferential subordinate not to slam the lid of an aspirin box, are high spots.

CHEYENNE AUTUMN. By Mari Sandoz. McGraw-Hill. $4.50.

That badly overworked word epic can deservedly be used to describe this book. It is the story of the trek in 1878 of a small band of Cheyennes from the Oklahoma reservation to their home territory on the banks of the Yellowstone. The Indian group had been shifted south by government agents who promised that they would be well looked after. But there was nothing sacred about the white man's promise to an Indian, and Oklahoma proved a prison ill provided with food or with medicine for the many sick. Eventually, headed by the old chiefs Dull Knife and Little Wolf, 278 Cheyennes, more than half women and children, stole out of the reservation at night and headed north. They drove off the first squads of troopers that pursued them; they evaded others, and as fall turned into winter they kept steadily moving toward home. Soon the whole West was in an uproar, and 10,000 soldiers were mobilized to hunt down the little band that constantly diminshed as bullets and sickness, hunger and cold, took their toll.

Miss Sandoz has based her story partly on talks with an old Cheyenne woman, a participant in the flight, and other veterans of the frontier, and partly on documentary research. But in the telling she has freely used direct speech and other fictional devices that are rightly frowned upon by historians. Miss Sandoz justifies this breach of the rules by her artistry and the keenness of her ear for the rhythms of Indian speech. Perhaps her reconstruction of this stirring and often horrifying episode is saga rather than chronicle, but it is the kind of saga that illuminates the past by its poetic power.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE life of the theater is not maintained simply through the production of a series of fine new plays. No theater can really flourish if it has wholly to depend on such plays. There are never enough at any given time to make this possible. One of the weaknesses of the American theater is that it tries to live entirely on novelty. We do not see enough of the old plays, we do not have enough small independent theaters like those in Paris, or club theaters—such as the Arts Theater in London (where "The Lady's Not for Burning" was first produced)—or "special" theaters where plays thought to be caviar to the general may be seen.

Despite all our complaints it is not too bold to venture the opinion that New York sees more interesting new plays every season than any other great capital at the present time. Within a certain limited style—the more or less realistic contemporary play—our productions are on as high a level as that of virtually any other theater today. Yet in certain important respects the theaters of London, Paris, Berlin are in a far healthier state than ours. To flourish, the theater needs abundance, variety, and continuity. It needs to be widespread over the entire community on modest as well as on high levels. It needs to form part of a consistent national diet.

It is not essential to a sound theater culture that all the productions achieve or even aim at the first-rate. It is better for people to see even faulty productions of its classic repertory than to see only the best productions of a small number of hot-off-the-griddle hits. For this reason I have always welcomed the production efforts of such organizations as ANTA and the City Center. At worst,

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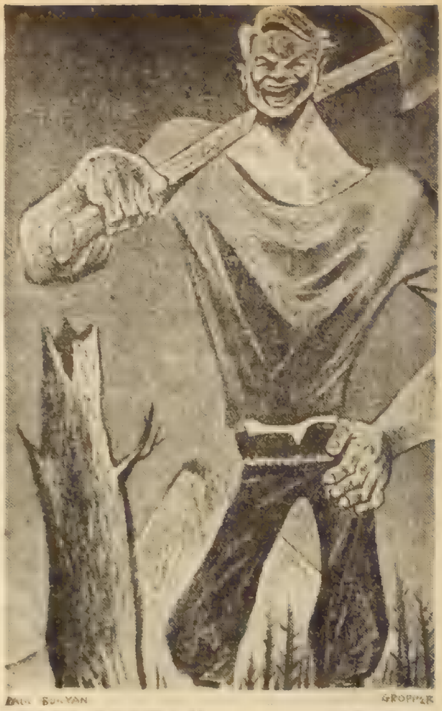

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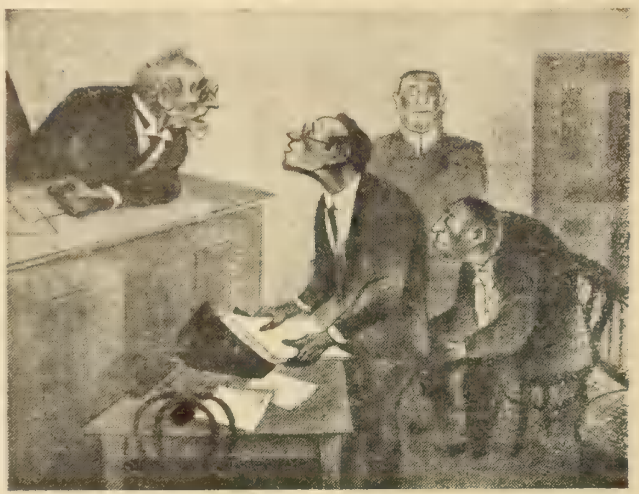

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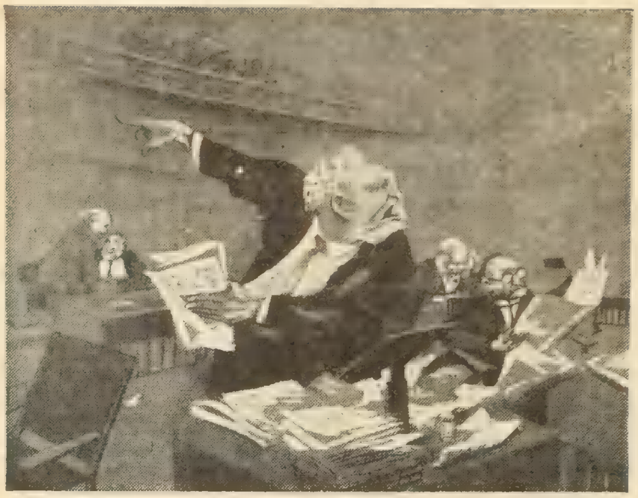

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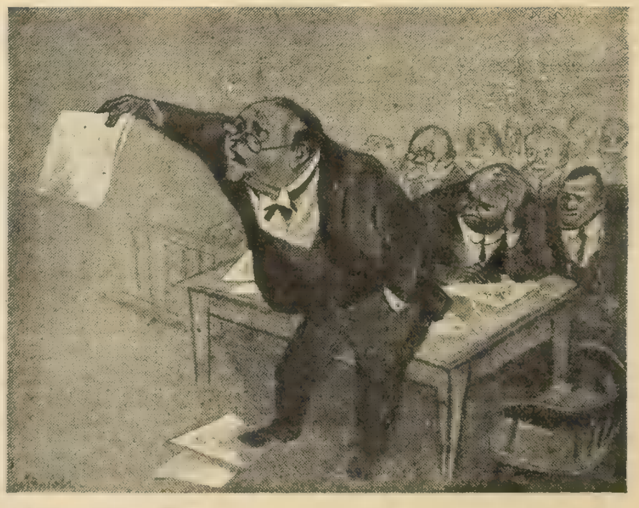

EXHIBIT A **2 Colors**

they were better than much of the so-called commercial product.

The City Center this season began its drama program with a revival of José Ferrer's production of "Cyrano de Bergerac." It was enormously popular—and with good reason. Fustian and all, it is still a thoroughly gratifying play, a play everyone who cares for the theater would enjoy seeing at least once; the City Center's prices are moderate, and José Ferrer is an actor with a great following. I have seen worse productions of the play in Paris, and if that is no high recommendation, I can only say that to see "Cyrano" in a mediocre production is better than not to see it at all.

I prefer "Cyrano" to "The Shrike"—the second bill on the City Center's schedule—though Ferrer is far more suited to his role in the latter play. Ferrer, who is unquestionably a deft performer and an all-around shrewd stage craftsman, has neither the resonance nor range of voice for "Cyrano"; though he has energy and an appreciation of the flamboyant style he has no romantic dash or afflatus. He has intelligence and "verve" but very little lyricism or flow of sentiment. His few good moments in "Cyrano" are the ones which verge on farce—and "Cyrano" is not a role for a farceur. I am looking forward, nevertheless, to Mr. Ferrer's "Richard III."

I approve, too, of the work being done at the Circle in the Square. I do not know whether it is mere accident or a matter of taste, but all the plays I have seen at this theater are plays about the frustration of American women or about the neglected and humiliated sensitive folk of rural places. It is, of course, a good theme, and all the plays I have seen at this Greenwich Village spot interested and sometimes fascinated me, either through the quality of the writing or the talent of the performances. The present production—the first new play I have seen at this theater—"American Gothic" by Victor Wolfson, is no exception to the respectable standard set there.

The new play is a violent tragedy set in the New England of the nineteenth century, somewhat in the vein of Eugene O'Neill's "Diff'rent" and "Desire Under the Elms," or Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome." The play has some soaring scenes, although as it proceeds, its writing and emotional content, as well as some of the acting, become increasingly schematic and skimpy. One is left at the end with the disillusioning sense that the material has been run through a sort of Freudian sieve and that what is left is a rather thin solution lacking in vital substance.

The production is one of the best-composed that the gifted young director, José Quintero, has given us. A sustained and genuine atmosphere is created, there are several touching performances—notably that of Clarice Blackburn—and the ensemble is humanly warm, not—thank heaven—"professional."

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE recordings of some of the 1952 Prades Festival performances are—like those of the earlier festivals—an outstanding event. The volume (Columbia SL-183) devoted to Schubert offers the Piano Trio Op. 99, played by Schneider, Casals, and Istomin (ML-4715); the less frequently heard but no less beautiful Piano Trio Op. 100, played by Schneider, Casals, and Horszowski (ML-4716); one of Schubert's supreme achievements, the String Quintet Op. 163, played by Stern, Schneider,

teristics of the new one are its slower pace, its more detailed and more powerful inflection, and therefore its more powerful expressive effect. Much of the

Katims, Casals, and Tortelier (4714); and on one record (4717) an engaging minor work, the Sonata Op. 162 for violin and piano, played by Szigeti and Hess, and the uninteresting Variations on the song "Trock'ne Blumen" for flute and piano, played by Wummer and Mannes.

As against the lightness and grace of the famous performance of the Trio Op. 99 recorded by Thibaud, Casals, and Cortot twenty-five years ago, the characteristics of the new one are its slower pace, its more detailed and more powerful inflection, and therefore its more powerful expressive effect. Much of the power is contributed by Casals's tone

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and phrasing; but his dominant voice is heard in a beautifully integrated ensemble performance; and this is true also of the performance of the Trio Op. 100, which exhibits a similar power as against the lightness and grace of the old Busch-Serkin Trio performance. Similarly integrated ensemble playing, with Casals not dominating, is heard also in the quintet; and this performance too is slower-paced and more powerful than the old one of the Budapest Quartet and Benar Heifetz. But at the beginning of the slow movement Roisman, in the Budapest performance, plays his part, which is marked *espressivo* in the score, with a sensitive expressive inflection that is lacking in Stern's curiously staccato and perfunctory treatment of the passage. For the rest, Szigeti's unattractive tone is the one flaw in a fine performance of the sonata; and there is no flaw in the performance of the variations.

Played with Columbia's LP bass turnover and treble roll-off the performances sound too heavy down below and insufficiently bright and live on top. And they are heard with the usual counterpoint of clicks and crackles from scratches.

PARISH and Ohl's "Masterpieces of Music Before 1750" (Norton, $5), which I meant to speak of long before this, is a book designed for students of the history of music which gives the texts of a series of pieces from Gregorian chant to Bach in short score—mostly two staves—so that they can be played on the piano or sung. In this way the reader can produce partial realizations of the pieces in sound; and now he can hear the complete realizations provided by the performances of all fifty pieces by Danish soloists and ensembles on three Haydn Society records. The authors of the book claim that their primary requirement in selecting the pieces was that each "be in itself an interesting and beautiful piece of music, well worth performing for the sheer musical enjoyment it can give, aside from any pedagogical purpose"; and listening to the early pieces on the first two records I have found many of them to be in fact interesting and beautiful, but a few to be neither. And listening to the later music of the period I am more familiar with, on the third record, I have wondered why certain examples—*e. g.*, of the harpsichord sonata of Scarlatti, the concerto of Handel—were chosen in preference to the finer ones that were available. Most of the performances are good; but there are stolid playing of the harpsichord by Finn Videro, some acidulous notes from the soprano Ella Simonsen in the Carissimi excerpt, shrill high notes from the sopranos in the Bach chorus *Es war ein wunderlicher Krieg*, and a few tempos—*e. g.*, in the Corelli concerto—that seem to me ineffective. On the last three sides the last piece is afflicted with a hash of distortion; and much of the music is heard with the noises from the inevitable scratches.

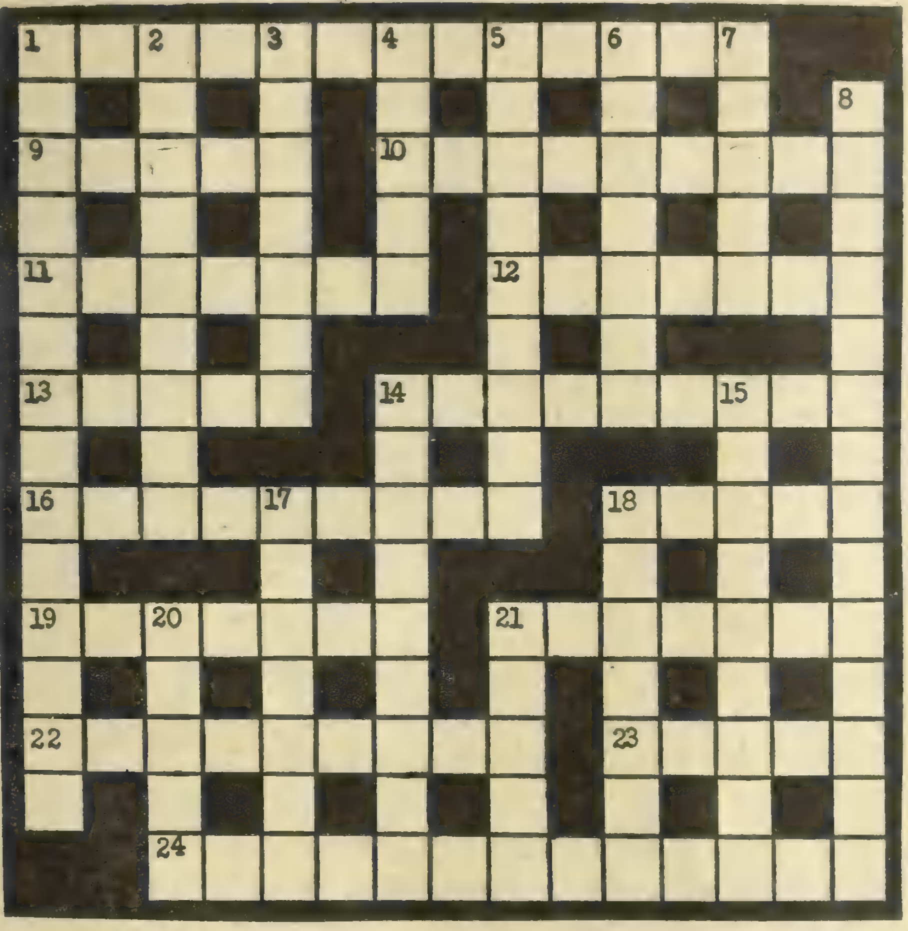
I have had time only to glance through Ralph Kirkpatrick's book "Domenico Scarlatti" (Princeton, $10); but that has been enough to establish his exhaustive report on Scarlatti's life and music as one of the most enlightening and valuable books on music that have come my way. The discussion of the music includes a chapter on Scarlatti's harmony which explains his unorthodox practices as integral with his keyboard style and therefore not to be "corrected" as they were in the Longo edition. It is good to know that the book is being supplemented with an edition of authentic texts of sixty of the sonatas and with recordings of performances of these texts.

Another such valuable product of painstaking research is Fritz Rothschild's "The Lost Tradition in Music: Rhythm and Tempo in J. S. Bach's Time" (Oxford, $12.50). The tradition that was lost after Bach's time was the conventions governing the performance of the music of Bach and his contemporaries—the conventions which enabled musicians to know from the time-signatures and note-values of a piece its tempo and rhythmic character. And it is these conventions that this book explains. The author, I note with interest, is not a scholar but a practising musician—a former leader of the Vienna Symphony and of a string quartet. It is not the musical scholars who came here from Germany but the practising musicians that have made a valuable contribution to our musical life.

And finally there is Walter L. Woodfill's "Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I" (Princeton, $7.50), which establishes "the conditions under which the professional musicians worked, and the place of music in the lives of Englishmen generally."

Crossword Puzzle No. 544

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Some cameras have, but we don't think to use them. (6, 7)
9 The Ancient Mariner said we were the first that ever, into that silent sea. (5)
10 It's a fine point, but the way to get the icon lit up. (9)
11 Neither here nor there? (2, 5)
12 The closest place to throw things? (7)
13 Branch of the peace movement. (5)
14 Attended a sort of this, before being escorted? (9)
16 Exemplified by Schwanda. (9)
18 The one of 13's is a Beethoven oratorio. (5)
19 I'm put in the position of being shot! (7)
21 Pertaining to that symbolized by B. (7)
22 Are they protected by le ciel? (9)
23 Train's hero and I are together. (5)
24 A. M. A. club, usually associated with red organizations? (8, 5)

DOWN

1 Buffer at the Golden Gate? (6, 2, 6)
2 and 6. Is a megaphone? (3, 6, 3, 4)
3 Commonly get excited, so it's in one of 16 directions. (7)
4 Enough, but not quite enough for a specimen. (5)
5 Bulbs, for example, look like a coat with the bottom of the trousers torn. (9)
6 See 2.
7 Hail is evidently a relief. (5)
8 Does he look for quarters on the trail? (5, 9)
14 Pertaining to the story of mixed up ethics, when cutting a caper. (9)
15 Is out of 5, when the physician gets mixed up in it. (9)
17 Stained, as an alternative. (7)
18 Is such bliss sort of war-like? (7)
20 Up-draft in the evening? (5)
21 *Nobis in posse?* It's beastly! (5)

■ ● ■

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 543

ACROSS:—1 ARMED SERVICES; 10 AGRAFFE; 11 CHAIRED; 12 NARRATORS; 13 WIPER; 14 OPTICS; 16 COPY BOOK; 19 SURMISES; 20 ACETIC; 22 CRANE; 23 VARIANCES; 25 OILWELL; 26 PRIMULA; 27 CAUTION LIGHTS.

DOWN:—2 RARER; 3 ENFRANCHISEMENT; 4 STEROL; 5 RECISION; 6 and 8 I'M ALWAYS CHASING RAINBOWS; 7 EN RAPPORT; 9 ODER; 15 TERRA ALBA; 17 KICKSHAW; 18 BENVOLIO; 21 COMPEL; 22 CROP; 24 COURT.

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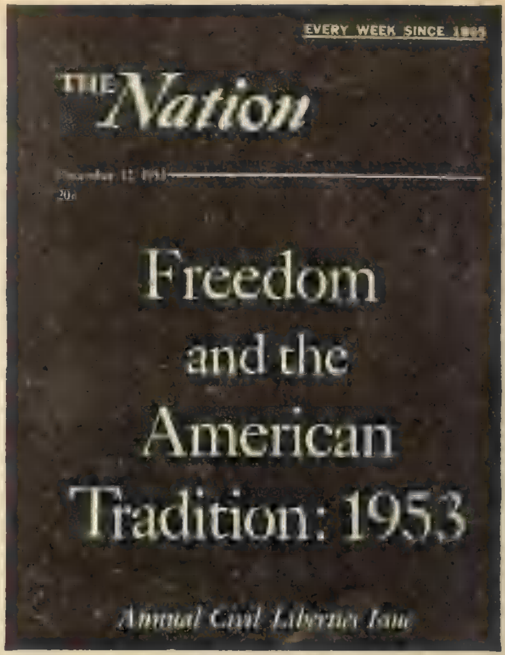

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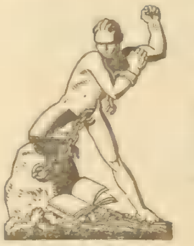

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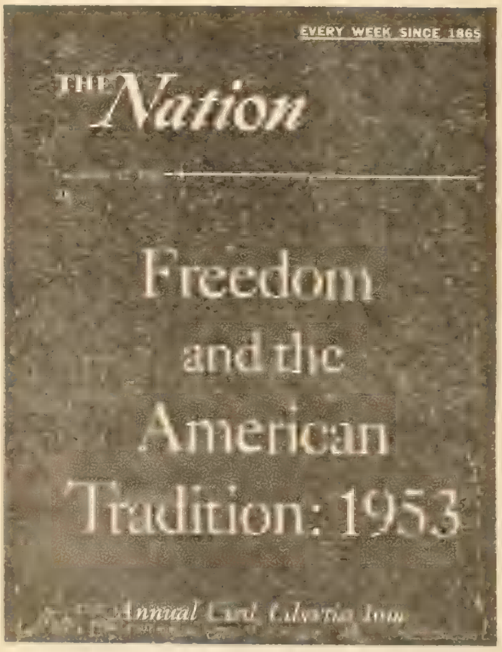

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Volume 177, Number 24
New York, Saturday, December 12, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

SPECIAL CIVIL LIBERTIES ISSUE

FREEDOM AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION: 1953

Bill of Rights Day

WITH civil-liberties issues breaking in thunderous headlines every week, an examination of the continued relevance and integrity of the American tradition becomes a first order of business.

Today both individuals and institutions are afflicted with a form of creeping paralysis which is both an effect and a cause of the crisis of democracy. Organizations that could normally be relied upon to come to the aid of the victims of the witch hunt often fail to act, for the welfare, indeed the very existence, of the organization is threatened by the same forces that have set the witch hunt in motion. In such circumstances it is easy and natural for the bureaucrats to rationalize as follows: the principles to which the institution is dedicated must be "reconsidered" in "the light of new circumstances"; the influence of the institution must not be "frittered away" or used to protect unworthy victims; resources must be husbanded, etc. Many individuals keenly distressed by the witch hunt hesitate to take action for much the same reasons. At what point, the individual asks, am I justified in risking the security of my family to defend a principle in which I believe?

In consequence a leadership vacuum is created enabling a handful of book-burners and other zealots, well organized and knowing precisely what they want, to rack up a seemingly endless list of conquests. Most of these might easily have been avoided if persons devoted to civil liberties had intervened in a timely, coordinated manner. Thus in Los Angeles a fourteen-year-old juvenile delinquent induces the cancellation of an important radio program by gleefully composing a dozen poison-pen letters, written in different hands and signed by different names, which he sends to the sponsors and the station. Or witness the many situations in which giant corporations have capitulated to a handful of fanatics. But this is not to minimize the crisis today confronting American democracy, which has had tragic consequences for thousands of law-abiding citizens.

In such times as ours those who defend civil liberties—and they are always a minority—must do so at considerable personal risk and against unpleasant odds. But unfortunately principles never defend themselves; every social value implicit in the American tradition has been forged in a fire which consumed the lives and hopes of a great many individuals. Today as always the principal defenders of civil liberties are the victims of bigotry; on their behavior, on their courage or the lack of it, the outcome largely depends. In their wretched loneliness these unfortunate ones seek some source of support for the risks they run in defense of principles in which they believe. And as men have always done under such circumstances, they fall back on tradition to sustain them.

AND SO TODAY many people are thinking about the American tradition and its relevance to their moral and political dilemmas and about the price they may be asked to pay for its preservation. Is it adequate to the needs of the times? Will it sustain them? Has it become irrelevant? What is the meaning of Irving Dilliard's comment in this issue that the Bill of Rights would probably fail of adoption in a nation-wide referendum today? If so, is this because we fail to see what is happening or are we deliberately rejecting this tradition? Is it any wonder that the Germans are said to take great satisfaction in the spectacle of the American people, under stress, exhibiting much the same susceptibility to demagoguery and the same failure to take timely action against it that we found inexcusable and inexplicable in them not so long ago?

The crisis of democracy in America is perhaps best indicated by the growing realization of a self-evident but long-neglected fact—namely, that the American tradition is not one thing. Various elements have long been in conflict in this multi-faceted tradition; indeed, this has been its unique quality, for it has forced every generation and every American to affirm that aspect of the tradition which most closely approximates his concept of what it *should be*. For better or worse, we must acknowledge the bastards spawned by the tradition as well as its heroes. Joe McCarthy and Justice William O. Douglas are both products of the American tradition. And so were the Salem witch-burners and Roger Williams, the slave

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traders and Abraham Lincoln, Father Coughlin and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Whittaker Chambers and the late John Jay Chapman. The duality of the tradition—so much in evidence today—confuses the world and breeds confusion in many individuals. And the bigots have served notice that they intend to rewrite this tradition to their liking. The phrase "un-American" surely has quite different meanings for Senators Jenner and Lehman, both of whom are equally patriotic in the sense that both would die for their country—although they could never agree on an answer to that searching question raised in the title of a great book by Alexander Meiklejohn, "What Does America Mean?" The fact that the American tradition has never been given an orthodox definition or an authoritative interpretation has been a source of strength; but today it can be a major weakness, for what we decide to do in the world hinges in no small measure on the way a majority of Americans answer Dr. Meiklejohn's question.

THERE IS also the danger that when we appeal to the "American tradition" we do so in too formal a sense and are then dismayed to discover that since this tradition has no fixed meaning, new meanings must constantly be given the words and phrases of the Bill of Rights if its spirit is to be preserved and made applicable to current needs. There is a real danger in not thinking of the American tradition as living, growing, changing, an attitude of mind and heart—not an aging parchment. More than one person has commented upon the ironies implicit in sending the Freedom Train out across the country, with its cargo of precious documents, during a period when civil rights and civil liberties were being disregarded in many of the cities in which the train stopped. Indeed, the train had to detour certain cities to avoid segregated showings. On Bill of Rights Day (December 15) last year, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence were removed from the Library of Congress and placed, with great fanfare and ceremony, in a shrine under the dome of the National Archives Building in Washington. The emphasis placed on the "security" of the documents themselves—sealed in helium between sheets of glass and then lowered into a fifty-ton safe guaranteed to protect them against every hazard except the loss of meaning—painfully suggested the ritual of interment, as was noted in *The Nation* of December 27, 1952, under the heading: The Bill of Rights—Burial or Resurrection. Then and there we decided to devote an entire issue, as this year's observance of Bill of Rights Day, to the American tradition in all its vital complexity.

The issue opens, therefore, with an exploration by Howard Mumford Jones of certain puzzling aspects of the tradition and its relevance to today's concerns.
—EDITORS THE NATION.

I. THE AMERICAN TRADITION

Certain Unalienable Rights

by Howard Mumford Jones

THE conventional theory of civil rights in the United States pictures these grand but elusive concepts as a set of ideas imported from England at the earliest possible date. They come in neatly wrapped in articles of incorporation for a trading company or in the colonial charters. Out of them American liberty is born. Never clearly defined, these rights serve the colonists as a defense against royal governors, kingly usurpation, and parliamentary interference. Eventually, clad in the armor of a righteous cause, mysterious yet powerful, they play their role in arousing, sustaining, and winning the American Revolution. Then they disappear except for a brief, dramatic entrance in disguise into the Ordinance of 1787. Finally, after a body of great and good men meeting in Philadelphia produce the American Constitution and somehow forget to put any rights into it, friends of the people, like Patrick Henry, arouse the nation, and, as a consequence, the first ten amendments become their permanent home.

All popular historical legends deserve a certain respect, and there is truth in this one. Nevertheless, the over-simplification is very great. Whatever was meant by the "rights of Englishmen" in colonial charters and documents contemporary with them, canny Americans glossed the phrase in one way, and the English glossed it in another. In the earlier eighteenth century, again, the doctrine of rights somehow got entangled with the power to emit paper money, an issue on which the colonists were probably more wrong than right. During and after the French and Indian War "rights" were sometimes a function of economic distress, and economic distress sometimes the result of popular demand for "rights," so that intellectual history becomes complex. It is also interesting to remember that the three rights everybody can quote are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," but that the pursuit of happiness is a legal novelty in a peculiarly American document that has only an indirect relation to the Constitution.

Finally it should be observed that during the debate over that Constitution patriotic Americans often deprecated rights or a bill of rights as a shackle on popular government. Thus Noah Webster, who struggled to establish the American language, wrote in his *American Magazine* in 1787: "A Bill of Rights against the encroachments of Kings and Barons, or against any power independent of the people, is perfectly intelligible; but a Bill of Rights against the encroachments of an elective Legislature, that is, against our *own* enactments on *ourselves,* is a curiosity in government." Indeed, the first ten amendments leave something to be desired as an orderly statement of rights, probably because, like all compromise measures, they were put together under pressure. The ninth and tenth have nothing to do with rights as this word is generally understood. The First Amendment enumerates three, possibly six, rights; the second, third, and fourth, one each; the fifth and sixth are omnibus paragraphs; the seventh establishes two principles of legal practice; and the eighth enumerates three prohibitions against legal tyranny. It is even more astonishing to remember that until the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) the federal Bill of Rights applied to Americans only in their federal capacities, the states being left free to do pretty much as they pleased so long as they retained a republican form of government. Even today only certain provisions in the federal Bill of Rights limit this freedom of the states.

THIS HISTORY is curious, but it is also illuminating. American interest in rights comes and goes; and, moreover, in our national history rights have often had only a pragmatic sanction. They are a matter of more or less, not of absolutes—and I do not refer to the well-worn quotation about crying "Fire!" in a crowded theater. Consider, for instance, the Second Amendment, which guarantees "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms" in the interest of a "well-regulated Militia" "necessary to the security of a free State." Obviously this was intended to prevent citizens being disarmed by a hireling professional army. If, however, any citizen thinks he can use his trusty rifle after the manner of Daniel Boone or the embattled patriots at Moore's Creek Bridge or King's Mountain, he will discover at once how time, custom, law, and the objections of his neighbors combine to cut the plain language of the amendment down to modern size.

In truth the American tradition has never cared much for abstract logic, nor have we characteristically been a people marked in periods of strain by reverence for law. Solemn treaties with Indian nations were at once violated. Mobs destroyed the homes of Stamp Act agents, plundered Loyalist property dur-

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HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, professor of English at Harvard University, is the author of "The Pursuit of Happiness" and other books.

ing the Revolution, tarred and feathered convenient Tories, and in popular uprisings like Shay's Rebellion sought to overthrow the government by force and violence. Virginia City cherishes photographs of the headstones of road agents unlawfully hanged by a vigilante committee perhaps enforcing the law of nature but certainly not the laws of the territory of Montana. The Shepherdson-Graingerford feud and the mob faced down by the cynical but courageous Colonel Sherburn in "Huckleberry Finn" are as typical as Coxey's Army or the embattled farmers preventing foreclosures in Iowa when the sheriff arrived with the papers. Anti-Catholic riots in Charlestown, anti-draft riots in New York, anti-Mormon riots in Illinois prelude anti-Negro riots in Atlanta, Harlem, and Chicago. Contrast standard American behavior in the Homestead Steel strike, the Pullman strike, and the Ludlow coal and iron strike with the orderly fading out of Chartism in 1848 or the picnic atmosphere of the general strike in Great Britain in 1926, and the difference in traditions becomes even clearer.

The fact that the American Civil Liberties Union musters only 25,000 members in a population approaching 170,000,000 is likewise illuminating, if depressing. Persons passionately devoted to civil liberties look upon Senator McCarthy with a jaundiced eye. But the Senator, regardless of tradition or law, is in there pitching, and when you are fighting the savage foe in the manner of Daniel Boone and Leatherstocking, no holds are barred and only scalps count. Lawyers, liberals, philosophers, and others among the effete educated have no business interfering with one who stands at Armageddon and battles for the Lord. So long as any Senator can dramatize himself as an American St. George fighting the Communist Dragon,* anguished appeals to fundamental rights are not going to be wholly effective. Elected representatives of the people are not voting to protect the Dragon in a holy crusade. Our tradition is otherwise.

THERE IS, however, a second traditional American belief that will in the long run come to the assistance of civil rights. This is a compound tradition—sympathy for the under-dog, and a belief in fair play. Even gouging contests in frontier Georgia were governed by a tacit code violation of which removed the citizen from the society of his peers. The basketball "fix" scandal received headlines out of all proportion to the crime if one measures the crime against the serious nature of bribery and corruption in political life, but not out of proportion to our central creed that in sports the rules of right and wrong must be observed with peculiar spiritual chastity. (Of course, there is also the tradition of the cute trick, but even this is within the rules of the game.) And traditional compassion for Major André, Nurse Cavell, and the sleeping sentinel to whom a highway is dedicated in Vermont is one with such expressions as "Don't cheer, boys, the poor devils are dying." Sympathy for the Rosenbergs was undoubtedly whipped up by the Communists; but it could not have been whipped up as it was, were it not for a lurking feeling that the couple had had a raw deal, and were in truth under-dogs.

In a period when the freedom of individual Americans is so circumscribed by government the battle to retain civil rights, especially in borderline cases, must be pressed with tireless vigor. It is probably true that the legal and philosophic meanings of "rights" are of concern only to the passionate few, but the passionate few have won notable victories in our history, once they have appealed to the general sense of fair play and the national sympathy for the under-dog. The greatest triumph for individual freedom in the national past was, of course, the abolition of slavery, a movement produced by the unsleeping dedication of a minority that would be neither silenced nor denied. Less spectacular achievements like the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the attainment of woman suffrage, or the establishment of adequate public-school systems came about in the same way.

PROPER procedures will be forced upon Congressional committees, unofficial agencies boycotting "reds" in the entertainment world, frightened school boards, and other products of our present siege mentality when, and only when, the passionate minority can persuade public opinion that fair play is violated. "Security" agencies are doing a good deal to help the passionate few to achieve this. If more cases like those of James Kutcher and Dorothy Bailey pile up—each discharged from federal employment without trial or after the travesty of one—it will begin to appear that the rules of the game are really being sabotaged. Already Congressional committees or government agencies have made the mistake of attacking, or seeming to attack, such highly respectable women as Mildred McAfee Horton, and such sacrosanct figures as clergymen known to be dedicated to that most radical of lives, a Christian one. By and by the difficulty of getting even a janitor's job in a federal post office without "clearance" is going to affect the garage man around the corner; by and by just one too many school teachers of long service and social sympathy is going to be discharged; by and by the holding up of passports or of visas is going to affect not merely remote figures like symphony conductors or European scientists but the relatives of Joe Glychz, who can't get into the country because of some quirk in the McCarran Act. It is going to take some time for average Americans to discover that what goes on in Washington is not just a television show but something that affects his basic democratic sympathies. When this happens, and I think I see a drift in that direction, in traditional American fashion we shall check or alter our present notions about "security" for the nation—security that ends only too often as insecurity for the little man.

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*Senator McCarthy's latest metaphor is that he is engaged in the most important skunk hunt ever (October 28). The intent of this fragrant figure is, apparently, to indicate not that he who hunts skunks will be defiled, but that the skunk is outside any possible set of game laws; that is, anything and everything is to be permitted the zealous hunter. It is interesting to compare this statement with that of President Abraham Lincoln toward the conclusion of a contest which really endangered the nation and in which the enemy was customarily called "traitors" by the Northern press. "With malice toward none; with charity for all," he said, "let us finish the Civil War."

II. SUPPRESSION BY LAW

When a Justice of the Supreme Court can declare that the pulsebeat of freedom was never more feeble than it is today, it should be apparent that the American tradition is under severe attack. In our view the attack stems from two sources. On the one hand, the cold war has brought about a preoccupation with national defense and a resulting climate of fear and suspicion which has made possible the enactment of certain measures that threaten to subvert the Constitution. The repeal of these measures, however, would not of itself insure the integrity of the American tradition. For the present danger also stems from sources not directly related to the cold war—this aspect of the danger will be discussed in a later section. The following articles deal with the ugly domestic by-products of the cold war—the Smith Act prosecutions, the federal loyalty program, and the McCarran Internal Security Act. The legal structure of the witch hunt rests on this trinity of measures. Congressional inquiries present a special problem.

The Smith Act Prosecutions

by A. L. Wirin and Sam Rosenwein

WHEN the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *United States* v. *Dennis,* on June 4, 1951, upholding the validity of the Smith Act, Cabell Phillips, Washington correspondent for the New York *Times* wrote (June 10, 1951):

> The decision of the Supreme Court Monday upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist Party leaders is one of the most momentous in the recent history of that tribunal. . . . the inescapable fact remains that, for the first time, a political party in the United States has, to all intents and purposes, been put beyond the pale of the law. That, under any circumstances, is a sobering thought for the citizens of the world's freest democracy. . . . The court has given the Department of Justice a long-awaited green light to go after suspected groups and individuals whom it could not touch as long as the party's dogma enjoyed the protection of legal status. . . . it is no secret that in the internal-security section there is a huge backlog of potential prosecutions under the Smith Act which they [department officials] have been sitting on pending the outcome of this case. . . . It is inconceivable that the Department of Justice, with this devastating new weapon in its hands and under the insistent pressure that comes from powerful segments of Congress and the public, will fail to use it freely. . . . this undoing of the Communist Party has been achieved only by a violent upheaval in our judicial concepts. The disenfranchisement of a political party is not an easy price for Americans to pay for any sort of security.

This was shrewd analysis and accurate prognostication. The box score up to the present writing reads somewhat as follows:

In New York City twenty-one so-called "second string" leaders were indicted about a year after the Dennis decision was rendered. Separate trials were granted for two of these defendants because of their illness or physical disabilities. Four others had not been apprehended at the time the case went to trial —one of these persons has recently been arrested. Two defendants were granted judgments of acquittal by the trial court at the close of the prosecution's case. Of the thirteen who were convicted by the jury, seven received sentences of three years' imprisonment and $6,000 fines, five received sentences of two years' imprisonment and $4,000 fines, and one received a sentence of one year's imprisonment and a $2,000 fine. The convicted defendants are on bail pending appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

In Baltimore six persons were indicted in January, 1952, and after a comparatively short trial convicted. One received a sentence of five years, one of four years, three of three years each, one of two years. Each was fined $1,000. An appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit was affirmed by a unanimous court. An application to the Supreme Court for a writ of *certiorari* (permission to appeal) was denied, Justices Black and Douglas dissenting without opinion. All defendants have begun to serve their sentences.

In Pittsburgh five persons—one was granted a separate trial—were convicted and given maximum sentences of five years' imprisonment each. One of the defendants had only shortly before been convicted of violation of a state sedition statute and given a sentence of twenty years. All defendants are on bail pending appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

In Los Angeles the indictment was originally returned against fifteen persons. The trial of one defendant was separated because of his serious illness. The remaining fourteen were convicted, and each received a maximum sentence of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. They are on bail pending appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

In Hawaii seven defendants were indicted and convicted. Six received maximum sentences of five years' imprisonment and $5,000 fines; one received a sentence of three years and a fine of $2,000. All defendants are on bail pending appeal to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

In Seattle the trial of seven defendants recently ended with the jury acquittal of one, and the conviction of the others. Each received a maximum sentence of five years. Four were fined $1,000 and one $5,000. The convictions have been appealed to the Court of Appeals for

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the Ninth Circuit. Pending appeal the defendants are on bail.

The trial of six defendants has begun in Detroit. In St. Louis the trial of five defendants will probably begin about the first of the year. Since the advent of the new Administration and Attorney General Brownell, prosecutions have been instituted in Philadelphia, where nine persons have been arrested, and in Ohio, where ten are being prosecuted.

In summary, about ninety-two persons have been indicted or face indictment for violation of the Smith Act since the decision in the Dennis case. There have been fifty-one convictions and three acquittals. Of the persons convicted, six have begun the service of their sentences while the others are free pending appeals to the Courts of Appeal in the different circuits.

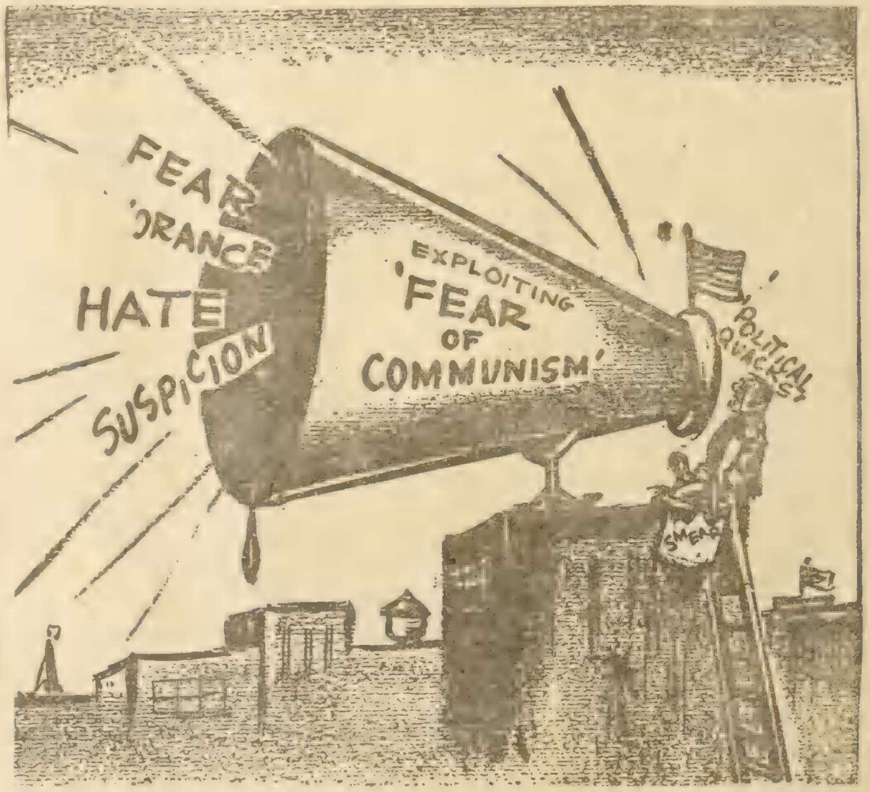
IT IS NOT EASY to classify the defendants who are thus being rounded up in all parts of the country. The common description of "second echelon" or "second string" leaders creates an image of a homogeneous group which does not appear to be substantiated by the evidence adduced at the trials. The records reveal defendants as members and officers of the Communist Party occupying different positions in the various state and local organizations of that party, with varying degrees of responsibility and authority. Some appear to have been members of the party since its inception in the early 1920's; others joined during the depression years of the 30's or after the adoption of the "united front" policies in 1937. A number of the defendants are veterans who served overseas during World War II; all received honorable discharges and some citations and awards for distinguished service. The defendants also include editors and publishers of newspapers and publications alleged to be under Communist Party control, some trade-union officials, persons who have held both elective and appointive public offices, Negro and white leaders in many civic and social organizations, and some professional persons—former school teachers and a lawyer. There have been quite a number of women defendants.

The indictment in each case virtually follows a single form, differing only in names and dates and descriptions of alleged meetings. Each indictment charges the defendants with conspiring among themselves and with the eleven convicted leaders of the party and "divers other persons to the grand jury unknown" to commit offenses prohibited by the Smith Act. This use of the conspiracy weapon is not without significance. The Smith Act makes it an offense punishable by ten years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence; to publish or circulate printed matter advocating the forcible overthrow of the government with intent to so overthrow it; to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who advocate or teach such proscribed doctrine or to become a member of such organization knowing the purposes thereof. No member or officer of the Communist Party has been prosecuted for the commission of any of these substantive offenses. Instead, the general conspiracy statute has been invoked (five years' maximum) with indictments charging only illegal agreements by the defendants *in the future* to advocate and teach, and to organize as the Communist Party a group which allegedly advocates and teaches, the forcible overthrow of the government.

This exploitation of the conspiracy device affords the prosecution some real procedural advantages. In a decision rendered in 1949 Justice Jackson stated:

> The unavailing protests of courts against the growing habit to indict for conspiracy in lieu of prosecuting for the substantive offense itself, or in addition thereto, suggests that loose practice as to this offense constitutes a serious threat to fairness in our administration of justice. . . . when the trial starts, the accused feels the full impact of the conspiracy strategy . . . [he] often is confronted with a hodgepodge of acts and statements by others which he may never have authorized or intended or even known about but which help to persuade the jury of existence of the conspiracy itself. . . . The naive assumption that prejudicial effects can be overcome by instructions to the jury, . . . all practicing lawyers know to be unmitigated fiction.

THE SMITH ACT trials have confirmed the worst fears entertained by those who saw in the enactment of this peace-time sedition law dangers to the liberties of every person in the United States. Lawful assemblies are being given the "dynamic quality of crime," and men and women are being convicted, not for what they did, but for what they said. As Justice Douglas foresaw in his dissent in the Dennis case, the ancient law of conspiracy is being used to turn speech into seditious conduct. How this is being accomplished should be of interest



Courtesy York *Gazette and Daily*

Furthering Only Their Own Ends

to lawyers and laymen alike; for nowhere is it more evident than in the Smith Act prosecutions that "the bell" may be tolling for "thee."

The various trials, with peripheral variations, follow a similar pattern. The practice of the prosecution is to put on the stand a group of F. B. I. paid informants and former members of the Communist Party to identify the defendants as members and officers of the Communist Party who were seen at various meetings of the party. Prosecution witnesses usually testify that they saw Communist Party literature, including the works of Marx, Engel, Lenin, and Stalin, sold or distributed at the meetings or discussed in classes conducted by the Communist Party. These writings are then introduced into evidence on the theory that they serve to establish the "nature and character and aims and objectives of the Communist Party."

The books, pamphlets, and periodicals thus introduced may number as many as five hundred exhibits. They cover a wide variety of historical, philosophical, social, and economic ideas and events which could consume a lifetime of diligent study. Most of these writings were before the United States Supreme Court in 1943 when the court reversed a judgment denaturalizing William Schneiderman, an official of the Communist Party in California (recently convicted in the Los Angeles Smith Act prosecution). The court then stated that "political writings are often over-exaggerated polemics bearing the imprint of the period and the place in which written" and noted in that case that the prosecution "with commendable candor" had conceded that "some Communist literature in respect of force and violence is susceptible of an interpretation more rhetorical than literal."

The practice, nevertheless, in the Smith Act prosecutions is to read excerpts from the different volumes, especially those dealing with the events which preceded the Russian Revolution of 1917, with emphasis on such phrases as "proletarian revolution," "dictatorship of the proletariat," "smash the state machinery," "turn the imperialist war into a civil war," and similar phrases carrying a strong emotional impact. The defendants are generally permitted to read any other excerpts from the same books which they feel explain, modify, or contradict the passages read by the prosecution. As a result, almost half of the stenographer's transcripts, which sometimes are as much as 15,000 pages in length, contain a mishmash of quotations from a myriad of books and pamphlets, with emphasis on the "Communist Manifesto," "State and Revolution," "Foundation of Leninism," "History of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R."

THE WHOLE "battle of quotations" in these Smith Act prosecutions is a futile experience which serves only to pander to emotions and prejudices. A significant fact is that in most cases no attempt is ever made by the prosecution to prove that the particular defendants on trial understood or interpreted these writings as advocating and teaching the forcible overthrow of the government of the United States. The books, and the excerpts, are simply "dumped" on the jury; and the jurors are left free to decide whether the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" are equivalent to the proscribed advocacy and teaching. Since it would take months if not years merely to read the books, let alone to understand them, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Smith Act juries are making their findings concerning the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" on some basis other than full consideration of the documentary evidence.

The professional witnesses, many of whom reappear in the various trials and earn many thousands of dollars for their testimony, serve one other useful function. It is the practice of the prosecutors to ask these witnesses what they heard some Communist teacher or party member say in a class or meeting about the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" or the policies of the Communist Party at a time and place when none of the defendants were present. In nearly every trial the F. B. I. informant relates what some third party—not subject to confrontation or cross-examination—told the F. B. I. informant about the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "revolutionary change" in a classroom or meeting usually in some city or state far distant from the one where the case is being tried. No proof is offered that the particular defendants knew of such statements, or that either the defendants or the Communist Party ever authorized or ratified the statements. As may be expected under such circumstances, the professional witnesses are beginning to give free rein to their imagination, as is evidenced by the contradictions in their testimony at the different trials.

Such testimony of "third-party declarants"—to use the lawyers' phrase—is of course hearsay; but the trial courts are admitting these declarations or statements into evidence upon the legal principle that the declarations of a third-party conspirator in furtherance of a conspiracy are binding upon all other members of the conspiracy, even if the latter were not present when the statements were made. In the Smith Act prosecutions no effort is made to establish by direct or circumstantial evidence that the third-party declarants and the defendants at the trial actually agreed to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence. How, then, do they become "co-conspirators" and thus warrant the admission of palpably hearsay testimony? The answer of the trial courts is this: they, the unseen third parties and the defendants, are all members and officers of the Communist Party! It should be noted parenthetically that Section 4(f) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 specifically provides that neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of any criminal statute.

THE FOREGOING, in broad outline, describes the nature of the evidence now being presented in the Smith Act conspiracy prosecutions—identification of the defendants as members and officers of the Communist Party, readings from Marxist-Leninist books, and the hearsay declarations of alleged teachers and members of the party at meetings and classes. On occasion, some equivocal statement of a particular defendant espousing the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" or the "socialist revolution" is offered into evidence, but it is fair to say that in none of these Smith Act prosecutions has there been substantial evidence of any defendant's specific intent to enter into a conspiracy to advocate and teach the forcible overthrow of the government with intent to accomplish such overthrow as speedily as circumstances would permit.

Most trial courts are permitting the

cases to go to the jury upon the following theory: Since the jurors may themselves conclude that the "principles of Marxism-Leninism" are the same as the advocacy of the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence, and since the Communist Party bases itself upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the jurors may infer that the Communist Party advocates and teaches the forcible overthrow of the government. Since the defendants are all long-time members or officers of the Communist Party, the jury may infer that the defendants knew that the Communist Party advocates the forbidden doctrine. Since the defendants assembled and combined in the Communist Party, the jurors may infer that each defendant intentionally entered into a conspiracy to advocate and teach the forcible overthrow of the government. Since the defendants entered into such conspiracy, the jurors may further infer that the defendants actually intended to advocate and teach such unlawful doctrine. And finally, since defendants entered into the conspiracy with such intent, the jurors may infer that each defendant specifically intended to accomplish the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit. Every meeting of the Communist Party, every utterance of members or officers, no matter how lawful, may be interpreted by the jury as an "overt act" in furtherance of the implied conspiracy. By this process of piling inference upon inference, juries have been convicting defendants who, so far as the record shows, never uttered a word while they were members of the Communist Party, or if they did, said only what many citizens are saying every day in the week.

The acquittal in the Seattle case may be some indication that juries will not always accept the prosecution's inference theory, and the trial judge, in granting judgment of acquittal for two of the defendants in the New York case, indicated quite clearly that mere proof of long-time membership or officership in the Communist Party would not be sufficient to send the case to the jury.

In trials where "inference" substitutes for proof, the efforts of defendants to prove their innocence, to prove the negative, are largely ineffective. The fact that the proof shows only advocacy and teaching of opinions and ideas normally protected from governmental invasion, together with day-to-day activities quite laudable from the viewpoint of the public welfare, is usually held to be not "within the issues," or, at best, defensive material which the jury is free to disregard. If the proof shows frequent disclaimer of the use of force and violence and specific disavowals in the constitution of the Communist Party, there is always a professional witness to testify that this is mere "Aesopianism" or "double talk." In the present political climate, where a jury is free to infer all the essential ingredients of the offense charged in the indictment without direct proof of an individual defendant's wrongdoing, the verdict is generally foregone. This may perhaps explain why, since the trial in the Dennis case, a hush has fallen over the courtrooms as the trial courts seemingly bend over backward to give the defendants all the "due process" they want.

THE "clear and present danger" rule has in operation and effect become a dead letter. A breach was made in the doctrine when the Supreme Court in the Dennis case substituted the "probable"-danger test for the imminent-danger standard of Justices Holmes and Brandeis. A further breach occurred when the issue was withdrawn from the jury as a question of fact and left to the trial judge to decide as a matter of law. Despite the admonition of the Supreme Court, the trial courts are disregarding each defendant's "power to bring about the evil" and the "nature of his activities" as shown in the record, and are simply parroting Justice Vinson's language in the Dennis case about "the inflammable nature of world conditions" and "the touch-and-go nature of our relations with countries with whom [petitioners] were in the very least ideologically attuned." In effect, the obnoxious "bad tendency" test which preceded the formulation of the clear-and-present-danger rule in 1919 has been revived.

There are other factors which complicate the trials in the Smith Act cases. The constitutional guaranty of reasonable bail in criminal prosecutions, for example, seemed for a time to be in serious danger as trial courts responded to the "hydraulic pressures" of the day. United States commissioners were at one time fixing bail as high as $75,000 and $100,000 in these Smith Act prosecutions. In Los Angeles, following the recommendation of the grand jury which returned the indictment, the trial court fixed bail for each of the fifteen defendants at $50,000, principally because four of the defendants in the Dennis case had failed to surrender themselves in New York City after affirmance of their convictions by the Supreme Court. An appeal to the Court of Appeals was affirmed. *Certiorari* was quickly granted by the Supreme Court, which reversed and directed a new hearing in the District Court for the purpose of fixing reasonable bail. The court concluded that the fixing of such high bail before trial could not "be squared with the statutory and constitutional standards for admission to bail." Justice Jackson, in a concurring opinion, states:

> But the protest charges, and the defect in the proceedings below appears to be, that, provoked by the flight of certain Communists after conviction, the government demands and public opinion supports a use of the bail power to keep Communist defendants in jail before conviction. Thus the amount is said to have been fixed, not as a reasonable assurance of their presence at the trial, but also as an assurance they would remain in jail. There seems reason to believe that this may have been the spirit to which the courts below have yielded, and it is contrary to the whole policy and philosophy of bail.

It is not without interest that after a second hearing, following the Supreme Court decision, the District Court still fixed bail at $50,000 for each defendant, without any additional evidence being adduced, and it was thus necessary to appeal again to the Court of Appeals, where bail was fixed at $10,000 and $5,000 for the different defendants. In the meantime the defendants had spent almost four months in jail, with the result that their efforts to retain counsel, to prepare their defense, to raise funds, and to interview witnesses were considerably hampered.

After the conviction of the Los Angeles defendants the same trial court declined to fix bail pending appeal. The Court of Appeals directed it to hold a hearing and determine whether substantial questions were involved in the appeal—the usual ground for granting bail pending appeal—and to fix reasonable bail. The District Court found no "substantial questions" and again denied bail. This time the Court of Appeals, upon its own examination of the case, ruled that there were substantial questions involved and granted bail for each defendant in the sum of $20,000 pending appeal. In Hawaii the District Judge too could find no substantial questions, but again the Court of Appeals disagreed and granted bail, $15,000 each, pending appeal. Since the Supreme Court decision on bail in *Stack* v. *Boyle*, bail in Smith Act prosecutions has been averaging about $10,000 for each defendant prior to trial and $20,000 pending appeal.

IT IS STILL claimed in some of the cases that certain representative groups in the community are being systematically excluded from jury service. No searching examination of the qualifications of the jurors at the time of their selection is normally permitted. The practice is for the lawyers to submit proposed questions to the court, who in turn examines the jury. The opportunity to probe for hidden bias and prejudice is fairly well forestalled.

Defendants who take the stand are invariably asked to identify persons as members of the Communist Party. Since the defendants are reluctant to subject others to possible prosecution and certain loss of job, they have generally declined to answer. This has brought on charges of civil and criminal contempt, the punishment usually being imprisonment at least for the duration of the trial. In Los Angeles one of the defendants, Oleta O'Connor Yates, who declined on cross-examination to identify certain persons as members of the Communist Party was jailed for the duration of the trial and then at the conclusion of her trial given sentences of one and three years' imprisonment for alleged criminal contempt, in addition to the five years' sentence after conviction on the Smith Act charge. These sentences for criminal contempt were also in addition to an order that Mrs. Yates continue to be jailed, pending her appeal from the Smith Act conviction, until the appeal was concluded, and in the event her appeal was successful and a new trial ordered, that she be further imprisoned until she answered questions which might be put to her in such new trial. All these contempt sentences are on appeal; and Mrs. Yates is on bail pending those appeals.

There have been other sentences for civil and criminal contempt. The latest was on October 19, 1953, when the Seattle trial court imposed a three-year prison term on Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, former University of Washington professor, who was called as an expert witness on communism by the defense, and on two defendants who took the stand, Terry Pettus and John Daschbach. In the cases of the latter two, the pattern established by the trial judge in the Los Angeles Smith Act case is followed, the three-year sentences being in addition to the five-year sentence imposed for the convictions under the Smith Act. These sentences too are on appeal and the defendants on bail pending the appeal. Since the price of taking the stand is to become an informer, many defendants appear ready to forgo the giving of testimony in their own behalf.

While publicity will always attend Smith Act prosecutions, it would appear fair to grant continuances of the trial where newspapers make it a practice to publish in serialized form some book written by a former member of the Communist Party just as the trial is about to commence. In Los Angeles publication in serial form of the book "I Lead Three Lives," by Herbert A. Phillbrick, began in the Los Angeles *Times* ten days before the commencement of the trial. A request for continuance was denied. In the same case, just at the conclusion of the arguments of counsel and before the case went to the jury, F. B. I. Director J. Edgar Hoover authorized publication of a sixteen-page report setting forth "documentary proof that the Communist Party, U. S. A., teaches and advocates the overthrow and destruction of the United States government by force and violence." This document, dubbed by the newspapers a "long secret F. B. I. report," received wide press, radio, and television coverage. A motion for mistrial was denied.

Although the Department of Justice concedes wire-tapping in "internal-security cases," no trial court has yet granted defendants a preliminary hear-

Decalogue of McCarthyism

SENATOR HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Let us look more closely at McCarthyism. Let us analyze the characteristics of those who blindly follow its doctrine, the tell-tale marks which identify them—marks which, by no great coincidence, are also those of the Communists:

1. They use and abuse the constitutional protections for the free exchange of ideas but seek to deny these protections to all others.
2. They insist that they and they alone possess the power to determine what is right for everybody.
3. They appeal to fear and passion, never to reason; they do not persuade, they threaten.
4. They understand only dictation and domination, never cooperation and deliberation.
5. They are completely intolerant of opposition or deviation, identifying all opposition as heresy, which they would stamp out by threat and terror.
6. They use and justify the use of any means to achieve their particular ends . . . ends which they consider absolute and unchangeable. Without scruple or compunction they ride roughshod over truth, honor, dignity, and integrity.
7. They fear and distrust new or foreign people and new or foreign ideas; they believe in iron curtains and isolation.
8. They drape themselves in the cloak of patriotism but cynically destroy the soul and spirit of the nation whose name they invoke.
9. They avow respect for religion but stamp ruthlessly under foot all standards of morality; they threaten to subject to their inquisitions even the clergy and the ministry.
10. They are, in short, the arrogant and the absolute, who sit in solemn judgment on the loyalty and morality of their fellow-citizens, all humbled by the sheer effrontery of such a usurpation of Conscience and of God.

This is the decalogue of their characteristics.

ing to determine whether the evidence adduced before the grand jury or trial jury has been obtained in violation of law. In Hawaii, for example, specific evidence was presented by sworn affidavit to the District Court showing that the telephone wires of one of the defendants had been tapped prior to indictment. Although there was no denial of this wire-tapping by the prosecutor or the F. B. I., the court refused to hold any hearing.

THE MOST ominous recent development in the Smith Act cases was the comment by the Seattle trial court, on sentencing the defendants, that if he had occasion to preside over a similar case in the future he would be inclined to take "judicial notice" of the prosecution's version of Communist Party teachings and thus reduce substantially the volume of evidence offered by the prosecution as to the nature and purposes of the Communist Party.

Faced by opposition from liberal as well as some conservative public opinion, Congress did not outlaw the Communist Party by legislative action, but here is outlawry by judicial fiat.

The foregoing will perhaps make clear how serious are the questions now presented for decision to the various United States Courts of Appeal in the country. The affirmance of the Baltimore convictions and the denial of *certiorari* by the Supreme Court are of course an ominous portent, although the Supreme Court has many times stated that the denial of *certiorari* does not necessarily mean approval of what has been said or done in the court below, and no court of coordinate jurisdiction is bound by the decision of another tribunal. One can only hope that the Courts of Appeal and, if necessary, the Supreme Court will reexamine the whole question of the validity of the Smith Act and the prosecutions thereunder, for if the present trend continues, "the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means" may disappear. As Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes warned almost two decades ago, this would indeed undermine "the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government."

The Press and the Bill of Rights

by Irving Dilliard

WHAT I think about the state of our liberties is the blackest thought I have had in my lifetime. I am convinced that the Bill of Rights would not be submitted and ratified as part of the Constitution were it presented in Congress today. I stated my reasons for this belief on November 5 in the second annual Elijah Parish Lovejoy lecture at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, in memory of America's first free-press martyr, who was assassinated by an anti-Abolitionist mob at Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837. Since very few newspapers printed my remarks, I can repeat a few of them with little danger of duplication for readers of *The Nation*.

"No amendment to the Constitution can be adopted without a fighting campaign, and I do not find the press today fighting for the principles and causes that the Bill of Rights embodies. . . . I find no reason to believe therefore that the press would lead a national campaign to adopt the Bill of Rights were its protections and guaranties introduced in Congress today.

"Take, for example, the very first of the historic ten amendments. This is the only one which says that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.'

"There is widespread indifference among newspapers generally to freedom of the press itself, as demonstrated by their attitude in the Wechsler-McCarthy case. Many newspapers never have an editorial which touches the issue of the separation of church and state. Freedom of speech for the individual is often trespassed on without causing so much as a word of protest.

"The right of the people to be secure in their houses and their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures; the guaranty that no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by an oath or an affirmation particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized—these basic protections are trampled time and again, and a large part of the press takes no notice.

"The Fifth Amendment provides that no person 'shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.' This basic protection of an accused person is grounded deep in history. . . . Yet it could not be made a part of the Constitution today. Indeed, there is a campaign on in Washington, supported by many newspapers, to undercut the guaranty against self-incrimination if not to eliminate it altogether. And in saying this I do not approve of the Fifth Amendment's abuse by those who hide behind it.

"I could go through the other guaranties in the Bill of Rights one by one—the guaranty of assistance of counsel for the defense of an accused person, the prohibition against excessive bail, and so on. Many an accused person has gone to prison in recent years lacking assistance of counsel to tell him of his rights, many a time excessive bail is required—with little or no objection in the press.

"In the last decade these protections have been chipped away in local, state, and federal courts, with the final approval, I regret to say, of the United States Supreme Court. Yet few newspapers print enough of Supreme Court opinions in civil-liberties cases for readers to have any notion of what is happening to their rights. . . ."

To this I add that there are of course some editors who are devoted to freedom of the press and the Bill of Rights. But judging by a fair and more or less continuous sampling, they are the exceptions. The rest can prove me wrong very easily: they have only to become jealous guardians of the historic liberties and rights against whose invasion they now almost never raise a finger.

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The Strange Case of Miss X

Anonymous

A FEW days ago, after months of investigation by the F. B. I., a friend of mine was notified that she had been cleared as a loyalty risk and was "suitable" for federal employment. This long-awaited clearance is of little interest to her at the moment: she is in a hospital undergoing shock treatment for a mental collapse brought on by the strain of the investigation.

Perhaps she should have been made of sterner stuff, particularly since her clearance shows that every aspect of her life, past and present, can bear minute inspection. But as one who has been through the ordeal by investigation I understand only too well the state of mind that led to her collapse. Those of us who have grown up in the democratic tradition do not make an easy or rapid psychological adjustment to a police-state atmosphere.

The number of federal employees who have run the gauntlet of investigation as risks to our country's security has already reached many thousand. Most of us, it is true, have been returned to our government positions with loyalty clearances. But the experience will haunt us as long as we live, for we have in effect been on trial for treason. And in the defense which we have had to make we have been denied the simplest safeguards that every civilized nation extends to the prisoner in the dock charged with this gravest of all crimes. We have been given no clear or evidential statement of the charges against us. We have not been allowed to face our accusers or even to know who they are. We have been, by a reversal of all democratic procedures of justice, regarded as guilty unless we could prove our innocence.

I recognize that our government must take reasonable and proper security precautions in these dangerous times. But when this legitimate and essential inquiry broadens into investigations touching upon the private lives and mental processes of several hundred thousand suspects, as it has in the United States today, common sense is abandoned and a nightmare of inquisition is set afoot. In my pre-investigation days I could not have imagined the fantastic lengths to which the loyalty investigations might go. Like many others, I thought that suppression of our fundamental rights could not happen here. In Nazi Germany, yes, and in Communist Russia, but not in the United States of America.

MY PERSONAL experience with the investigative process began during the war years, when I entered the government as a war-service employee. I had never been a Communist or Communist sympathizer. But during the late 1930's I had joined the League for Peace and Democracy, which several years later and long after it had gone out of existence was placed on the Attorney General's list of Communist organizations.

The league is the only organization of any kind to which I have ever belonged, except the Methodist church. But my conscience was so deeply aroused by the Nazi atrocities of the 1930's that I felt morally compelled to take a stand against them with fellow-Americans who shared my horror at this evil. I joined the league as an anti-fascist.

I took a government job in September, 1942. A few months later I was called to the Investigations Office and asked about my membership in the league, which I freely acknowledged. I was also questioned about my alleged membership in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, an organization to which I had never belonged and of which I knew nothing. The F. B. I. man who interviewed me could not have treated a notorious criminal with colder contempt. In reply to my denial of membership in the Committee for Democratic Action, he asked how I could account for the fact that my name was on its mailing list if I had not been a member. I suggested that the committee might have used the membership list of the League for Peace and Democracy as its mailing list. I had laid myself open to the implication of "guilt," he informed me, by belonging to such an organization as the league. "Caesar's wife should be above reproach," he added, "and you can't fall in the mire without coming up muddy." I reminded him that I was not guilty of anything; I had exercised my privilege as a free American in joining the league, and the league had stood years ago for the very principles that our whole nation was now fighting for.

At the close of the interview he dictated to his secretary the gist of our conversation—my acknowledgment of membership in the league and my denial of membership in the Washington committee—and I signed the transcript. A few weeks later I received official notice that I had been rated eligible for federal employment "subject to satisfactory fingerprint clearance." My fingerprints apparently offered no difficulties, for I served the government without question until after the end of the war, when I resigned to accept a better position with a non-governmental organization.

YOU WOULD THINK that suspicion of my loyalty as determining my fitness for government employment might properly end here. But that is not the way these investigations operate.

In January, 1951, at the urgent request of government officials, I reentered federal employment to organize for one of the emergency agencies the same type of service that I had headed during the war years. In the following September I received from the Loyalty Board an interrogatory, vaguely described in the covering form letter as "based on information received," which I was instructed to return, answered and notarized, within ten days. The two opening questions in this interrogatory were the same as those which had been addressed to me nearly ten years earlier—questions concerning my "reported" membership in the League for Peace and Democracy and in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. In reply to these I again acknowledged membership in the league and again denied that I had ever been a member of the committee.

The next two questions introduced new charges. The first, with rather confusing tense references and a sweeping inference, read as follows:

> The commission has received information to the effect that you were sympathetic toward the Communist Party and that you vigorously defended Communists, including Alger Hiss, portraying him as an innocent victim. If the above allegations are true, in whole or in part, please furnish full and complete information below. Include in your answer whether or not you had maintained a sympathetic association with the Communist Party.

In reply to this, I wrote:

> I sympathized with Alger Hiss because I was not convinced that he was guilty and because I was extremely reluctant to accept the testimony of a man like Whittaker Chambers. This does not mean that I have any sympathy whatever with perjury or treason. Many Americans, including some of the jury at the first trial, shared my views on Hiss.
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> I have never defended Communists or communism, either "vigorously" or otherwise, for I am contemptuous of the slave mind, whether Communist or fascist. My own political views, in so far as they are formulated, consist of a firm faith in the gradual and peaceful realization of the democratic ideal. For this very reason, however, along with Justice Black and Justice Douglas, I am disturbed by the present tendency to deny, even to Communists, the traditional rights of all Americans to freedom of thought and freedom of speech.
>
> I have not now, and have never had, a "sympathetic association with the Communist Party." I have no sympathy with any form of violence, aggression, or tyranny over the mind of man.

THE FINAL CHARGE against me was that on my latest application for federal employment (Form 57) I had answered in the negative to Question 27: "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., or any Communist organization?" This charge concluded:

> In view of your reported membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, Communist organizations, please explain fully your reasons for failing to answer Question 27 in the affirmative.

A copy of the Attorney General's list, designating these two organizations as Communist, was attached. My reply to this charge was as follows:

> To the best of my recollection, the application form which I filled out made no reference to the Attorney General's list. I can honestly say that it did not occur to me to give information on my membership in the League for Peace and Democracy in reply to Question 27 as stated.
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> It would have been obviously absurd for me to attempt any deception on this point, for I was fully aware that my membership in the league was a matter of government record. As a war-service employee I was called in for investigation on the basis of this membership, and I was later notified that I had been cleared for government employment.
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> I have pointed out in reply to Question 2 that I was never a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

The interrogatory ended with an invitation for me to "note hereon any comments you desire to make regarding your loyalty to the United States which you believe should be considered in determining your suitability for federal employment." Revolted by their expectation that I would shape up a little essay of self-adulation, I replied:

> I have puzzled over this section of your interrogatory for a long time, because I wish to cooperate fully with the Loyalty Board and furnish all information at my command relevant to my suitability for federal employment. But even at the risk of my livelihood I find it impossible to comply with your request and keep my self-respect as an American citizen. I know that I am a good American and that there is nothing in my life to the contrary; but I do not know how, with any propriety, to count the ways and make a little list of my particular virtues that would establish this fact.

An interrogatory of this sort has one inescapable and, I think, potentially morbid psychological effect upon its subject, quite apart from his rational anxiety over its threat to his livelihood and reputation. Each charge against him is couched in mysterious terms—"It is reported that . . ."; "The commission has received information to the effect that . . ."

For hours after I received my interrogatory I found myself wondering who was my unknown enemy. I tried desperately to recall every occasion on which I had discussed the Hiss case and with whom. Finally I resolved to learn, as men and women in totalitarian countries have learned, to speak my thoughts on public matters with great discretion in the future.

AFTER SENDING the Loyalty Board my reply in September, 1951, I waited anxiously until the following January for further word on my case. It came in the form of a letter to the Director of Personnel in my department—a carbon copy of which was sent to me—ordering that I be dismissed from my government post. I had been rated eligible on loyalty, the letter said, but ineligible on suitability for federal employment. The reason given for this judgment was that I had made "an apparently deliberate false statement" on my application form in answering "No" to Question 27 regarding present or past membership in the Communist Party, U. S. A., or any Communist organization. The evidential findings on which this decision was based were summarized as follows:

> Investigation revealed that, as of the winter of 1940-41, her name appeared on the list of the members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. The commission's files show that she was questioned about this membership in connection with a previous period of federal employment at which time she denied that she had been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action but admitted that she had been a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Washington Committee for Democratic Action succeeded the American League for Peace and Democracy upon the dissolution of the latter, and both organizations have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of E. O. 9835.

The Loyalty Board was willing to grant my case further consideration, the letter concluded, if either my department or I presented "additional facts" in writing within thirty days; and pending decision of such an appeal my department could, at its discretion, retain my services.

I had no additional facts to present. I had already given all information that had been asked of me, and everyone that I had ever known socially or professionally had also been questioned minutely about me, as I learned from many sources. Even the girls at the telephone desk in the apartment house where I live had been asked about my personal habits and private life.

Sick in spirit and body—my medical costs for what my doctor called "nervous exhaustion" now amounted to almost $200—I was ready to give up at this stage and leave government service with an indelible stigma on my name. Many persons who are equally innocent of the charges brought against them by the security officials do undoubtedly drop the fight out of sheer exhaustion and cynical despair; they swell the statistics, of course, on the number of dangerous government employees from whom America has been saved. My salvation lay in the fact—I might almost say, in the accident—that the director of my office was a man of moral courage. Such courage is rare in Washington nowadays, for even high government officials are cowed by the spirit of inquisition. My director urged me not to quit the fight, and upon his persuasion I replied to the Loyalty Board's ultimatum. He also wrote to the board, attesting to the integrity of my character and to the faithfulness and competence with which I had performed my duties.

In my reply I stated at the outset that I had no additional facts upon which to request further consideration of my case, for all the facts about me were already at the board's disposal. The body of my defense was little more than a reiteration of points which I had already made in reply to the board's interrogatory.

SIX WEEKS after the order for my dismissal was issued, I received my last communication, to date, bearing upon the question of my suitability for government employment. In it I was informed that the original decision on me had been reversed and that the request for my dismissal was being withdrawn in view of the additional evidence submitted by me and the representations made in my behalf.

The decision to spare me must have been based on exactly the same facts as the decision to destroy me. I could not escape the conclusion, therefore, that my fate, whether for good or evil, was being determined by an arbitrary and capricious power. Moreover, although my last-minute rescue did lift from my mind a heavy weight of anxiety over my immediate future, it offered me no assurance that the great question was now settled and that I would be allowed to live out the rest of my simple, quiet, harmless little life in peace. My apprehension on this point was well justified, as the newly formulated security program indicates. This program, which went into effect on May 27, 1953, provides for the reopening and review of all old cases in which, as in mine, "field investigations" have been made by the F. B. I. If I remain in the federal service, therefore, I must stand ready to play the role of mouse for a third time in this cat-and-mouse game with the security officials.

The avowed intention to reopen some fifteen thousand cases like mine shows that the new inquisitors will not be outdone by their predecessors in violating the traditions of freedom. In spite of differences in emphasis and procedure, the basic pattern remains the same: free opinion under fire, lawful association a ground for suspicion, discharge from federal service on the undisclosed testimony of unnamed informers. The inquiry, however, will invade private lives even more extensively than under the earlier program, and the safeguards that previously existed in provisions for review and appeal of the charges have been removed. Attorney General Brownell has said that government employment is a privilege, not a right. That may be so. But surely even a government employee has a right to something better than dismissal and disgrace as a security risk to his country because he is said to have remarked to somebody somewhere that he does not subscribe to the political philosophy of the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

As an American I have faith in the people. In this anxious period of real and imagined danger, they have been temporarily misled by demagogy into a mass hysteria that victimizes the social-minded and unorthodox members of the community. But I am confident that the senseless repression will pass, like the Salem witchcraft madness, in a wave of revulsion against its excesses, and that America will again dare to be the land of the free, the last best hope of men.

Those Who Speak Loudest

SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

I think it is high time for the United States Senate and its members to do some soul searching—for us to weigh our consciences—on the way we are performing our duty to the people of America, on the way we are using or abusing our individual powers and privileges. I think that it is high time we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think that it is high time we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism: namely, the right to criticize; the right to hold unpopular beliefs; the right to protest; the right of independent thought. The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs—who of us doesn't? Otherwise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as "Communists" or "fascists" by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

Tooling Up for Mass Repression

by Laurent B. Frantz

EVEN persons acutely conscious of the importance of civil liberties are usually but dimly aware of the existence of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Most Americans have probably never heard of it. The newspapers have largely ignored it. Yet this tribunal may have a more disastrous impact on traditional American liberties than all the sedition legislation, spy scares, "loyalty" tests and oaths, and investigations of opinion that have preceded it.

It is sixteen years since Martin Dies, the premature McCarthyite, made the seminal discovery that Communists support most of the short-range objectives of progressives, liberals, New Dealers, and trade unionists, and that that fact may profitably be confused with support by the latter groups for the long-range objectives of the Communists. American reaction in the intervening years has been chiefly engaged in exploring the political potentialities of this false equation. A governmental board empowered to decide what activities are "subversive" and to control them was the natural outcome.

Yet while there has been no dramatic break in the line of development, the Subversive Activities Control Board represents a significant change of pace. As Franklin Roosevelt once noted, "the judicial process requires to be supplemented by the administrative tribunal wherever there is a necessity for deciding issues on a quantity-production basis." We are moving from political trials of individuals to political trials of groups and movements. Repression is tooling up for mass production.

The board derives its existence and powers from the McCarran Act, more formally known as the Internal Security Act of 1950. This was an omnibus measure, produced when the Eighty-first Congress, puzzled by the relative merits of several rival schemes for the curtailment of liberty, resolved the matter by combining them all into one. The part of the act which creates the board and defines its functions is a revision of the Mundt-Nixon bill which the House Committee on Un-American Activities proposed to Congress in 1948.

The committee offered its original bill as an alternative to proposals that the Communist Party be openly outlawed. A possible element in its calculation was the fact that its only previous legislative effort had been held unconstitutional as a "bill of attainder," which means that it imposed punishment based on a legislative finding of guilt. Representative (now Vice-President) Richard M. Nixon, a member of the committee and co-author of the original bill, testifying later in favor of the measure finally adopted, stated: ". . . we came to the conclusion that naming the Communist Party by name and attempting to build the entire registration provisions around such a definition was an unconstitutional approach, and consequently the committee attempted to find a legislative device for meeting the problem in a constitutional manner."

This bit of official history is revealing, but it evidently does not tell the whole story. One does not create and staff a permanent governmental body for the trial of a single case. The Communist Party, after all, can be tried only once and then the board must devote itself to the pursuit of organizations whose objectives are more immediate and have at least some non-Communist support. Thus its long-range function must necessarily be the application of Mr. Dies's principle that anything from civil liberties to rent control is subversive if the Communists are for it.

The "legislative device" invented by the House Committee on Un-American Activities begins with a series of Congressional findings on the evil intentions of "the world Communist movement" and "the Communist movement in the United States." The fact that this eloquent denunciation does not refer to the Communist Party by name is supposed to insulate it from constitutional objections to legislative findings of guilt.

EQUIPPED WITH these prefabricated opinions on the significance of the matters to be adjudicated, the board sits in judgment on any organization which the Attorney General sees fit to hale before it. If it finds an association to be a "Communist action organization" (a term apparently intended to refer only to the Communist Party) or a "Communist front," it does not formally proscribe it. It merely orders the organization to register. The distinction, however, seems to be largely theoretical. In view of the descriptions embodied in the act and the legal and practical consequences of such a registration, the order is, in effect, that the organization plead guilty to being a public enemy and extend its chin to receive the consequences.

"Fronts" must list officers and sources of funds. "Action" organizations must list these, plus members and all who have been members during the preceding twelve months. It seems probable, though the act does not make this wholly clear, that "fronts" must also give what amounts to a list of members by itemizing the source of all dues payments. All lists must be renewed annually.

In connection with other parts of the act, these lists may be of sinister significance. Thus, Section 4(a) makes it a felony, subject to ten years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine, "for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship" under foreign control. This is by far the vaguest and most sweeping sedition statute ever enacted in the United States. It could fairly easily be

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LAURENT B. FRANTZ was co-author with Norman Redlich of the widely read article Does Silence Mean Guilt? in The Nation *of June 6.*

construed to apply to such acts as selling the *Daily Worker,* campaigning for a Communist candidate, contributing to the legal defense of an accused Communist, or petitioning for the repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950. The prosecutor, moreover, need not restrict himself to past acts. He can select any organizational objective, however remote, as an "act" which all members have "combined, conspired, or agreed" to perform. Fearful that this section might cause the registration provisions to be held unconstitutional as involving compulsory self-incrimination, the drafters have provided that registration of any person under the act shall not be received in evidence against him in a Section 4(a) prosecution. Nothing, however, prevents the prosecutor from using the registration list as a source of leads and of possible defendants.

Any such list would also have significance in connection with Title II of the act, which provides that in case of invasion, declaration of war, or insurrection in aid of a foreign enemy the President may proclaim an "internal-security emergency." When such proclamation is in effect, the Attorney General is "authorized to apprehend and by order detain" for the duration of the emergency "each person as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." Although six camps have already been placed in readiness, this provision seems to be little known as yet, even to lawyers. A report on it produced a major sensation at a recent conference of the California state bar. Members or supporters of any organization which complied with a registration order would clearly form a handy check list of candidates for the concentration camp.

Members of registered organizations would be under automatic disabilities with respect to the use of passports and eligibility for government or defense employment. But the most pervasive and coercive effect of registration would be to supply a government-sponsored black list of persons who, in the name of patriotism, could be systematically denied an opportunity to earn a living.

If the organization survived at all after being compelled to subject its members and supporters to such reprisals, it would lead a branded existence, somewhat reminiscent of the time when Jews were compelled to wear the Star of David for easy identification. For example, anything sent through the mail and intended for two or more persons would have to be stamped "Disseminated by ——, a Communist organization." Since this must appear both on the document and on the outside wrapper, it clearly is intended not only to warn the recipient of threatened ideological contamination but also, if possible, to frighten him into requesting that his name be removed from the mailing list. A "front" organization which existed for some limited objective like rent control, civil liberties, or aid to refugees from Franco could function only by constantly red-baiting its own program. It would thus lose whatever effectiveness it might have had, either to Communists or to non-Communists, as a vehicle for that program.

THESE CONSEQUENCES of registration are not important in themselves, since there are unlikely to be any registrations. They are important because their total impact makes it a fairly safe bet that no organization will ever prefer registration to going out of existence—the drafters of the bill must have known this and taken it into account. If this is true, arguments that the act will "force Communist activities into the open" are either naive or dishonest. Efforts to justify the measure by reference to compulsory registration of lobbyists and reporting of political-campaign contributions rest on a false analogy. The registration provisions are merely a "legislative device" for accomplishing one thing while pretending to do another.

Non-compliance with a registration order, however, brings into view the act's real teeth, as distinguished from its numerous false ones. Failure to register makes the organization and each officer under a duty to register it subject to a $10,000 fine, plus five years' imprisonment. Members can be ordered to register personally and upon failure to do so are subject to the same penalties. Since each day of failure to register is a separate offense, fines sufficient to convert all the organization's assets into government property—and prison terms

Senator McCarran

sufficient to keep the individuals behind bars for life—can be accumulated in a few weeks.

This last step in the "legislative device" is the application of an approach new in our law but being resorted to with increasing frequency. It may, until a better name is found, be called the go-hang-yourself technique. It consists in ordering someone, on the ground that he is an undesirable character, to take some action highly injurious to himself. You then punish him, not for being an undesirable character, but for disobeying the order. Another example, found elsewhere in this same McCarran Act, is a provision making it a felony for an alien under final order of deportation to fail to make timely and good-faith efforts to deport himself. The use of economic sanctions to punish persons unwilling to testify against themselves is an instance of the same tendency. Its effect, in the McCarran Act registration provisions, is that a voluntary association may be hounded out of existence, not for anything it has been or done, but for its refusal to commit suicide when so ordered.

THE administration of this remarkable piece of legislation is in the hands, not of the Subversive Activities Control Board, but of the Attorney General. As the hearing tribunal and fact-finder, however, the board has important authority to determine the shape and limits of what the Attorney General will do. After its creation in October, 1950, the board spent more than two years on the petition of the Attorney General that the Communist Party be ordered to register as a "Communist action organization." The stenographic record of this proceeding ran 14,413 pages and there were 507 exhibits, many of them full-length books. To date the Communist Party is the only organization against which the board has issued an order, but the Attorney General has filed petitions to proceed with hearings and findings against twelve "front" organizations. The first year was devoted not so much to the Communist Party case, however, as to the systematic McCarranization of the board, under personal supervision of the Democratic McCarthy from Nevada.

Senator McCarran was in the peculiar position of being the sponsor and nominal author of legislation finding "the Communist movement in the United States" to be an agency of a foreign power and at the same time the chairman of the committee passing on the names of board members appointed by the President to make an impartial determination as to whether the Senator's findings were correct. He took full advantage of this position. Senate confirmation of the board was withheld for nearly a year—during most of which time the Communist Party case was on trial before persons uncomfortably awaiting confirmation—before McCarran was finally satisfied.

THE FIRST chairman of the board—and Senator McCarran's first target—was Seth W. Richardson, a highly respected and very conservative Republican. The main charge against him was that as chairman of the government's Loyalty Review Board he had shown "softness" toward "Communists" by permitting clearance of too high a proportion of government employees accused of "disloyalty." He was also suspected of softness toward New Dealers, since he had been counsel to the investigating committee headed by Owen J. Roberts, Republican former Supreme Court justice, which failed to find the Roosevelt Administration guilty of culpable negligence in connection with the Pearl Harbor disaster. Like many of the government employees whose cases he had reviewed, Mr. Richardson was also up against a "sympathetic association" charge: he was a former law partner of Joseph E. Davies, author of "Mission to Moscow," an un-McCarranite book. There were no hearings. After eight months in office Mr. Richardson resigned unconfirmed, for reasons of health.

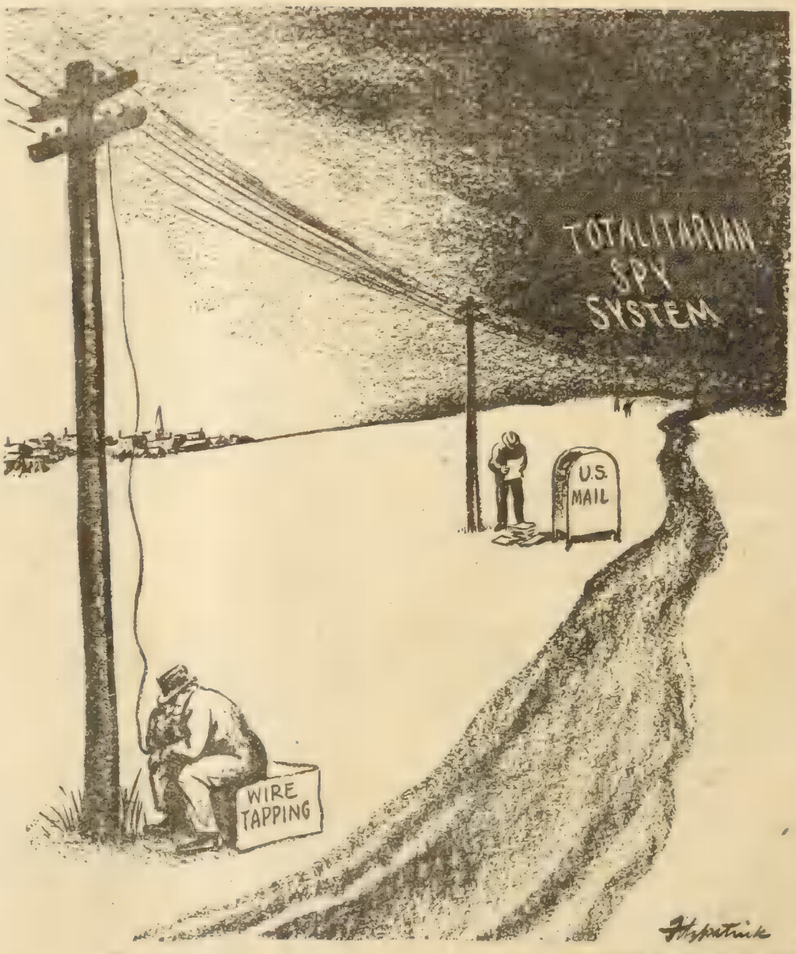
Charles M. LaFollette, one of the original and still unconfirmed board members, was appointed acting chairman after he had served as chairman of the panel hearing the Communist Party case. Mr. LaFollette, however, was also a "sympathetic association" case, having been an officer of Americans for Democratic Action, an organization which is anti-Communist but not anti-Communist enough to suit Senator McCarran.

The subcommittee studying the confirmation of board members actually voted to request the F. B. I. files on each of President Truman's appointees. The Communist Party, contending that a board exposed to such pressures could not be expected to show the impartiality formally required of it, tried to get the hearings delayed pending Senate confirmation of the nominees, but the board denied the motion.

The Communist Party was not alone in finding an inconsistency between the board's uncomfortable situation and its responsibilities. The Washington *Post* commented editorially:

> There is no doubt, as the board's chairman, Seth Richardson, declared, that "the board has lawful power to convene this hearing." Unhappily, however, there is a great deal of force to the contention put forward by Vito Marcantonio [counsel for the Communist Party] that "this board sits in jeopardy, and if at any time it takes a view contrary to that of the chairman of the Senate committee (Senator Pat McCarran) which is to pass on its nominations the members may never be confirmed in the positions to which they have been appointed." . . . The board entirely lacks the independence necessary to its quasi-judicial function.

Although the board uniformly denied all motions made in behalf of the Communist Party, the ultra-rightists in Congress remained dissatisfied. There was an attempt in the House to eliminate the board's budget from the appropriations bill on the ground that its members were not "interested in fighting communism." This move failed, but



Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

The Road to Ruin

the $620,000 requested for the board by President Truman was cut to $235,000.

Mr. LaFollette at one point withdrew as chairman of the hearing panel, charging that government counsel treated him with "disdain" and communicated this attitude to government witnesses, so that he was no longer able to conduct an orderly hearing.

Ultimately, the four members of the board who remained after the Richardson resignation were summoned to the Capitol for a "get acquainted" meeting with the members of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. After this interesting but unfortunately unrecorded session, three of the four were at last confirmed, but no action was taken on the nomination of LaFollette. When the three were confirmed, the board had been in existence more than nine months, the Communist Party case had been before it more than eight months, and the actual hearing of testimony had gone on more than three months.

On withdrawing from the panel, Mr. LaFollette remarked of his fellow-member, Peter Campbell Brown, formerly of the staff of the Department of Justice: "We will have speedier hearings, I am sure, because the panel member, Mr. Brown, whom I have asked to preside from now on, has already evidenced the remarkable capacity to make speedy rulings upon all objections. . . . The fact that they almost uniformly amount to a sustaining of any position taken by the petitioner [the Attorney General] and a rejection of any position taken by the respondent [Communist Party] is purely coincidental, I am sure."

When LaFollette's recess appointment expired without Senate action, Brown became chairman of both the board and the panel. At the conclusion of the Communist Party case Brown resigned and was succeeded by Thomas J. Herbert, Ohio Republican appointed by President Eisenhower; Herbert is presiding over the fate of the organizations accused of being "fronts."

NO ONE was much surprised when the board, in April of this year, found the Communist Party to be a "Communist-action organization" as defined in the act and ordered it to register. Though the result was foreordained, some of the methods by which it was reached are of interest. It is instructive to remember that for some years before the McCarran Act we had laws on the books requiring the registration of any agent of a foreign principal and of any organization which aims to control by force or to overthrow the government. The present registration provisions, in so far as they are directed at the Communist Party, are inspired in part by the testimony of Attorney General, now Supreme Court Justice, Tom Clark that he had been unable to obtain evidence sufficient to prosecute Communists for failure to register under these acts. The purpose of the new act, therefore, was not to create registration requirements aimed at the Communist Party but rather (1) to transfer the fact determination from the regular courts to a specially created board, (2) to authorize this board to draw inferences of foreign control from ideological evidence, and (3) to extend the registration requirements to organizations deemed to be "Communist fronts."

In dealing with the Communist Party the difficulties of proving foreign "control" or "domination" become immediately apparent despite the fact that many persons might assume that this matter could be easily determined. The difficulties stem from the question of what is meant by control. It cannot mean actual physical control, in the sense, for example, that the Red Army could enforce Soviet decisions on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The transfer of funds might be an important element, but there seems to be little evidence, if any, of the use of "Moscow gold." Inevitably, therefore, the exploration gets back to some ideological measure or standard of control. A group of people, it is argued, have agreed to believe rigidly in certain concepts promulgated by a foreign power and to urge others to accept these concepts. As part of their indoctrination, they have agreed in advance to change their views, from time to time, at the behest of the same foreign power. But merely to state this standard of proof should be sufficient to indicate its dangers. Many organizations—nationality groups, for example—steadily support the "line" of a foreign power.

Apart from this, our government has never insisted on its right to promulgate a fixed, official line of its own. Yet this is exactly what is involved in the insistence that all those who believe our policy should be changed to conform to the programs of another government are "agents" of that government. To take such a position precludes significant debate on vital issues of foreign policy. Hence the attempt to prove foreign domination by reference to an ideological standard leads back to the basic proposition that only overt acts should be punished, not beliefs, not even the agreement in advance to adhere to a particular belief, for such an agreement is, after all, still a belief.

IN APPLYING the ideological test in this first case the board found it to be quite unimportant whether the Russian or the American expression was the earlier. It also refused, on the ground of irrelevance, to permit the Communist Party to show that many of the views used as tests of non-deviation had been shared by a considerable portion of the non-Communist world. The test would thus be equally valid to show that the Soviet Union is controlled and dominated by the Communist Party of the United States if that were the desired result. It would also, if sound, go far to show that the board is controlled and dominated by the Department of Justice, since its report does not deviate by a hair's breadth from the department's contentions on all the numerous and complex issues presented for determination.

The Communist Party, of course, argued that there was nothing inherently improbable about two organizations applying the same theory to given facts and arriving independently at the same result. In answer to this the board cut many Gordian knots by deciding that the theory is itself the organ of control. Thus the board finds that Marxism-Leninism "has been promulgated and issued by the Soviet Union as the overall philosophy, authoritative rules, directives, and instructions governing the world Communist movement" and that "the [Marxist-Leninist] classics are one of the chief means by which the C. P. S. U. directs, dominates, and controls the C. P. U. S. A." The board does not hesitate, either, to plunge into obscure doctrinal disputes, deciding which of the possible interpretations is true Marxism-Leninism and then pinning that interpretation on the protesting Communist Party. Thus the board remarks: "In view of the divergence of testimony of witnesses for Petitioner and those of Respondent concerning the meaning and application of this tenet [dictatorship of the proletariat], we have taken particular pains to ascertain its real character. It is best understood from the volume . . . Lenin's postulates on this question make clear. . . ." And again: "Adherence to Marxism-Leninism, as its principles and precepts are stated in the Classics, is completely incompatible with Respondent's contention. . . ."

THE BOARD'S permanent function, however, for which the Communist case is merely a legal opening gambit, is the control of the principle of voluntary association.

This is indeed an awesome power. Tocqueville, more than a century ago, found this principle to be a basic characteristic of American institutions. "Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions," he said, "constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, extensive or restricted, enormous or diminutive. If it be proposed to advance some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society." It may be seriously contended that these associations have played an even greater part in making change possible by democratic methods than the amorphous political parties, which have often tried to be all things to all men and have seldom been willing to embrace any new idea until it had first been thoroughly popularized by associations. Certainly a new idea will have little impact on a society subjected to radio, television, movies, and the daily press unless it has some organized backing. Consequently, the traditional freedoms of which we are more acutely conscious, those of speech, press, and religion, are of little practical value without freedom of association.

It is thus an event of no slight importance that we now have a board of five persons empowered to sit in judgment on any organization and to issue orders capable of destroying it. Since organizations will be judged in large part by the causes they promote, this is also a power over the fate of the causes themselves.

The twelve petitions already filed by the Attorney General give some hint as to the type of accusation the board will be called upon to try. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the petitions, but an examination of five of them—those against the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Civil Rights Congress, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign-Born—reveals the following significant facts:

SECURITY SCREEN
FOR GOVERNMENT JOBS

Each of the organizations is accused of having persons in its leadership who are also Communists. It is not stated who these persons are, what positions they hold, whether they were democratically elected, whether they are known as Communists to the other members. It is not alleged—and the Attorney General, therefore, presumably considers it unnecessary to prove—that these persons used the organization for any unlawful or immoral purpose, for any purpose inconsistent with the maintenance of democratic capitalism, for any purpose outside the scope of the organization's professed objectives, or even for any purpose not known to and approved by the membership.

Each is accused of having "received favorable publicity and support through the Communist Party press."

Each is accused of "non-deviation" from the Communist Party line on the basis of taking positions which might be approved by a substantial number of non-Communists, such as "urging the recognition of and trade with the Chinese People's Republic."

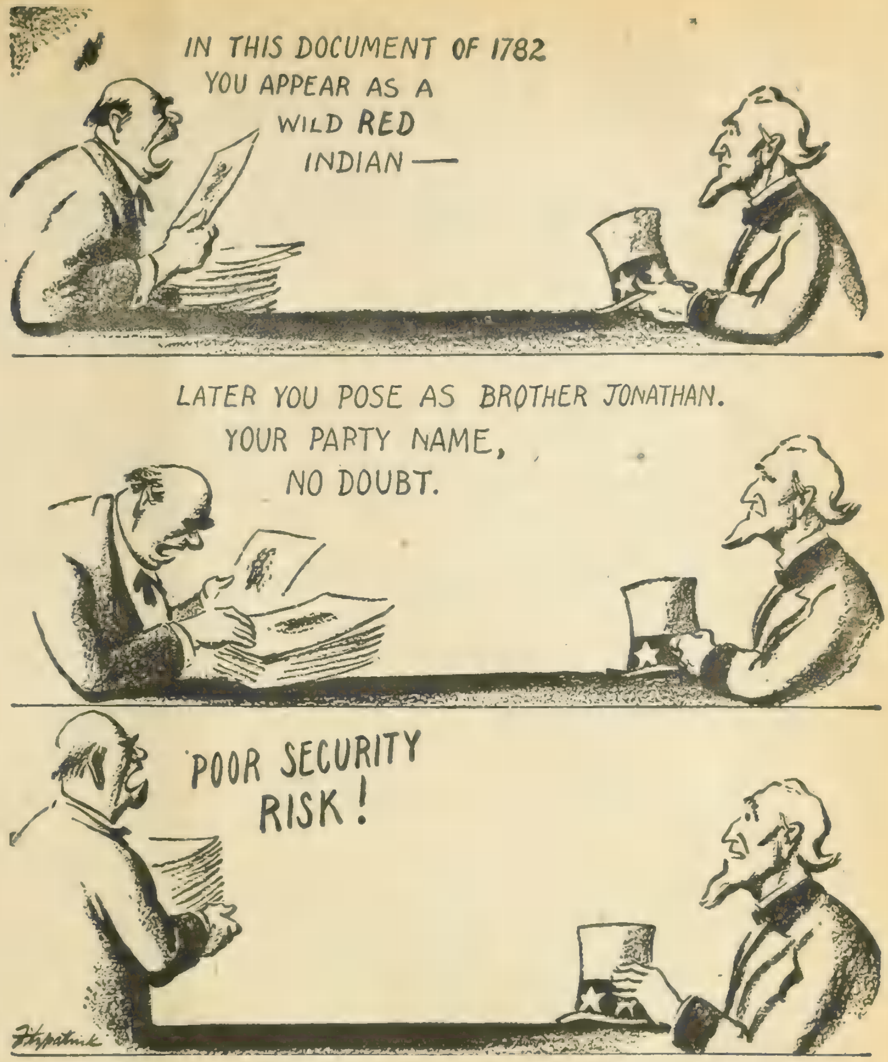
Several of the organizations are accused of "non-deviation" for taking positions which seem implicit in the organization's professed purposes. For example, the Civil Rights Congress is accused, among other things, of having defended Communist leaders prosecuted under the Smith Act, of having "supported the position of the Communist Party with respect to the 'Hollywood ten,'" and of having "supported the position of the Communist Party in its protest against the trial and conviction of Harry Bridges." It is not mentioned, of course, that the conviction of Harry Bridges was reversed by the non-deviationist majority of the Supreme Court. Both the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee are alleged to have "supported and followed the position and actions of the Communist Party in its opposition to and campaign against the Franco government of Spain." The American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born showed non-deviation by "opposing the deportation of aliens who were members of the party," although there is no allegation that the committee failed to give similar aid to aliens who were not members, which they have done in many cases. Apparently it is characteristic of organizations which are not "Communist fronts" that they will jettison the very purposes for which they were founded rather than do something which Communists might applaud.

Three of the organizations are charged with opposition to the Internal Security Act of 1950, under which they are currently on trial, and three with opposing its predecessor, the Mundt-Nixon bill. Three showed Communist domination by disliking the Hobbs bill, the Smith Act, or the government loyalty program. Four are charged with opposing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which puts them in a class with many religious groups.

HOW FAR will such reasoning be carried? Justice Holmes long ago noted the tendency of any principle to expand to the limits of its logic. Any estimate of the potentialities of this logic must take account of the fact that, as has happened with individuals in the government loyalty program, an organization may suffer virtual ruin just for having been cited before the board, even if it ultimately wins its case. It must also take into account the invisible pressure on organizations which may purge away at his pleasure by his sword three-quarters of four of the House of Commons." His unique position, at this time, has been described as follows: "In a revolution where others argued the respective rights of kings and parliament, he always spoke of the rights of the people." His democratic ideas were hardly calculated to allay the seething discontent which pervaded the army, the mounting fury of the sects, or Cromwell's fear of widespread disaffection. Furthermore, the king's execution did not sit too well with the English people. Cromwell decided to secure himself by disposing of another adversary. He began to plan, with utmost deliberation, the downfall of John Lilburne.

Twelve of the leading judges of the realm were called to London to confer, in secret, with the Attorney General. Their purpose became clear when, two months after the death of the king, several hundred armed men, on horse and on foot, surrounded Lilburne's home in the suburbs and at four o'clock in the morning dragged him from his bed and rushed him off to jail. He was kept in close confinement for five months and denied the sight of his wife and children for the greater part of that period, although no formal charge had been laid against him. He was finally indicted for treason, having violated, it was claimed, a statute enacted after he was taken into custody by publishing, while in jail, a series of intemperate attacks on Cromwell and the Rump.

When the court informed the prisoner that twelve judges would preside at his trial because he would have outtalked fewer, he responded: "Truly, sir, I am not daunted at the multitude of my judges, neither at the glittering of your scarlet robes, nor the majesty of your presence and harsh austere deportment towards me. I bless my God for it, who gives me courage and boldness." Courage and boldness he had indeed. The understanding of the jury was what he sought.


IN THIS DOCUMENT OF 1782 YOU APPEAR AS A WILD RED INDIAN—
LATER YOU POSE AS BROTHER JONATHAN. YOUR PARTY NAME, NO DOUBT.
POOR SECURITY RISK!
Fitzpatrick

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

In the United States of McCarthy

LILBURNE had no knowledge of the charge against him until the accusation was read at the opening of the trial. When he demanded a copy of the indictment, counsel to represent him, time to prepare and subpoenas for witnesses, the prosecutor answered: "It is true Mr. Lilburne hath pleaded his own ignorance and therefore desires longer time. But, my Lord, to make a precedent of this nature, that never was known by the laws of England, is very dangerous, very perilous." All the requests of the accused were denied, but the judges finally adjourned until seven o'clock the next morning as an "extraordinary favor" in order that "all the world shall know with what candor and justice the court do proceed against you."

The fact that he was denied counsel and witnesses was actually no handicap to a man of Lilburne's talents. No lawyer would have dared request the novelties in procedure which the prisoner did not hesitate to demand. No witness called by the defendant could have altered the black picture presented by the government of a violent attack upon Cromwell and Parliament. Yet when he was rebuffed, as he knew he would be, he could turn to the jury and complain that if the court "shall deny . . . these legal privileges, I shall desire my jury to take notice, that I aver you rob me of the benefit of the law," and further that he had "many material things to produce witnesses unto for my justification; but no time in the least will be allowed me, as you see, to produce them, which I ought by law to have had; especially considering that I have been locked up so long close prisoner, and have nothing for which I was first imprisoned laid until my charge, and have such high, potent, and mighty adversaries."

Then, to the consternation of the judges, who sought to interrupt him to no avail, Lilburne informed the jury that they could disregard the court's instruction to decide merely whether he had or had not published the pamphlets in question. He told them that they, and not the court, had the power to determine whether the writings were treasonable, which is sound legal theory today but was a grave heresy when he expounded it. He turned to the bench and

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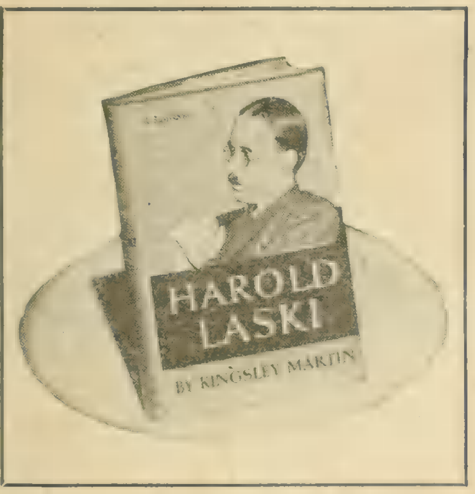

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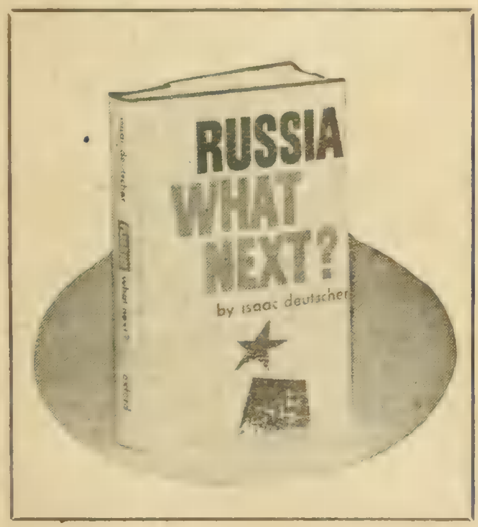

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declared: "You judges that sit there are no more, if they [the jury] please, but ciphers to pronounce the sentence, or their clerks to say Amen to them."

Lilburne's acquittal was greeted with acclamations the like of which "hath not been seen in England." The result was a grave blow to Cromwell, "who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been."

A year of relative tranquillity followed, and then Lilburne was deep in trouble again. He addressed a petition to Parliament complaining that one of its members had seized some property by force and violence from a relative. Parliament responded with an extraordinary judgment banishing the troublesome Mr. Lilburne from England and providing that his return would be a felony punishable by death. Lilburne left quietly for Holland but, on learning that Cromwell had finally expelled the Rump, returned after first requesting, but being refused, permission to do so.

He was apprehended, indicted, and turned over to the sessions in Old Bailey for trial. Upon his arraignment he demanded a copy of the indictment. After many days of bitter wrangling he "performed the feat which no one else ever achieved, of extorting from the court a copy of his indictment in order that he might put it before counsel and be instructed as to the objections which he might take against it."

After a trial which was "even more stormy than the earlier one," during which Lilburne maintained that either the Rump was an illegal body and therefore its mandate of banishment was null and void or else Cromwell ought to be punished for unjustly dissolving it, and also that the present jury, as judges of both the law and the facts, were not required to give effect to an act of Parliament unless they approved of it, he was once again acquitted by a jury of his fellow-Englishmen. This time, however, he did not go free, for Cromwell was in the midst of a dangerous experiment. He had discharged Parliament and had assumed the title of Lord Protector. Lilburne was confined to jail "for the peace of the nation" until shortly before his death.

One of Lilburne's adversaries reproached him for his behavior in court in these sardonic words: "Thus to you, justice can never be administered till the world be new molded, nay nor yet so, except you have the new molding of it."

LILBURNE'S PROGRAM for a new world, rejected by his contemporaries, was the blueprint of the future. Out of the "troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes" that was England emerged the supremacy of Parliament, a broad popular franchise, civil liberty, and religious toleration. In 1791 the American colonists wrote into their Bill of Rights the novelties of the seventeenth century—not only the right to the free exercise of religion, freedom of speech, and of the press, but also the privilege against self-incrimination, the provision that no one shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and the requirement that in all criminal prosecutions "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; . . . to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

The history of liberty is written in the development of procedural safeguards without which freedom of conscience and opinion could not exist. The crucial issue is whether we can meet the turbulent challenge of our age without undermining rights which were the very basis for our existence as a nation. In the face of the great temptation of the moment to sacrifice what may appear to be matters of small consequence in order to strengthen our national security, we must remember at what great cost even the least of our liberties was achieved. Our heritage of dissent and the procedure in criminal cases which secures it still distinguish only a very small corner of this troubled world.

The Tactic Is Fear

WILLIAM T. EVJUE

Civil liberties in this country have been undergoing a sledgehammer assault in recent years, principally from forces known generally as McCarthyism. The technique—using fear as the weapon—is the same as in other periods of our history. The tactics—the extensive use of Congressional immunity, the careful exploitation of TV and radio—are somewhat different.

Fear has always been the bludgeoning instrument. Today it is the fear of communism. At the turn of the century intrenched greed was challenged by La Follette in Wisconsin. His program, including his advocacy of woman suffrage, was called "socialism." Fear was used to set off another assault against civil liberties in the World War I days when "pro-Germanism" was the battle cry and scare word. After the war the Ku Klux Klan rose in an orgy of Know-Nothingism which culminated in the "Romanism" of the campaign against Al Smith.

Fear of "communism," which finds its worst expression in McCarthyism, has made a mockery of our boast that we live in the land of the free and the home of the brave. An Air Force board of inquiry at Selfridge Field in Michigan has demanded the resignation of a young reserve officer on grounds of disloyalty—not his disloyalty but the suspected disloyalty of his father and sister. The board admits there is no question of his loyalty. In Los Angeles, Bishop Oxnam, one of the most distinguished of American clergymen, has been denied the use of an auditorium for an address, not because he is disloyal, but because he is "too controversial." He is "too controversial" because he has successfully fought the Know-Nothing smears against his loyalty.

Thus, fear today gives us the barbaric concept of guilt by blood relationship and guilt by accusation, in which the charge becomes more important than the trial, the evidence, or the verdict.

There are signs that the people are weathering this period, as they have those in the past. Election returns from around the nation indicate that they are taking their eyes off the medicine shows and are paying attention to their own security and freedom. Fear, at times, can be a powerful weapon, but it is not a durable one.

[*William T. Evjue is editor-publisher of the* Capital Times, *Madison, Wisconsin.*]

How Crazy Can They Get?

by Janet Scott

AFTER you have worked twenty-seven years as a newspaper reporter it's hard to break the habit of saying, "Why don't you give me that for my paper?" Particularly if you have worked all those years for one paper. It's as natural as breathing for a reporter to pick up odds and ends of news, pictures, engagement announcements, wherever he goes—on his beat or off it. It's a reflex action to telephone the city editor about an automobile smash-up or a tip that a state commissioner plans to resign. Since July 16 I've been fighting a natural urge to call the *Knickerbocker News* every time I see a fire or hear of a death. And then I remember what I still find hard to believe, that twenty-seven years of conscientious work were swept away in a surge of McCarthyism.

It was on July 16 that the *Knickerbocker News,* Frank Gannett's Albany newspaper, announced on its front page that it had dismissed me, the paper's courthouse reporter. That was two days after I stood on my constitutional rights and refused to answer certain questions of a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Technically I was on vacation at the time of my firing, though I was easily available if the paper had cared to notify me of my dismissal before the notice was plastered in a two-column box on the afternoon of July 16. That morning I attended the final session of the hearing in the Federal Building in Albany. I was home in my apartment in the afternoon when a Tri-City Newspaper Guild officer telephoned to tell me about the newspaper piece. My letter of dismissal didn't arrive until the next afternoon, when a Guild committee had already had a session with management.

It was in the late fall of 1925 that I went to work for the Albany *Evening News,* later merged with the old *Knickerbocker Press* to become the *Knickerbocker News.* Born and brought up in Albany, I was hired to assist in the society department. Nobody seemed interested in the fact that I'd received a B.A. degree in June, but the editor was apparently glad to find someone who knew how to spell Albany names and could keep the complicated relationships of local families straight. I became society editor of both the *News* and the *K. P.* and later got to be a reporter on these papers and their successor. I covered a variety of beats and for four years, until the summer of 1950, I wrote a signed daily feature column. In the fall of 1950, when I was candidate for Congress on the American Labor Party ticket, the paper shifted me to the courthouse beat, always my favorite assignment. It included the Court of Appeals, the Appellate Division, two parts of the Supreme Court, the County Court, the Surrogate's Court, the district attorney's office, the county clerk's office, the election board, and county offices.

The paper made no criticism of my objectivity, fairness, or competency as a courthouse reporter in connection with my dismissal. By the way, there were some highly controversial cases on the court beat in recent years—A. L. P. election fights, reinstatement efforts of New York City teachers suspended for refusing to answer questions on alleged Communist affiliations, the banning of the International Workers Order from the state insurance field, injunctions against strikers, the arrest of a Republican college student who carried an "I Like Ike" sign to a Truman whistle-stop rally in Albany during the 1952 Presidential campaign.

As for my background: My father, who died before I finished school, was an attorney, taught at Albany Law School, and was active in the Democratic Party. He belonged to the Fort Orange Club and to Philip Livingston Chapter, Sons of the Revolution. My mother was a church organist, the city historian for many years, and a member of Mohawk Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

I was graduated from St. Agnes School (Episcopal) in Albany and in 1925 from Wellesley College. For a time I was a member of the Junior League of Albany. My community activities included serving on the boards of the Albany Inter-Racial Council and the Albany branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking for the local Defense Council of World War II, and serving on a Y. W. C. A. committee. A charter member of the Tri-City Newspaper Guild, I was on its executive committee for nineteen years, every year since its founding in 1934. I was treasurer of the Guild and in 1945 was president. Thanks to the Guild contract I obtained thirty weeks' severance pay from the Press Company when I was fired.

Early last June newspaper stories from Washington said the Velde committee would send a subcommittee headed by Representative Bernard W. Kearney, (Rep.) of Gloversville to Albany in July to investigate alleged Communist activities in upstate New York. The reports predicted a probe into unions in defense plants, "certain members of the American Labor Party," and state government workers. I was served with a subpoena on June 15 and at once showed it to my editor. He had a page-one story written about it, saying that my name had been mentioned in a Washington hearing in 1947 and that I had run for Congress on the A. L. P. ticket. Meanwhile I continued with my newspaper work as usual, and the general reaction of my fairly wide assortment of friends to the subpoena was, "How crazy can they get?"

When I appeared at the hearing on July 14 the committee refused to accept a written statement from me about my reasons for declining to answer questions concerning political affiliations. My statement explained that I was invoking the Fifth and Sixth amendments, as well as the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press, but that "I would like to base my refusal to answer questions entirely on the First Amendment, because as a newspaper reporter and as a citizen I feel so strongly on this issue." The rejected statement also included quotations from the 1953 convention resolution of the American Newspaper Guild, C. I. O., criticizing inquisitional procedures of Congressional committees.

It is interesting to recall that three years ago Dr. Edward A. Rumely, executive secretary of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, cited the First and Fourth amendments when he refused to answer questions of the House Lobby Investigating Committee. The Gannett press backed him, and a contempt of Congress conviction was set aside by the courts.

The newspaper announcement of July 16 stated that my dismissal was "occasioned by gross misconduct." The statement declared, "Miss Scott, when questioned concerning her affiliations with the Communist Party, refused to answer and stood on her constitutional rights under the First, Fifth, and Sixth amendments." In reply to my written request for precise reasons for my dismissal the *Knickerbocker News* on July 29 sent me a letter containing the following edict: "Furthermore, this newspaper never has continued or will continue in its employ any employee whose attitude, actions, or activities bring or might bring this newspaper into disrepute or damage the relationship of this newspaper with its readers or advertisers. Any conduct of any employee violating any of the above principles is considered gross misconduct."

This arbitrary interpretation of "gross misconduct" would make mincemeat of the Guild contract clause guaranteeing employees freedom in their outside activities so long as the newspaper is not exploited. Under this definition I was lucky not to have been fired some years ago for helping the C. I. O. Council picket an advertiser, Montgomery Ward, or for helping arrange a Christmas party for children of A. F. of L. strikers against the Prudential Life Insurance Company. In fact, membership in the Newspaper Guild itself might strain relations with some advertisers.

The afternoon I received my dismissal letter I went down to the newspaper office to clean out my desk. In the city room I heard a cheerful story. It seems that in the morning the paper had received a report about an unidentified woman committing suicide. So someone was assigned to call hospitals and police precincts to see whether I had "done the Dutch act," as my former colleague called it.

If the report had been about some of those "cooperative" witnesses the Kearney subcommittee dug up, it might have been a different matter. But I'm hoping to be around for quite a while yet. I think every available person is needed in the fight to make sure that our country returns to its great traditions of freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, and freedom of thought.

Challenge to McCarthy

by Corliss Lamont

ON TUESDAY, September 22, I was in my study near Columbia University writing the first chapter of a long-planned book on civil liberties when, at five minutes to twelve, the apartment phone rang and an unknown person announced that he had a subpoena for me from Senator McCarthy's investigating committee. I told him to wait and immediately called my lawyer, who said that I might as well accept it.

So I went down to the front hall of the apartment house and permitted a sour-faced man to serve me with the subpoena, a smudgy document typed in carbon with my name misspelled. It summoned me to appear before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations the next day at 2:30 p.m. at the United States Courthouse in New York City.

As I rode downtown in a taxi to see my counsel I was disturbed to realize that I had only a little more than twenty-four hours to prepare myself for the ordeal. A witness should be given at least three or four days between the serving of the subpoena and his appearance at a Congressional hearing. It is part of McCarthy's tactics to try to catch his victims off guard and to allow them no adequate opportunity to prepare.

I had known of course that one of the Congressional investigating committees would probably tap me eventually, and had been thinking off and on about possible courses of action. I had been especially impressed by an article in *The Nation* last May entitled How to Stop the Demagogues, by Philip Wittenberg, the attorney, and had talked briefly with him about the new approach he recommended. He had informally agreed to take my case if I were called by a Congressional committee.

Fortunately for me Philip Wittenberg was in town and was able to advise me. I arrived at his office at 12:30 on Tuesday and had three long conferences with him before my Wednesday deadline. We settled the general principles on which I would stand, and rehearsed

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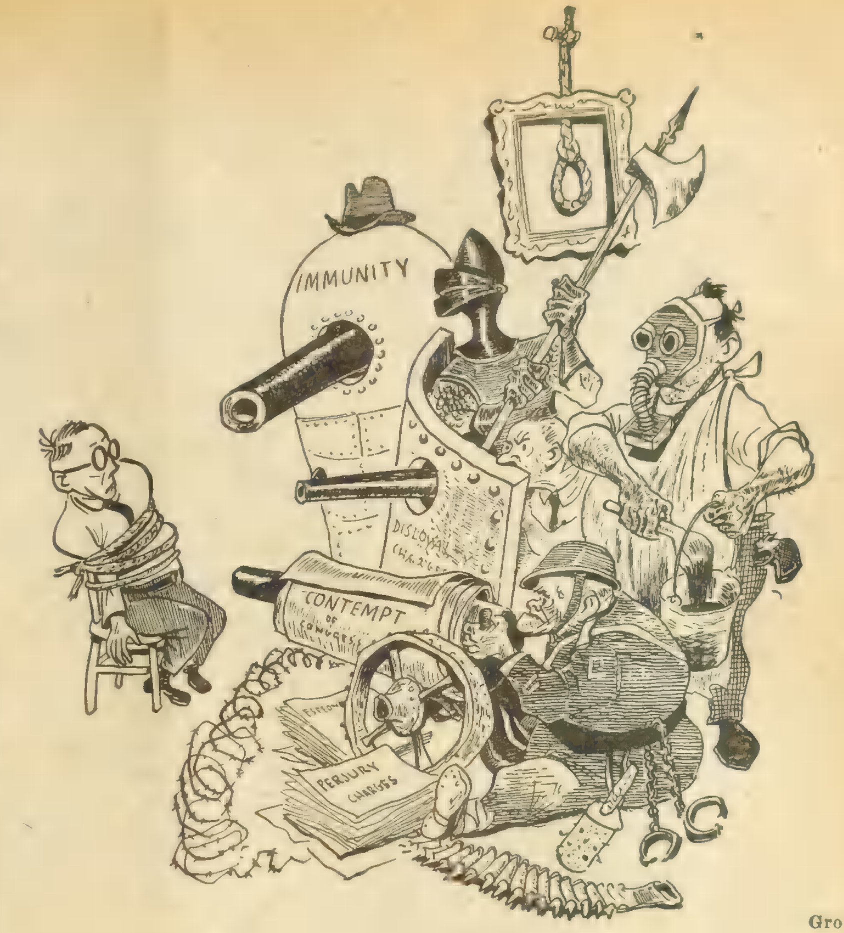
a number of probable questions and the type of answer or refusal to answer I should make to them.



Gropper

THE EVENTS leading up to my subpoena from McCarthy are enlightening. The Senator had recently discovered that the Military Intelligence Section of the United States General Staff published in 1953 a pamphlet under the title of "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia." Without my knowledge this army manual listed in its bibliography my book "The Peoples of the Soviet Union," a study of Soviet national and racial minorities, published by Harcourt, Brace in 1946. On the basis of this mere listing McCarthy widely asserted that the army document "quoted heavily" from me.

On September 9 Senator McCarthy gave the press excerpts from the army pamphlet and made the absurd claim that it was Communist propaganda. On September 11 the army disclosed that McCarthy had failed to release passages hostile to the Soviet Union; that only 100 copies of the manual had been printed, with some 40 distributed to high army officials; and that since the document had a secrecy classification as "restricted," McCarthy's unauthorized release of much of it constituted a violation of the espionage law. The army then proceeded to declassify the pamphlet from its restricted status "as a result of prior disclosures."

With these facts in mind, Mr. Wittenberg and I appeared before the McCarthy committee at the United States Courthouse early Wednesday afternoon, September 23. Senator McCarthy was of course presiding as chairman and was the only member of the committee present. He had announced this hearing as a closed executive session, which is supposed to be strictly private. Hence I was surprised to see about a dozen spectators, men and women, sitting in one corner of the room. In another part, by himself, sat the ever loquacious and pliant witness Louis Budenz, whom I recognized from his newspaper photographs.

McCarthy did all the questioning himself, constantly pacing back and forth at the end of a long table. Throughout the hearing he was neither abusive nor impolite but asked his outrageous questions in a quietly persistent manner. His personal behavior was far more restrained and dignified than that of the shouting, table-pounding members of the House Un-American Activities Committee—particularly Representatives John E. Rankin and J. Parnell Thomas—who had questioned me in Washington back in 1946.

I TOOK my most decisive step at the very start when I asked permission to read a prepared statement objecting to the jurisdiction of the committee. Since an objection to jurisdiction is absolutely basic and takes precedence over everything else, McCarthy had to allow my statement to be put into the record. In this three-page document, which had been drawn up by Mr. Wittenberg in precise legal terminology rather than in eloquent language about the Bill of Rights, I challenged the legal and constitutional power of the McCarthy committee to inquire into my political beliefs, my religious beliefs, my associational activities, or any other personal and private affairs. I advanced three main grounds for this position.

In the first place, I cited the protections of the First Amendment and quoted the concurring opinion of Justice Douglas in the 1953 United States Supreme Court decision supporting the refusal of Edward Rumely, executive secretary of the right-wing Committee for Constitutional Government, to give testimony and produce materials before a committee of the House of Representatives. "The power of investigation," wrote Justice Douglas, "is also limited. Inquiry into personal and private affairs is precluded." In addition, I emphasized the First Amendment's guaranty of freedom of the press and urged that since Congress could not pass laws interfering with freedom of the press and since a Congressional committee can only make inquiries relevant to constitutional legislation, McCarthy had no right to ask me questions about the content and purposes of my writings.

In the second place, I relied heavily on the three-way separation of powers in the American government by which the legislative, judicial, and executive branches possess definite and limited functions. Thus I claimed that McCarthy's committee would be usurping the powers of the judiciary—from the Department of Justice through the courts and down to grand juries and trial juries—by inquiring into my personal beliefs and affairs. When in 1952 the Truman Administration instead of Congress decreed the government seizure of certain steel companies, the United States Supreme Court declared the action unconstitutional precisely because it violated the tripartite separation of powers. It did this although the Korean emergency was still acute.

In November, 1953, ex-President Truman, in his letter refusing to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarding the Harry Dexter White case, maintained that the committee was invading the rights of the executive branch of the government by subpoenaing him. In thus taking his stand on the doctrine of the separation of powers, Mr. Truman rendered valuable aid to the campaign to curb Congressional committees through the enforcement of this same general constitutional principle.

In the third place, I claimed that the statutes authorizing the appointment of the Senate Committee on Government Operations precluded an investigation of me on the basis of my written works, since I was not an employee of the federal government and was not even consulted about the listing of my book in an army publication.

Also in my opening statement I volunteered the information that I was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party. This I did in order to throw McCarthy off balance and to forestall his customary allegations in the press.

AFTER RECEIVING my statement in silence McCarthy launched into a long series of questions. I answered a few concerning recorded facts. Yes, I had published a book about the peoples of Soviet Russia, had written a chapter for "U. S. S. R., a Concise Handbook," and had sent a letter to the New York *Times* criticizing the decision of the United States Supreme Court in holding the Smith Act constitutional.

But most of McCarthy's inquiries I refused to answer, giving as my reason each time the objections expressed in my initial challenge to the jurisdiction of the committee. Almost every question the Senator asked was loaded: as, for example, "Did you know that Mr. A, who wrote a chapter in this book used by the United States army, was a member of the Communist Party?" "Did you know that Mr. B was a member of the Communist conspiracy?" and "Do you know any member of the Communist Party who to your knowledge engaged in either espionage or sabotage?" I should have preferred to say no to all such questions, but that would have weakened my legal position. And there was always the possibility that McCarthy was trying to trick me into a response that would somehow lay the basis for a perjury indictment.

Chairman McCarthy continued with this grilling for about an hour and then brought the hearing to a close. He said that I could not obtain a copy of the record because this session was "strictly executive." At the same time he ordered me to appear at a public hearing the following Monday in Washington. At this point McCarthy, having taken the position all along that my Wednesday hearing was an executive session and therefore "closed," suddenly announced that he was going to give a résumé to the press.

Accordingly he called the reporters in and talked to them for some thirty minutes, informing them that I was guilty of contempt on at least two dozen counts. McCarthy having made public his version of the hearing, I gave out to the newspapermen copies of my statement objecting to the jurisdiction of the committee, and discussed briefly the reasons for my stand.

On Friday afternoon a telegram came to my home from Senator McCarthy stating that my Monday hearing had been postponed. The wire added, "However, you are under continuing subpoena and both you and your counsel will be notified when your appearance is required." McCarthy went ahead with his public session Monday morning and examined other witnesses. To my astonishment the transcript of this hearing showed that at the very beginning the Honorable Senator had asserted: "Mr. Lamont has not been subpoenaed. He was notified that he could come today and purge himself of the contempt of failure to answer last week. Is Mr. Lamont here?" "There was no answer," the transcript recorded.

Of course McCarthy had sent me no such message and had said in his own telegram that I was still under subpoena. Apparently he thought that the cancelation of my hearing might be interpreted as a retreat on his part and felt obliged to give the false impression that the responsibility for my not appearing rested with me.

THE COURSE I followed before the McCarthy committee was similar in principle to that taken by Leo Huberman and Harvey O'Connor. Naturally each person summoned by a Congressional committee must make his own decision, taking into consideration all the particular circumstances in his case, as to the policy he will pursue. I believe, for instance, that reliance on the Fifth Amendment may be fully justified and that we must defend the right of witnesses to use it without any penalties being imposed upon them by either public or private authorities.

However, in seeking a court test to halt the excesses of Congressional committees we cannot utilize the Fifth Amendment. We must stand upon the First Amendment and the separation of powers in the American governmental system. It is significant that my own approach along these lines has received wide support from conservative as well as liberal and radical sources. Should other witnesses take a similar course, I think it would strengthen the growing challenge to McCarthyism.

The investigative function of Congress is helpful and important in its authorized purpose of preparing the way for new legislation. But over the past decade Congressional committees have constantly roamed far beyond their proper authority, have illegally pried into the private beliefs and associations of witnesses, and have flagrantly usurped judicial functions by, in effect, conducting trials of American citizens, finding them guilty, and bringing about their punishment. All I am attempting to do through my case, which I shall carry to the United States Supreme Court if necessary, is to have Congressional inquiries reasonably and specifically limited in scope and methods, according to the principles of the Constitution.

The unrestrained activities of the McCarthy committee, not to mention the committees headed by Jenner and Velde, have resulted in alarming violations of basic American freedoms and have been a tremendous factor in creating an atmosphere of fear and conformity inconsistent with the true functioning of democracy. Joseph McCarthy is engaged in burning not only books but the Bill of Rights itself. It is a great responsibility to find oneself suddenly in the front line of the continuing battle of McCarthy versus the American people. It is a privilege, too. And as a teacher, philosopher, and writer I naturally take my stand with all others who are striving to uphold the great American tradition of dissent and independent thinking.

The Fear I Felt

by Kermit Eby

ON A humid Wednesday afternoon a few months ago a man appeared in my office and lay before me a long piece of paper, a subpoena to appear before the Jenner subcommittee of the Internal Committee of the Judiciary of the United States Senate. Since it was the first subpoena I had ever received, I wondered for a terrible moment what crime I had committed. Then colleagues and students, friends and well-wishers, began to come in to congratulate me. "We are so glad it has happened," they said. "You will speak for us. You will take up our cause." I wondered whether they knew the fear I felt.

I thanked them all, and then I closed my office door and sat and looked at the wall. While I sat facing the wall, I learned again about fear—how terribly debasing it is, and how doubly debasing is fear of the unknown.

I knew the terrible possibilities of the "smear." I knew it was fantastic to argue, as Jenner did, that the hearings were made secret in order to protect those on trial. I knew the curiosity of people better than that. The minute the investigations were announced, speculation ran rife. One newspaper reporter called me and said. "I *assume* that you got a subpoena." The *Sun-Times* was right when it stated that "an invitation to appear before the committee casts doubt on a man's reputation."

Subtly corroding as is the smear, it is not the worst part of being dragged on to a platform and forced to swear to things which are perfectly obvious to you and to everyone who knows you. No one should have to defend himself under such circumstances. If the life he has lived is not defense enough, then no defense should be attempted. To defend myself upon such terms meant that I was guilty until I proved myself innocent! How do you meet such a ready-made suspicion of guilt? These men, Jenner and Butler, were out to judge the degree of evil in me. And there are none among us who have not, sometime, in some way, felt guilty. For men would kill in other men the evil they know in themselves.

HOW, I asked myself, as I sat there, could I meet the accusations of these men? Who was Jenner that he should judge me? And what could he do to me if he judged me unworthy? Another man subpoenaed, a law student, spent much time trying to find out the exact powers and prerogatives of the committee. He discovered that no one knew much about them. Practically, my colleague told me, the committee functions in somewhat the same way as the Inquisition did in Spain: the clerical arm (the committee) hands over the victim, following interrogation, to the secular arm (in this case, the university). The secular arm is responsible for chopping off the victim's head—that is, firing him. Of course, if the secular arm doesn't come through—and in this case the university stood firm behind its teachers—the whole system collapses.

But what the "secular arm" might or might not do was not the main thing on my mind. A lot of little questions tortured me. How do you meet your own quotes, pulled out of context? To whom did you give the five dollars for some obscure cause? And deeper still: what are the values on which you stand; what are the traditions which you uphold against the inquisitors?

I suppose that my first reaction to the last question was a simple and primitive one. I believe that if you live by the code of a man at all, if you dare call yourself a man, you say, "I shall answer for my life, yes, but not for another's." I remembered E. M. Forster's mildly seditious words on the subject:

> I hate the idea of causes, and if I had to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country. Such a choice may scandalize the modern reader, and he may stretch out his patriotic hand to the telephone at once and ring up the police. It would not have shocked Dante, though. Dante placed Brutus and Cassius in the lowest of hell because they had chosen to betray their friend, Julius Caesar, rather than their country, Rome.

Then I remembered that a refusal to answer questions once the process has started may mean contempt of court. But how is it possible to answer questions about yourself and not about your associates? I happened to be fortunate in not having to meet this contingency. My contacts with people who might be defined as "subversive" were always social or professional. They did not tell me, and I did not ask. I never knew a single self-confessed Communist. Others of my colleagues were not so fortunate. In order not to give aid and comfort to the committee, or in order not to inform, many of them remained silent behind the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

I did not remain silent. I told Senator Jenner, who comes from my home state of Indiana, what to me was obvious—that I had never been and was not now a Communist; that I had always, by virtue of my culture and convictions, been anti-authoritarian; that I belonged to the order of the Brethren by birth and

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KERMIT EBY, a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, was formerly research director of the C. I. O.

was both a minister and a professor by trade.

At this the committee seemed to become confused. They were not aware of these things, they told me, and they asked me no more questions. They said they were sorry to have called me up in this way. I asked them if they thought they were any sorrier to have called me up than I was to have been called up, and then I went back to my office. It was then that I began to feel angry.

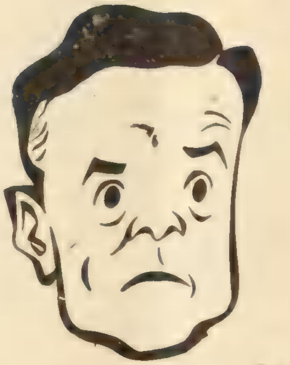
Having been denied a public hearing, I learned later from the newspapers that Professor Ernest Burgess, Professor Anton J. Carlson, and myself had been forced to give testimony because we had been keeping bad company. But I insist that the company I keep is my own business, not Senator Jenner's, Representative Velde's, or Senator McCarthy's. I have friends in the N. A. M.—and in the purged unions. I insist now—and thanks to the committee I am going to insist more firmly and more often—on my right to speak to these friends, to continue having them in my home, and to continue to make up my own mind. Noel Sargent of the N. A. M. and Harry Bridges are both welcome in my home and for the same reason: they are interesting, and they teach me a great deal.

I really doubt, however, that I shall join either the Longshoremen or the N. A. M. Odd isn't it, that John Foster Dulles could associate with Alger Hiss and not be subverted? Odd, too, that we think we can try to negotiate peace with the Communists and will respect the treaties growing out of such negotiations. Or is it that we sincerely expect to negotiate with Vishinsky only when he stops being a Communist?

Certainly, I have gone to meetings where Communists were present, and I have probably appeared on some letterheads with Communists. I don't know of a better way of getting to understand Communists. But it bothers me that it is *they* who are always expected to convert me, and people like me, rather than vice versa.

LET US CALL things by their right names. To my knowledge none of the men called up in the present investigations of universities and colleges have ever been accused of sabotage or of any act breaking any criminal law on the books. The worst they have been accused of is political deviation.

Many of us remember those years when the government, through the La Follette committee, was investigating not labor but industry. The La Follette committee was questioning the right of one section of the body politic to hurt other sections economically. But the La Follette committee never concerned itself with the free flow of ideas, political or otherwise. And I do not remember that there was any whispering campaign to the effect that "John Jones, who lives down the block, used to consort with industrialists."


Brandel

Senator Jenner

Jenner, Velde, and McCarthy, Inc., have not, to my knowledge, produced for trial one man engaged in a conspiracy. They have threatened, however, the free flow of ideas in terms of a second-rate cloak-and-dagger melodrama. "Conspirators," "spies," "traitors," "saboteurs"—these are the epithets which the good Congressmen hurl at the men whom they would "get." Westbrook Pegler, who seems to ride high on the investigation bandwagon, uses terms even saltier. Eager for a fist fight with those "dirty blankety-blank reds" in one paragraph, he demands in another an investigation of Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice Frankfurter, Henry Wallace, and Dean Acheson.

Ten or fifteen years ago we could have put Westbrook Pegler down as a hysterical journalist, relatively harmless, more than a bit touched by reading too much of his own propaganda. But we can no longer afford to shrug such hysterics off. In Senator McCarthy's view, as *The Nation* pointed out in an editorial, The Present Danger, on June 6, "the liberal Democrats in and out of the Senate have always been 'followers of the Communist Party line'; tomorrow they will be 'card-carrying Communists.' A recent cartoon in one of the labor papers showing a witness assuring a Congressional committee that he is not and never has been 'a member of the Democratic Party' clearly foreshadows the McCarthy line in the 1954 election."

THERE IS something both ominous and familiar about these men who build their careers on accusations. I am reminded vaguely of the Moscow purge trials and the old-time Bolsheviks who were forced to accuse themselves of having been "spies, saboteurs, capitalist warmongers, deviationists, filthy counter-revolutionists." That was another cloak-and-dagger melodrama, played on a larger stage, succeeding the somber "Boris Godonov" and "The Brothers Karamazov" instead of "Wintergreen, for President" and "Call Me Madam." What particularly sticks in my mind about the Moscow melodrama is the deep, unspoken desire *to be judged* inherent in the confession of an old Bolshevik like Bukharin. Here was the ecstatic cry of the individual seeking atonement in a last statement of complete guilt—"Citizen Judges, I am nothing . . . ."

We in America, out of our experience with successful democracy, surveyed the process which turned logical Marxists into breast-beating self-accusers with something of a sneer. They knew nothing of due process, those Russians; they could not be expected to understand that decent jurisprudence never permits a man to accuse himself. (And who seeks now to render the Fifth Amendment legally useless?) Some of us also realized that the Old Bolsheviks were confused about the difference between "community" and "state." They had had no experience with the community; they had set up the state in a new form and they could feel nothing but defeat when judged by their own creation. Their long, hyperthyroid confession of crime could only have been pre-cooked by the inquisitors, and yet their guilt was real. History having been their god, they were guilty of making a mistake before history and before their own misbegotten state. (And who seeks now to confuse Americanism with righteousness, government with God, and patriotism with godliness?)

None of us in America have ever really believed that this sort of thing could happen here. We have too easily held ourselves just a little above the "rabble" in the rest of the world. We have a superior system of law, you see, and a superior system of government—not to mention our superior standard of living. Ergo, our logic runs, we are a superior set of people.

We should begin to remember that the basic facts of human life—and politics—are pretty much the same everywhere. Just as in Germany, given the proper conditions, something deep in men responded to a Hitler, so here, given the conditions, something in the human grain responds to a McCarthy.

THE FEAR in our country today is almost as terrible as the fear which beset Europe between wars, when "the pauperized bourgeois became rebels of the right or left . . . many . . . lived on pointlessly, like a great swarm of tired winter flies crawling over the dim windows of Europe." Writing of those men who became Communists in an era when potatoes were burned before a starving world in order to keep prices high, Richard Crossman said:

> Their conversion, in fact, was rooted in despair—a despair of Western values. It is easy enough in retrospect to see that this despair was hysterical. Fascism, after all, *was* overcome, without the surrender of civil liberties which communism involves. But were Gide and Koestler so obviously wrong, at the time when they became Communists, in feeling that German and French democracy was corrupt and would surrender to fascism? . . . it jogs our memories so uncomfortably; and reminds us of the terrible loneliness experienced by the "premature anti-fascists," the men and women who understood fascism and tried to fight it before it was respectable to do so. It was that loneliness which opened their minds to the appeal of communism.

It is another kind of loneliness which opens our 1953 minds to the appeal of professional anti-communism. To understand the spell McCarthy casts over a public which, like any public, is basically non-inquisitorial and committed to minding its own business, you must understand the present fear in America. It is not the fear of hunger but rather fear of the hungry. Our executives are the busiest, our productive plant is the biggest, our farmers are the most secure, and our people are the best-dressed in the world. And yet, by and large, we are as afraid and lonely as the tired winter flies who crawled across the dim windows of Europe.

For the rest of the world keeps reminding us that we are rich and they are not. America awaits lethargically the stroke of midnight when the coach will turn back into a pumpkin. After all, the coach is partly built of such fragile stuff as fear of war and preparation for war. If we can only hunt down enough of the Bad Men who if driven into the desert will take our guilt with them, perhaps the coach will remain a coach after all.

Communism, born of hunger and despair, doles and war, broken values and desecrated ideals, is a hard, cruel, narrow, and yet strangely visionary religion. The new faith, of which Senators Jenner and McCarthy are the prophets, is born of full bellies and the fear of insolvency, and is called, interestingly enough, anti-communism. It is not at all visionary.

The inquisitorial mind is as likely to be hatched on Main Street, America, as in Seville or Moscow. And since it is, in general, a painfully literal mind, lacking imagination, Senator Jenner's view of me was mistaken. He was ostensibly looking for Communists, and I could not oblige. And yet I was guilty of the crime he was *really* looking for. I was guilty, all my life, of having been a sectarian. I was guilty, too, of not holding the new faith of anti-communism any more than I had held the Communist faith preceding it. And the thing which saved me, individually, from both, was a sense of community transcending the state. Behind the community of Brethren I come from is the American tradition and behind that is the Judeao-Christian tradition, and the heritage of Greece. "Citizens of Athens," said Socrates.

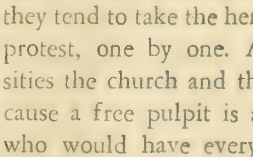
Since our world seems no closer than was Athens to solving the dilemma posed by Socrates, I should like to make my own position clear. I believe, with Albert Einstein, that no teacher, no intellectual, can afford to cooperate with an inquisitorial process; he does so on pain of losing his soul. I would go farther and say that no man who is a decent member of his community can afford to cooperate either.

Only by choosing as Socrates did can a man be directly responsible to the community and to those values which cannot morally be rendered unto Caesar. The teacher, to my thinking, has one primary responsibility—to the students whom he teaches and through them to the interests of humanity as distinct from the interests of any pressure group or nation-state which would presumptuously set itself up as sovereign over the human family. A secondary responsibility is a corollary of the first and does not conflict with it. The teacher should be loyal to the duty he has undertaken—to try to discover the truth and, as far as possible, the whole truth.

I DO NOT KNOW how far things will go before the reaction against anti-communism sets in. "For it is easier," says Crossman, commenting again on "The God That Failed," "to lay the oblation of spiritual pride on the altar of world revolution than to snatch it back again. This may be one reason why communism has had much more success in Catholic than in Protestant countries. The Protestant is, at least in origin, a conscientious objector against spiritual subjection to any hierarchy."

That is why the churches are next on the list of Senator Jenner's appointments. The intellectuals first, because they are easy picking, since like Socrates they tend to take the hemlock in personal protest, one by one. After the universities the church and the synagogue, because a free pulpit is an insult to men who would have everyone believe this bold, backward faith of anti-communism. There is not room in the United States for both honest preachers and those who place anti-communism above all other faiths.

If the great universities go down, it will be twice as hard for those who come after. My desire, as I stood up with my colleagues to be counted, was to tell all rightful members of communities everywhere in America: "We may not be much. But do you understand that only our bodies stand between you and the desecration of your freedoms?"



IV. THE AGE OF CONFORMITY

THERE might not have been a witch hunt except for the cold war, but a crisis in human freedom has been in the making for a long time. The cold war, indeed, is as much a symptom as it is a cause of the current crisis of democracy. This underlying crisis is, of course, a highly complex affair; in one form or another it has been the major intellectual preoccupation of the post-World War II period. It would therefore be a grave misjudgment to conclude that the current witch hunt will automatically subside, as similar frenzies have spent their force in the past, once the cold war is terminated. Some of the aspects and dimensions of this basic social crisis are illustrated in the section which follows.

The Autocatalytic Loss of Freedom

by C. H. Waddington

FREEDOM is only possible in a group; the isolated man is always in solitary confinement. Even the adolescent daydream of being marooned on a desert island with one pretty girl would amount in practice to a prison sentence, and if there were a few more women, one of them would be functionally a mother-in-law. Indeed, a small isolated village contains hardly enough people to persuade a lively youngster that he has scope to develop with freedom in all the directions that appeal to him. This is one of the basic reasons, I think, for the flight which is seen all over the world from the countryside into the big cities.

But now these cities have become so big that they have passed the optimum size for freedom as far as the small villages fall below it. To develop freely and follow his own genius, man requires a certain range of well-known and accepted neighbors or friends to provide a basis of stability, as well as fairly frequent encounters with new situations and new people which challenge him to enlarge his horizons.

The technological advance of our civilization has got us into a paradoxical situation in this respect. The small or medium-sized city, anything from fifty to a few hundred thousand, provides perhaps the best social conditions for the free development of the human personality, but it no longer provides the stimulus of the most exciting material novelties; it is the streets of the metropolis which seem to the young man or woman to be paved with gold. By and large it is only in the great cities, whose inhabitants are numbered in millions, that the exciting and up-to-date things are happening, and it is there, it seems, that one will meet the exciting people. But this usually turns out to be an illusion. The big-city life, which is the characteristic expression of our mass-production civilization, fails as a rule to provide either of the two basic social conditions for personal freedom. It is only too difficult to keep the long-term friends who are the stable foundation from which individual development springs, and as for new and stimulating acquaintances, there are either too many of them or too few, either continual superficial stimulus, the cocktail-party life, or blank loneliness.

It is not easy, then, to make a life in which one feels both that one is involved in exciting and important happenings and that there is a reasonable balance between stability and novelty in one's personal relations. On top of the difficulties which this raises for the free development of personality, big-city life adds another major frustration. A mass community can only be operated if the actions of the individuals are controlled so that they do not conflict too grossly. The control cannot be by personal contact, as it is in a village. There must be central administration of regulations about health, schooling, taxes, hours of work, and a host of other things. In the sight of these regulations the individual is no longer a person but a mere unit—one item among millions who are put through the machine. And as the numbers to be catered for are enormous, the same depersonalization occurs even in matters of recreation and enjoyment. A man being carted out to Coney Island at the week-end is treated as though he had about as much individuality as the grains of sand which are dumped on the beach.

It seems inevitable that as man seeks greater control over his environment his enterprises will grow larger and the organizations for carrying them out involve a greater number of people, demanding in consequence an ever-increasing measure of control over the activities of the individuals concerned. This is a price that has to be paid for bold and large-scale undertakings. One might hope that the people involved would do their best to mitigate it; that if matters

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were decided democratically, there would be an insistence that the control reached only the minimum distance into private life that was absolutely necessary for the functioning of the large organization.

But that presupposes that the conditions of the individual life are already satisfactory; that each man exercises, and enjoys exercising, his liberty. In the present conditions of our big-city life and mass civilization that is not the case. As we have seen, very often neither the factors of stability nor those of novelty are satisfactory. Observation suggests that in practice the consequences are that people whose life is more and more encroached on by impersonal administration become terrified or antagonized by the idea of thinking for themselves. They are offered only a few standard choices in their hours of work, entertainment, means of travel, the types of houses they live in, the kind of food they can eat at restaurants, and all the thousand and one other things which mass-production makes available to all in identical repeated units. Why should not thought and opinion come in identical repeated units, too?

In this way conformity comes to be valued for its own sake. The city dweller carries out with such strain the mental balancing act which enables him to get along as a floating depersonalized unit shuttling back and forth through the mass services from one job and apartment to another that he is terrified of anything which might endanger his precarious equilibrium. Thus the products of freedom—individuality and unorthodoxy—are regarded as eccentricity or worse.

It seems that, beyond a certain point, the more men are handled as depersonalized identical items, the more they themselves come in effect to behave as though that is all they are; and moreover that is all they will allow their fellows to be. This is not the slave mentality; it is the "unit of personnel" mentality. Its effect is that when loss of liberty by depersonalization has gone beyond a certain point, the process tends to become self-reinforcing—autocatalytic in scientific terminology—and goes on faster and faster.

The great question for our civilization is whether the magnitude of our enterprises is so great that their administrative needs demand a degree of depersonalization which is beyond this threshold. If so, we shall either lose personal liberty and find ourselves in totalitarianism and the age of the communal man, or we shall change civilization and reduce the scale of things to one which is more consonant with human dignity and freedom.

Liberty and the Private Groups

by Grant McConnell

FOR many years Americans have rejoiced in a very nearly unique capacity for organization. Our propensity for "joining" has always been commented on by foreigners, sometimes in derision but often with respect. More than a century ago De Tocqueville saw in our readiness to band together in associations an important defense against the dangers to liberty that threaten the powerless individual in a democratic society. Since then associations have multiplied and grown in size and power to such an extent that the phrase the "organizational revolution" was a cliché almost as soon as it was coined.

Today, faced with this yet unfinished revolution, we find ourselves perplexed and uneasy. We seize upon the products of our association but wonder if somewhere there is not a hidden cost which we have failed to reckon. From time to time someone sees the cost as levied against the "public interest." A cry goes up against the grasping selfishness of this group or that. However, the charge misses its mark, partly because we have no effective gauge for measuring unjust demands but more because we are prone to recognize and even accept selfishness in groups as well as individuals.

In truth, there are serious grounds for concern. These are found not in the relationship between the groups and society but in that between the groups and their component individuals. We can no longer be sure that the presence of associations is an unqualified guaranty of liberty. It has long been part of the liberal outlook to regard as benign the existence of power in private, or "voluntary," associations. After all, if a member is outraged by his club or union, he has only himself to blame; the door is open for his departure. Moreover, so we have held, there are many associations—if one does not satisfy, another will.

But actually it is not wholly true that membership or non-membership is a matter of choice. A doctor may hesitate to leave his local medical association on grounds of disagreement with its politics or its manner of reaching decisions; access to association-controlled hospitals is too important to him. There are groups departure from which means costly renunciation of paid-up rights to pensions, burial costs, and other benefits. A union member is more likely to swallow his dissatisfaction with the organization than to forgo practicing his trade in the locality. There *may* be an alternative organization he can join; more often there is not. Rival unionism is a cardinal sin in the labor movement. The multiplicity of organized groups may be a sufficient protection of the "public interest"; it does not protect the individual.

WHAT OTHER protections do they offer? The easy and often repeated answer is that the overwhelming majority of our private associations are democratic. This is true if it means there are provisions for elections by majorities and for state-

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ments from the leaders. That an association has made material gains for its members is not wholly relevant; these gains only enhance the importance of the individual's rights within the group. If we look for individual guaranties inside the associations, we meet only disappointment. With very few exceptions the constitutions of private associations are without provisions insuring the elementary rights which in the United States Constitution we venerate as essential. Bills of obligations of members can be culled from the fundamental documents of most private associations but a bill of rights almost never. The offenses which may not be committed under penalty of fine, suspension, or expulsion are set forth in vague terms. Prohibition of such offenses as speaking ill of the organization, its leadership, or its members may secure disciplined action in external affairs. It is not a substitute for a bill of rights.

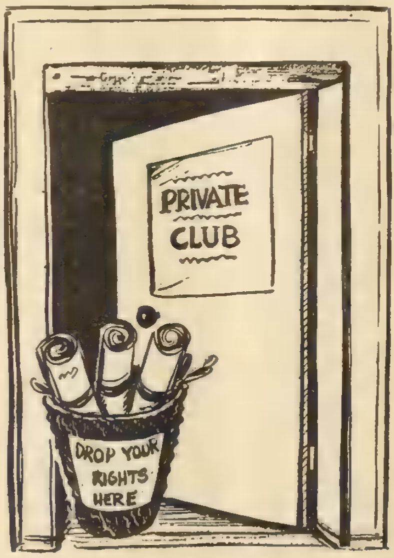
PERHAPS NOWHERE in our society is the myth of unity more sedulously cultivated than in private associations. The strongest pressures are exerted to maintain a façade of unanimity, even in the choice of leaders and the execution of doubtful policy. In elections the typical procedure is to ask for approval of a single slate of candidates. Election contests, it is held, are disruptive to the whole association. Even the vivid demonstration by the International Typographical Union that a broad degree of tolerance for internal conflict is compatible with strong and effective unionism has failed to weaken this belief. The I. T. U. has a competitive internal party system but has achieved material gains for its members exceeded by few other groups.

In 1943 the American Civil Liberties Union surveyed the problem of democracy in trade unions. The findings were bleak: discrimination for reason of race, sex, national origin, and political belief, restraints upon speech and expression, defective trial procedures, highly centralized power, ineffective checks on both the expenditure of funds and the use of power, long tenure of officers, and so on. A second survey eight years later reported little change. And this was a period of mighty growth in union membership.

It would be a mistake to assume that the problem is peculiar to the labor movement. It is perhaps more somber here because the aims of labor continue to be democratic. Elsewhere we have become inured to the spectacle of large groups of corporation stockholders who resign themselves to seeing their hope for dividends frustrated by the ruling oligarchies. Such rebellions as have occurred only provoke our amusement. Farm organizations have sought to develop means for consultation with their membership on questions of policy, but these, like the referendums of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, serve chiefly to generate vocal enthusiasm. Control largely rests in the conventions, which with few exceptions afford overwhelming advantages to existing leadership.

Given the central problem of maintaining an association's existence, there is the strongest kind of drive to eradicate dissent. More insidious than outright suppression is the attempt to secure homogeneity of membership. Potential dissenters are not invited and when found inside are allowed to depart without the offer of compromise. This would be a matter of slight importance were it not for another trait of organizations—their desire either to eliminate rivals or clearly to differentiate themselves from others. The net result is a steadily growing residue of outcasts for whom no organization stands as spokesman and defender.

At times exclusiveness seems the essential characteristic of a membership organization. In part this is the result of the necessity of underlining the desirability of belonging; if the organization is open to everyone, to belong is no privilege. The open organization tends to have no members in any vital sense—as, for example, the Republican and Democratic parties; the loyalties it commands are meager and difficult to exploit. The organization which restricts its ranks, which screens applicants, which is "exclusive" has made membership infinitely desirable. And one of the first requirements for achieving this lofty position is that no rivals shall be brooked. Feeling against enemies of the organization is mild in comparison with the fury loosed upon some budding rival that seeks to gather in the rejects of the original group. War on nuclei of potential rivals goes on relentlessly. It may even take the form of hostility to unorganized individuals who are not possible candidates for membership in the group. There is no more melancholy illustration than the attack launched by the American Farm Bureau Federation on the government programs designed to help a clientèle which, while within agriculture, was one to which the federation itself made no appeal.



These are not problems that invite complacency. Private associations are in the very web of American life. They are essential guardians of its liberties. Their mere existence, however, is not sufficient. If their justification for being is in any part the insurance of liberty, they must either as closed societies maintain the simple safeguards of democracy within themselves or become open societies with all that this implies.

Unless the private groups adopt constitutional reforms that at present seem wholly foreign to them, reform will be imposed from without. The suggestions that have been made—and they come from liberals—are for legislation which shall be enforced by the regular courts or by administrative agencies appointed for the purpose. Our knowledge of past judicial treatment of labor unions does not inspire confidence; the prospect of an appointive agency does not quiet our fears. Nor does the memory of Hitler's destruction of the private quality of the free associations of Germany. Yet each day the problem becomes more urgent. We are faced, therefore, with a choice of taking steps that may seriously weaken one of the main bulwarks of liberty or acquiescing in the gradual spread of coercion behind that wall. It is not a pleasant dilemma.

Our Dream of Comfort

by Allan Seager

ONE day last fall the lady next door was clearing her front yard of leaves. She was not raking. She was pushing a thing that looked partly like a go-cart and partly like a lawn-mower; it had a rotary brush and hitched to it was a canvas scoop with an aluminum floor. I said it certainly saved raking. She said it certainly did, but—with a touch of embarrassment—she said the newer models had two little wheels under the back end of the scoop so it would run more easily.

There you have the fog we all stumble in, the dream of comfort. Producing and consuming, we tread our pleasant round, and any pangs or sharp intrusions of reality can be allayed by purchasing a new gadget, maybe with two little wheels on it.

The nation's earlier dreams were hopes of a somewhat larger kind than ours, stronger and full of sap that drove our founders to cross oceans and mountains, to massacre innocence because it was in the way, and coarsely to astound the world with vigor. These earlier visions were dignified because they always had a touch of human necessity, and in acting out none of them did people look like fools.

The religious concerns that sent their little ships into Massachusetts Bay were too austere to be comprehensible now, but, as we are taught, they had a harsh nobility about them, and by almost a lucky chance Roger Williams turned them into an ideal of religious freedom that has kept pretty well. The English oppression we threw off was real, and the flow of migration westward got its force from a natural hope, perennial but false, the dream of something for nothing. Think of the single man, early, who joined no wagon train, who started west out of St. Joe alone and afoot in a beaver hat, a long black coat, sometimes carrying a carpet-bag, wearing cowhide boots. The prairie grass would wear the boot-sole smooth so the foot could get no purchase and it would slip and kick up behind. In a few days the Achilles tendon would grow too sore to walk, and about that time he would begin to meet sly Indians who would sell him moccasins so he could walk on to find his new claim, his new home, all free or only fifty cents an acre.

And this is only one of the aspects of the settlement. The frightful labor entailed by accepting the gift of an empty continent drove quite ordinary people into such prodigies of courage and ingenuity that they created our country's greatest hero, a tough and irresponsible character, the Individual, now dead of course but still remembered, still touchingly referred to as if he might return. And somewhere along the line of trails and little springing towns grew up his quaint but indigenous command, "So live that you can look any man in the eye and tell him to go to hell." The grab-bag was officially emptied in 1890 by the United States Census Bureau when they announced the frontier was closed, and although Jim Hill wanted to continue the Great Northern from the China shore, that particular dream was over. It gave us confidence.

Overlapping it from earlier were the hopes of the already settled for some tools to help them out—the woman in the soddy hoping for well-pipe and a hand-pump so she would not have to lug water, the Kansas farmer wanting harness and plowshares, and in the staid towns along the Ohio rock oil for lighting that drove the whalers out of business. When there was nowhere else for them to go, the energy and furious invention loosed by the settlement turned themselves into manufacturing to supply these wants. The peddler with his pack on his back entered history and was replaced by the drummer with the U. C. T. button in his lapel. In the first years of this century it was not silly for a boy to say he wanted to be an inventor when he grew up. Goods were then quite simply good because they were in the main necessities, and a few led to the amenities of life. Manufacturing had not yet become an arbitrary act. The poles of supply and demand were still believed to exert an almost equal force, and in spite of the crooks and the waste, manufacturing acquired a public standing and a momentum that has not yet run down.

THE IVORY GATE through which our present dream first issued was Ford's mouth. Two of his massive accomplishments are known to schoolboys: the Model-T put the nation on wheels, and his assembly line established the second great tool of mass production as Eli Whitney had the first; but even more powerful, hypnotically so, were the results of his statement in July, 1914, that he was going to pay every workman at the Highland Park plant $5 a day. This is usually considered to mark an epoch in the labor movement and it did, but it also announced the great equation for the first time—producer= consumer; and Ford himself saw it clearly: every one of his workers could now buy a car. The producer was no longer over here and the consumer over there. They were identical, and the final justification for a cheap new product and a fast handy way to make it had been found, a market built right into the factory.

The First World War delayed the full exploitation of this discovery, but shortly afterward we saw in ten years the rise of the advertising business, the *Ur-type* of its present modes, for instance, the quite early application of fear in the Listerine ads, the spread of radio, one of its chief messengers, and the almost providential popularizing of Freudian psychology. The specialization of manufacturing techniques implied by the assembly line increased, and John Dewey was teaching at Columbia. The

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dream was nearly ready to be tried out. It waited on time and a word.

Before 1929 security was something you gave on a loan. By 1933 "security" was beginning to acquire its present constellation of emotional colorings. At first, while the Depression still held, it seemed to mean economic safety and to allay the fear of its possible loss; appropriate ritual gestures were and are still being made—the institution of old-age pension plans, hospitalization plans, and such.

DIFFERENT FROM the Germans, the Napoleonic French, and certain upper-class Southerners like the *vates*, Calhoun, we never dreamed our wars before we fought them. After the Revolution we accepted them reluctantly under the proddings of our New England inheritance, the Puritan conscience, and because of this none of them were public events of the same intensity as the Depression; rather they were accumulations of private catastrophe. Nor have we ever acted out an imperial dream. Our foreign adventures are limited and commercial or they are kindly rather pathetic attempts to make friends with gifts and to suggest, never to impose, a political system which has worked successfully for us but which our beneficiaries barely understand and are not ready for if they desire it. We never wanted political hegemony. Professor Allan Nevins recently guessed that the last forty or fifty years of our history will be remembered chiefly as the period in which "America has been projected into world leadership," and he is probably right both in gist and in grammar—the passive voice is peculiarly apropos.

But to the single man, as Stendhal pointed out long ago, the history in which he is a mote means nothing. He may wander around the battlefield, hear the cannon fire, get splashed with mud as Marshal Ney races by with his suite, but when it is all over, he asks wonderingly, "Have I seen a battle and was this battle Waterloo?" The aloof guesses and ultimate assessments of history point only to the peaks and we have to live in the valleys.

Until the atom bomb obliterated it, science had helplessly acquired a mystique, an aura of goodness, and any kind of logical social arrangement or organization science imposed was assumed to be also good. The assembly-line represents its big incursion into industry, and since then industrial engineers and time-study men have steadily narrowed the scope of each job to promote efficiency. Given a few drinks or the rare spontaneous flash of perception, most workers, shop or white-collar, will be candid enough to say how dull and monotonous their work is. Labor troubles seem to be caused not entirely by actual grievances; often they are aimless spurts of resentment against jobs so piddling no man could put his heart into them, and once the little revolt has occurred the whole union organization, still touchy after its victories of the last two decades, must clank into place and back him up. Any sense of craftsmanship, of responsibility to the work in hand, has long been necessarily stifled. To replace it a system of baits has been arranged: for executives all the pleasures of the expense account, the company hunting lodge, the company apartments in Florida, the company picking up the tab in "smart" restaurants; for the lower ranks there are the security baits of insurance and pension plans, as well as the company athletic teams and the company picnics, the incessant suggestion that the pleasures of life come not from the home but from the company.

IF THE PROCESS is successful it makes them docile, but puzzlement and confusion are apt to lie beneath the docility, salted by the impacted residue of an archaic common sense, and frequently the crucial question gets tossed as high as consciousness, "The work I do every day is stupid. How come it's worth all this?"—not that he feels himself overpaid, rather the opposite because of the stupidity. (The personnel manager of a big corporation told me, "a thousand bucks a day is not enough pay for a guy on a line," and he explained that his personal soother, his only gimmick, the one that had vaulted him into $35,000 a year, was to try to get his foremen to call their gangs by their first names. "That's all?" I asked. "That's it. Only you have to fuzz it up with graphs and charts, make a production out of it.") No pattern of intra-corporate communication will reveal the answer to this question even if it is corporately known. A meeting of the minds will in fact only make the problem clearer. There are still too many old-fashioned political considerations, although one single man might dope it out if he had time to contemplate a corner-bolt in a girder long enough.

When the Second World War ended we were ready to enter our dream of comfort. Its connections with reality were more tenuous than the earlier American dreams but they hold well enough to be plausible. Considering the whole situation, you could say the dream was inevitable.

The pressures of war had taught us to make more things, to grow more

"In McCarthy Country"

EVERYWHERE in Wisconsin—whether Milwaukee or Cedarburg—you find the same excluding ambition for a material Utopia, here and now. Yet often in the past few months I have wondered how real this wealth is. It was an old farm hand who said to me: "There are nine meals between orderly government and anarchy." Talking to doctors, mechanics, and business men, I have heard, again and again: "We're on thin ice; a slump tomorrow and all this would be back on the shelf."

It is an appreciation of this ever-present threat which constitutes the greatest, if latent, factor in the emotional climate of Wisconsin. The need is for security, for fixed questions with fixed responses, for the elimination of social, financial, and political risk. Thus communism has been presented to the emotions of Wisconsin in a far more tangible shape than Nazism or German imperialism.

This is something which hits home: the ordinary man—and there is such a genus in Wisconsin—understands communism's intimate if antithetical relationship to his way of life. When he realizes it also as an immediate enemy, not only in terms of military warfare but in real and unreal terms of spies, fellow-travelers, and intellectuals (the words become synonymous in his mind), every grain of patriotism is aroused: "We've gotta save America from these so-and-so's."—*From an article by Anthony Bailey, In McCarthy Country, in the London* New Statesman and Nation, *October 31, 1953.*

things, than ever, enough so that an army could be supported in Korea while they poured in spate out of the factories, far beyond our real needs or the needs we had been taught. The major problems of production had been solved. Only minor ones were left. Designers and engineers are whipsawed between the demands of competition and the demands for replacement sales, between "quality control" and "planned obsolescence." Ideally an article should look solid and well-made so that people will want to buy it once; it should last long enough so they will want to buy it again but not last too long. After a certain term of faithful service it should fall apart like the One-Hoss Shay. This is a hard problem of construction and its solution has been approached only in nylon stockings.

All these goods have to be sold, that is, bought, although buying somehow implies a pure initiative in the buyer, judgment exercised, comparisons made. To excite the initiative, smother the judgment, and forbid comparison became almost duties to the economy, and the means were at hand.

Since the war TV has been added to the advertiser's armory of newspapers, magazines, and radio, and the buyer is assailed so constantly that he finds it hard to resist. It is not only the repetition that is calculated to weaken him; it is also the shrewdness of the appeal. Before the war they had learned how to make the logical conscious pitch, like the one to fear, the one to snobbery, but now the appeals are wider and deeper. The social engineers and psychologists had found in Madison Avenue another area of our national life they could muscle into. Perhaps "muscle into" is inaccurate; it may have been more like a wedding of cousins. There is a kindred goofiness that may have brought them together, a brisk interest in mangling the language, a reluctance to call things by their right names, an almost idiot concentration on means instead of ends. If, as it seems, one of the grand purposes of social engineering is to influence people and mold their opinions without their knowing it, the advertising business offered new chances. In the argot the phrase was "depth motivation," an assault on the customer's unconscious by using psychologically "correct" colors in layouts and all kinds of downstairs ap-

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peals in copy and photographs. In theory the customer is brought into the store not because he needs or even thinks he wants to buy. Dazzled and enchanted, he is drawn in by a spellbound libido, a victim of cunningly presented symbols of sex and violence. The success of these programs is real: the goods are sold.

Since most of us are producers and consumers, to turn the great wheel of our economy all the smaller wheels must turn, or we cannot not buy. If enough of us were seized by a hideous perversity and began to stuff our surplus money into coffee cans or old socks under the mattress, it would start the collapse of one of the most elaborate structures of abstractions ever devised by man, like falling through a brittle mile-high jungle gym, snapping lines of credit all the way until the final crash. But we are not likely to do this because we haven't enough surplus money. There is no need to save it. We are buying, on time, the comforts we do not need, and the corporation has us fully insured.

MEANWHILE houses get smaller, becoming dormitories and TV parlors. The decorum and ceremonies of life withering, growing obscure, living becomes "informal." There is a real increase of leisure in which we could recreate ourselves if let alone, but we are defrauded of it by the invasion from the centralized sources of entertainment. Reading and conversation dwindle into occupations almost as outmoded as carding wool in the firelight and they are indulged in crudely and on the fly—namely, Spillane. Why the almost simultaneous rise of baby-sitting and geriatrics? Once the old folks sat with the kids because it was natural for them all to live together, but no more of that. Magazines and divorce courts are full of in-law trouble, not that people hitherto always loved their in-laws. It is only that, earlier, their presence was taken for granted while now they are a problem. Geriatrics offers an answer, partly a cheer-up science for the aged, partly an organized crusade to get them jobs because there is not room for them in the house and they can't live on their pensions. In a manner both pathetic and sinister, the public schools offer themselves as "second homes" because it is still vaguely felt there ought to be homes somewhere.

The comforts in the little house are genuine. American gadgets are the envy of all nations, but comfort is not seriously the end of life and some of the gadgets save neither time nor money. Why are potatoes "whipped" in an electric mixer when it is obvious they can be done better with a fork and a fork is easier to clean? Possibly because owning a mixer like owning a Titian evokes pride and wonder. And why do people pay four or five hundred dollars for a freezer when frozen peas, thawed, are not fresh peas again but another vegetable like canned peas and no better; and a delicacy, frozen wild duck, emits a stupefying odor of dirty feet both in the cooking and the eating? Why are we so supine?

Verifiable surmises seem to run this way: a philosophical background lies in the writings of John Dewey, especially in their dilutions and perversions, notably the primacy of the group over the individual. And the social engineers have forced it to permeate the spurts and flashes of the advertising mentality in this way: the old snob appeal has been lowered in height—that is, you are no longer taught to fly higher than your group, age, salary, geographical or whatever. You must fly with it. No one must be more equal than another. Continuous and subtle pressures are applied to make you feel wretched if you don't have what "everybody" else has around you. Further, the very process of manufacture demands conformity of behavior. No one can make standardized parts in his own way, can he? From the ubiquitous sources of schools, work, and advertising we are all wooed to the goodness of conformity, so much so that McCarthy seems to be a symptom rather than a cause.

The state of the world is reported to us, the menace of atomic warfare, Russia, the envious hatred of other nations, but there is as yet no terror. We are comfortable and these threats reach us merely as an irritating unease. "Security" now includes the staving off of these threats, keeping them properly beyond the seas. So far we have done pretty well, and if the boat is not rocked we may continue. If the job is stupid, it is better to let the disgust seep out in ulcers, a coronary, or a series of unavoidable accidents than to commit any rash or open acts. Even our wars were not fought to gain territory or, except the Revolution, to change anything, not even the Civil War. They were fought to keep things as they were and any sequential changes came unbidden. We were generously willing to spring to the aid of other countries, but, returning, we wanted things to have kept the same.

IT IS POSSIBLE to believe that the *Führerprinzip* is dead, outmoded because primitive, and that the Russian use of fear and brutality to enforce conformity will be unnecessary. The inhabitants of any country who willingly reduce themselves to statistical units are surely asking for tyranny; yet the tyrant may not appear. The ambitious politician may have to depend on simple ghosts and his own naked charm like Henry Clay, because the techniques of mass manipulation are becoming so many and so complicated that he may not be aware they exist or be able to understand and use them if he does, and since we will soon be conditioned to jump to no others, naked charm may come to be too personal, too suspicious a quality for us to accept comfortably. We are in a phase where we hire people like movie stars to be publicly unique, but this may pass and the raw ungrouped person, politician or whatever, will become faintly criminal instead of merely disturbing as he is now.

Besides, if a democracy is coming to mean that everybody must be like everybody else, it will be undemocratic to have a leader. It is illogical and foolish to conceive of a sinister group operating from a Chestertonian head-center whose aim is to turn the country into what may be called, in again an outmoded phrase, a camp. Given time, if nothing intrudes, we will be so god-damned comfortable we will vote it in ourselves.

It is an act of faith in our bewildered common sense not to believe what follows, but it may be that, by 1984, the automatic factories will have come and we will all be lying down, indoors, clinically sun-tanned, chockful of vitaminic goodies, fully entertained, none of this crude Huxleyan busyness perceptible, all doubts exorcised, no guards, no cruelty anywhere, no liberty either (what was that stuff?), comfortable, as happy as we can be, and George Orwell will have turned out to be a nasty wrongheaded old man who told us stories to make our flesh creep.

V. THE WATCHING WORLD

IN THE past we could afford the luxury of exhibiting the American tradition to world scrutiny despite its conflicts, confusions, and paradoxes. America was variety; America was promises. Today it has become extremely important to reflect an image of American freedom which is not only consistent with our pretensions and exhortations but will inspire enthusiasm and confidence. In the past, we might ignore the consequences flowing from the projection of conflicting symbols and slogans; today we cannot. An indulgent European opinion once thought of us as young and foolish; it takes us quite seriously today.

For one thing, the world has grown smaller. If modern communications did not spell the difference, the kind of exchange that takes place at the United Nations would. Whatever we say or do at the U. N. is immediately exhibited to world scrutiny. If the U. N. is a "glass house," the world is only a larger model. We cannot hide Joe McCarthy. We cannot treat him as some never-mentioned skeleton in the closet, known to the family but not acknowledged to the world. The image of McCarthy is impinging on world vision as the image of America. How, then, would we measure the impact should McCarthy become the Republican nominee or the President of the United States in 1956? A year ago the notion that he might be a serious Presidential contender was lightly dismissed, but since what the French call "La Bombe Brownell" was dropped, it is taken quite seriously by conservative American editorial opinion.

Today McCarthyism is rapidly isolating the United States—even from such a close and indulgent neighbor as Canada—and our allies are appalled by the McCarthy-like arrogance displayed by American representatives at the United Nations while the President and his closest advisers voice mild sentiments of opposition to McCarthyism in other contexts. To force a rapid and widespread realization of the extent to which McCarthyism menaces the American tradition and American leadership, we must recall the horror which the world felt for the Nazi and Soviet purges and explore, with Claude Bourdet and Kay Boyle, the abyss now yawning between informed American opinion and its European counterpart on this major issue. To us McCarthyism is another American folly; to them it is the yardstick by which they measure our purpose.

This Strange America

by Claude Bourdet

Paris

IT IS worth while sometimes in the course of one's life to look back and recall what one's ideas were ten or twenty years before. I do it occasionally and find not too much discrepancy, generally, between my thoughts then and now. Ideas alter in the course of time, but my political hopes, my appreciation of my own and other countries have not changed too much. I still don't believe the Germans are "bad," although they kept me a year in a prison camp; I just think as I did then that they are easily led astray. I still think the British have an admirable tradition, and a sanity in all things which makes them an element of political balance in the world, despite an extraordinary lack of brilliance. I still feel Russia is a world in the making, a kind of huge child nation, and as such should be treated with the respect due to courage and youthful achievements—not with the respect due to wisdom nor with the hate earned by innate wickedness. But when I remember what I thought of America before and during the war, I am astonished at how differently I feel now. I am not the only Frenchman or European who is aghast when he remembers America at that time and looks at it now. Perhaps Americans should themselves try to remember.

We felt America was really the land of the free. We knew of course that this fanaticism of freedom had its drawbacks, that public opinion was so powerful that it made farsighted government difficult. We understood that was why Roosevelt could not use American power to stop Hitler before he launched his attack on mankind. But this was no inherent sin of the American system. Its slowness of adaptation was one of its guaranties against falling into blunders and abuses.

We liked the violent honesty of the American press—at least of the American leading papers. We were aware of the smaller significance of class barriers compared to Europe; we had heard about the equalitarian trends of society despite great differences of wealth. We knew there still were grave racial prejudices but also that an active battle was waged against them. Above all, we were glad that although young and violent, America was tolerant. When intolerance won for a time, in our own country, one often heard: "This kind of thing couldn't happen in America."

SOME MAY SAY that this was largely wishful thinking, that America was neither better nor worse than other countries. I don't know; I think in some way all countries earn the reputation they acquire. Things were not as simple as they seemed to us of course. But the American way of life was certainly something to be proud of.

Then the war broke out, we were defeated, and we started the underground battle. Our ill-fed companions carrying pamphlets or bombs under their shabby

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CLAUDE BOURDET was founder and editor of the Resistance newspaper Combat. *He is now editor of the Paris* Observateur.

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coats, typing secret orders in back shops, organizing poorly armed combat groups in the mountains never complained about America's slowness in coming into the war. They felt the huge machine was preparing, doing its job on its own lines; they hoped to be alive when it started. However, I remember there was a deep discontent when the Americans supported General Giraud against De Gaulle; we couldn't understand how a citadel of democracy and freedom could back a general whose political and social ideas were a century old and to whose support many of the Vichy opportunists were rallying, glad of the chance to turn their coats before it was too late.

AGAIN this was politics; strange politics, but one could let it go at that. Then the war was won; some of us were still alive. The Patton army found me in Buchenwald with some 50,000 other semi-corpses from all over Europe. We came back. When we had recovered enough to understand, we were astonished at many aspects of the post-Liberation world: at De Gaulle's mistakes; at the Communists' useless violence of language and slander; not least, at the curious behavior of many Americans, civilian and military, who seemed to be collecting around them the most disreputable opportunists, men and women who had outrageously flirted with the Germans during the war. This, we thought, only happens because Americans are naive and good-natured; they are easy prey to this kind of vermin.

Then there was the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the beginning of the Atlantic policy. Those among us who were slightly anxious about Marshall aid and who opposed more firmly the North Atlantic pact did not do so from any suspicion of American internal politics. The feeling was that America was well-meaning in most of its moves but that it was dangerous to divide the world into two camps: it helped to create fear and tension on both sides; it prevented us from playing the part of an intermediary in international relations. Moreover, we thought it dangerous for a country like ours to live "on the dole"; it was bound to corrupt our political morale. The Communists, of course, spoke of American imperialistic capitalism, warmongering, and spirit of oppression. But this was a bit too crude, especially after the Prague affair. Instead of hurting America, Communist propaganda was for many years its best ally.

I THINK it was only in 1950 that French opinion became acquainted with McCarthyism. Of course, the few Frenchmen who read regularly the American, particularly the liberal American, press had noted even before then a number of strange happenings which seemed to us contrary to the American tradition. But so strong was our faith in American democracy that we believed these were but the passing antics of some small gang, like Huey Long's many years ago. I think I was the first Continental journalist to point out that it might be worse than that.

I had come to America in May, 1950, for *The Nation's* meeting on atomic energy and had met many honest Americans who seemed to be anxious about the trend of things inside the country. Moreover, I had read the press in quite a different atmosphere from that in which one reads it abroad, and had been surprised at the importance given to the Senator from Wisconsin and even more at the support given to him by Cardinal Spellman speaking to a meeting of Catholic veterans. I was in Washington those days and witnessed the proceedings in the astonishing investigation of Owen Lattimore. When I expressed my surprise at the embarrassment and lack of vigor of Senator MacMahon, who had seemed to be full of sense and strength in his support of Lattimore the day before, an American journalist said, "That's because of Spellman's speech yesterday." Then I sensed something had really gone wrong. But when, back in France, I wrote about the "witch hunt," even my closest friends laughed. Today, however, you find the words *"chasse aux sorcières"* in most French papers.

Americans have often asked me why deeply distressing affairs like the John Service and the Alger Hiss cases and the many dismissals of educators under political pressure have not aroused more comment in France, when the case of the Trenton six and even much more that of the Rosenbergs caused such a shock. I suppose it is because in France, an old country which has lost so many lives in so many wars, the price of a single human life is still estimated high. For a time some Frenchmen—I was among them—felt there was a fair chance that the Rosenbergs might be guilty; Communist propaganda on ther behalf made that seem even more likely. But many people reacted as most American liberals did and found the sentence too heavy. Then at the end of 1951 two well-known barristers were asked by a group of French Catholics to study the case thoroughly. Neither had anything to do with communism; they were not even politically active, and one of them was definitely conservative in feeling. Their findings were so amazing that one of the barristers left immediately for Rome and managed to convince the Holy See that here was much worse than a miscarriage of justice. This produced the two Vatican interventions which aroused so much comment everywhere, especially in the United States.

THE CASE shook France because thousands, probably millions, of Frenchmen felt that if so few voices in America were raised to defend the Rosenbergs it was not only because the diminutive American Communist Party had tried to use the case for its propaganda but also because most Americans were afraid to take steps which might make them targets for witch-hunters' attacks. Whatever is behind the various currents of French opinion, there is no doubt that the death of the Rosenbergs was the beginning of an awakening. In a very small local newspaper edited by the Roman Catholic curé of a little French parish I read last summer: "The death of the Rosenbergs could signify the death of our illusions."

Another phenomenon which makes the French not only distressed but angry is the appearance of McCarthyism, apparently under American pressure, in our administrative life. I should probably write "influence" instead of "pressure," for in many instances there is not so much pressure as a kind of inquiry or advice. French statesmen have become so dollar-minded that they think they must submit to any American whim, even before it is clearly formulated. But the point is that many Frenchmen who are not ready, yet, to recognize that this is a hardly avoidable result of the Atlantic system prefer to speak of submission to American pressure and thus blame America instead of blaming themselves for not resisting, or for putting in office weak and submissive politicians, ready to sell everything for an extra dollar.

An intolerable attempt made by the Ministry of Education last year to organize the witch hunt in French universities and schools and the recent decision forbidding a young Communist student to qualify for the National School of Administration have been considered in many circles to be a direct result of American McCarthyism. An increasingly popular slogan among intellectuals, civil servants, and others fighting against the witch hunt is revealing: *"Pas de McCarthyism en France."*

The so-called French "neutralists" have for five years stressed the fact that their policy did not reflect distrust of America. Today, however, not because of anything the "neutralists" say but simply as an effect of McCarthyism, the tendency here is to look at America with intense distrust. Even people who try to study the logic of the international situation, uninfluenced by feelings pro or con, look at American developments with a certain anxiety. Some ask bluntly: Is America going fascist? It is possible that our minds have been confused by Communist propaganda, which for popular consumption created a picturesque and simplified image of fascism not fitting the American situation.

MOST PEOPLE, including the Communists, have tended to think of fascism as following the Italian, Spanish, and German pattern. But is it not possible to conceive of a fascism which would remain outwardly in accordance with the practices of representative democracy? In a country where the mass of the population enjoys a decent standard of living a group of politicians working in close connection with the leaders of industry and finance and the owners of the press, broadcasting, and television could mold the minds of their fellow-citizens and develop a system of supple yet absolute control of public opinion which would enable them to leave the voting system untouched provided they did not violate two permanent principles. First, they must not directly injure the interests of any large group of citizens which, if it starts questioning their leadership on one issue, might question it on all. Second, they must choose as a target for attack and as a scapegoat for every conceivable evil a group of people so clearly defined that they can be "hunted" with-

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out creating any great fear among the mass of voters.

It seems to me that Communist hunting in the United States serves such purpose admirably. Communists are so scarce that practically nobody in the United States has ever met one; thus any amount of fear and horror can be aroused against them. Also the hunt for Communists being directed mainly against the intellectual world and persons in government, it is probable that the average American does not feel directly threatened. Under such conditions a new kind of fascism—shall we say "demo-fascism"?—might conceivably emerge which would work as a democracy in all respects save one: there would be no place for contradiction of the "accepted truth." This would be injected daily into the people's minds by thousands of "free" politicians, journalists, and radio commentators, all governed at first by the fear of losing their jobs and, in the end, conforming naturally to a rigidly molded national outlook.

Of course, the price to be paid by America will be enormous. The ultimate failure of any totalitarian system is a result of the fact that it loses its own faculty of appreciating events correctly and thus makes huge mistakes, such as Hitler's in 1938-39, or the Soviet blunders up to and during the Korean war.

In many European countries McCarthyism has already caused nearly as much distrust and even direct dislike of America as that felt for Soviet Russia. It remains to be seen whether any large group of Americans will realize the extent of the danger before the system hardens to a new kind of regime, outwardly the same, inwardly the opposite of everything which used to be called American. Such a regime could only be ended by the world cataclysm it is sure to bring about.

"Sting Me with the Theremin"

If you don't want a man unhappy politically, don't give him two sides to a question to worry about: give him one. Better yet, give him none. Let him forget there is such a thing as war. If the government is inefficient, top-heavy, and tax-mad, better that it be all those than that people worry over it. . . . Give the people contests they win by remembering the words to popular songs or the names of state capitals or how much corn Iowa grew last year. Cram them full of non-combustible data, chock them so full of "facts" they feel stuffed, but absolutely "brilliant" with information. Then they'll feel they're thinking, they'll get a sense of motion without moving. . . . Don't give them any slippery stuff like philosophy or sociology to tie things up with. That way lies melancholy. . . . So bring on your clubs and parties, your acrobats and magicians, your daredevils, jet cars, motorcycle helicopters, your sex and heroin, more of everything to do with automatic reflex. If the drama is bad, if the film says nothing, if the play is hollow, sting me with the theremin, loudly.—*From "Fahrenheit 451" by Ray Bradbury, by permission of Ballantine Books.*

Farewell to Europe

by Kay Boyle

FOR over a quarter of a century I have lived in Europe, and, perhaps because of the physical distance between me and my country, when other aspects of American life were lost in vagueness, America's tradition of individual freedom remained singularly clear. During those years my forbears acquired a special stature, and perspective lent them a meaning possibly greater than was actually theirs. For instance, I have always believed that my great-great-grandfather on my mother's side, a General Bauer who served on George Washington's staff in the Revolution, was a man who felt so deeply about political freedom that he volunteered to give his life for it. I believe, moreover, that in making the choice he did, in the time he made it, he not only played a part in the creating of a nation but accepted as well the individual responsibility of establishing a tradition of social freedoms, and I am proud he made that choice.

There are others among my people who belong to America as well as to me, and through the years, their lives have been part of my own. There was my great-grandfather Moore, a doctor, who after much thought and with some misgivings left Philadelphia with his family and settled in Kansas at a time when the Indian fires burned along the horizon at night. He was "almost overcome by the vastness" that confronted him, but he recognized it as a site for individual endeavor, and winter and summer he traveled by horse and buggy through that vastness to his scattered patients every day.

His favorite child, my mother's mother, was a school teacher at sixteen, and raised her own children on the Kansas prairies, and I think of her as a pioneer as fearless as any who broke new soil. I know that her eldest daughter, Nina E. Allender, the official cartoonist of the National Woman's Party and a staunch fighter for the American wo-

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KAY BOYLE is the author of some twenty-five books, including, most recently, "Thirty Short Stories," "His Human Majesty," and "The Smoking Mountain." She is the wife of Joseph M. Franckenstein, a former Foreign Service officer with the Department of State, and has spent the last five years in Germany, where she was a correspondent for the New Yorker. She has made frequent visits to France to collect political and other data for use in the book she is now completing on contemporary France.

man's franchise and her rights before the law, belongs as well to a tradition to which I am committed by pride. I shall tell my grandchildren, as I have told my children, of the Children's Crusade that crossed America in the early twenties—a straggling crusade of children and their mothers who walked across the continent to Washington to petition the White House to set their fathers free. When the marching children, some ill, all weary, came through Cincinnati, my mother opened our doors to them, and she washed and fed them, and when they left she walked to the outskirts of the city with them, helping them carry their placards reading: "My father is in prison for expressing his opinion"; or "I have never seen my father. He is still in prison because he didn't believe in war."

I HAVE SPOKEN of these forbears of mine to Europeans, and their presence with me on foreign soil helped establish a common tongue between us. I have talked of my father's father, Jesse Peyton Boyle, whose people came from Ireland, and who was a man of passionate opinions, furiously expressed. He was a lawyer and the founder of the West Publishing Company in St. Paul, and his belief in the rights of the American male citizen brought him daily to the point of apoplexy. In the years I lived abroad my grandfather, my mother, and the others were there in explanation and justification of the things I said about America. They were present when Europe looked to us for liberation from the Nazi armies, and they were there when that liberation came. They went with me, these ardent believers in the spirit of free inquiry, into the political prisons of Franco Spain and into the processing centers of Western Germany, where refugees from the East waited for asylum. Indeed, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that I went to these places because my forbears were with me, and that it was they who led me there.

But by 1949 a change had come into the faces of Europeans when they spoke of America, and my forbears seemed to feel uneasy in their revolutionary roles. In 1951 scattered editorials appeared in the foreign press, and Europeans asked curiously, incredulously, about "the democratic tension" in America. Which of the basic freedoms was the voice of one man condemning, they asked, and which did he honor, and—far graver—which of the freedoms could survive his daily abuse? In late 1952 and early 1953 the press of England, Germany, France—although never one organ of the Communist Party—spoke bitterly of this man, an American, whose name was not Eisenhower, or Dulles, but something quite different in essence from either of these.

One German newspaper editor, a close friend for several years, and a tough, seasoned fighter for democracy, struck the table with his fist and said: "If there is another side in America as articulate as this one man's, then get more and more evidence of it to us over here. I don't want to fill my paper with the reports of his accusations, with accounts of the suicides of honest men. I want to give the German people another America, an America as dynamic and eloquent as his. If his voice doesn't speak for your countrymen, then let us hear other voices ringing out. Only Einstein, once a German like me, spoke loudly enough for us to catch the echo over here."

"DON'T GO back to America now," a Paris *concièrge* I have known for fifteen years said to me in the spring. "It isn't your country any more"; and because of the silence that fell suddenly around us, I believed for a moment that my ancestors had died. As she washed the tiles of the entrance hall or peeled the potatoes for the soup at night, the *concièrge* spoke of one man only, and it was not Pinay or Laniel or even Mendès-France. It was an American, and his name was McCartair, and if he didn't like the look of your face, he'd subpoena you right in off the street, she told me. "Stay away from America the way the French who could manage it stayed away when fascism was in the saddle here. It doesn't last, fascism. It's a corpse that the ambitious try to pump the blood of life in every now and then. The French people will see it doesn't get any more transfusions in a hurry here," she said. When I spoke of other Americans to her, she shook her head, and she poured us each a glass of wine in sympathy. "There is only Monsieur McCartair," she said. "There is no other side."

For over four years I taught in a women's prison in Germany, and the director of the prison stands, a clear, pure figure, as strong as stone, against

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the grimness of that place. She is calm and proud, wise and humble, eager, and open, and uncorruptible, and gracious as few Germans have ever sought to be. One of the last evenings in Europe was spent in her small house near the prison, spent in talk, as had happened so many times before, with a group of students from the local university. She said to me then: "Write to us about the other America. It must be there."

And one bold, young student of political economy said that this "other America" on whom the common people of Europe had counted, and counted still, had no press even in America to speak for it. "The same kind of censorship through indecision is taking place in America now as once took place in Germany," the student said. "People can't risk losing their jobs by buying a paper that defends the freedom of the individual. So, one after another, these papers die. That's what happened in Germany twenty years ago; so the other side was never heard. That's what's happening in America today."

"Tell them when you get back," said the director of the prison, "that we had our demagogue too, and for a long time we laughed about him. We said that for the German people he was an impossibility. Tell them that when a dictator came to power in Italy, we said—out of our national contempt for the Italian moral fiber—that we, a democratic people, with the history of democratic trade unions like a strong backbone to support our economic life, could never be emotionally swayed as they had been. But little by little, while we talked of our traditions, the demagogue talked louder, and our civil liberties narrowed, narrowed, narrowed, until one day they were no longer there."

"Stay in Germany where you can say and write what you please," said the youngest and brashest of the students as we sat in the little house near the prison that night, and nobody thought to laugh at the irony of history.

"Don't go back to America until the tide has changed," were the words written in a letter from England that I carried in my bag. *"Don't go back to a state of mind that can justify a military treaty with Franco Spain by that impoverished word 'expediency.'"* And a message from a Spaniard in exile in the south of France lay beside the Englishwoman's letter, and it said: *"Wait to return until the campaign promises have been kept by your President concerning the Taft-Hartley law and the McCarran Act. The air in America will then be easier to breathe."* And the voice of a young Frenchman came across the frontier, saying to me: *"There are periods in the history of every country when there is no course left to the intelligent citizen but to stay away."*

And then, as if they had been roused from sleep, my forbears stood up from their chairs. The women among them waited, their eyes fixed gravely on me, for me to speak, but the men walked back and forth in agitation, and the little house near the prison trembled with the vehemence of my Irish grandfather's ire.

"No, this is the time to return," I said to the German students seated in the room, and to the Frenchman, and the Spaniard, and the Englishwoman, who were not there. "This is one of the times in history when one must go back and speak out with those of the other America clearly and loudly enough so that even Europe will hear."

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VI. CONCLUSION

The Present Danger

A Call for Leadership

WHAT positive measures can be taken to meet the present danger? We suggest that President Eisenhower still has a chance to regain control of his Administration and defeat McCarthy's frenetic drive for power. First, he must muster the support of Republicans and Democrats in Congress to defeat the program of his own Attorney General. In any event, as a minimum, he must prevent passage of legislation at the next session of Congress which would suspend the privilege against self-incrimination and permit the introduction of evidence acquired from wire-tapping. If Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover are successful in forcing this legislation through Congress, they will have acquired the essential techniques for the establishment of a police state. And to reassure the people that he means to oppose McCarthy, let him remove Brownell as Attorney General.

Secondly, the President must make it clear—and above all to McCarthy—that the executive power is his and that he does not intend to share it, much less surrender it, to the chairman of a Congressional committee. By precept and example he must encourage faint-hearted subordinates to stand firm against McCarthy's efforts to dictate policy, program, and personnel. This means that the President must plainly and decisively reject the concept of guilt by accusation. Resolute action by him could check the spread of this pernicious doctrine. The President commands unrivaled access to all the media of mass communication; let him use them. The responsibility will be his if he fails to act while there is time.

Let those who want the President to take these steps make it known to him. Let those who write editorials and compose sermons denouncing McCarthyism join in demanding that he act. Let every organization that has passed a resolution denouncing McCarthyism do the same. And people who want the President to act should act themselves: let them do locally and individually what they urge him to do officially and nationally. There is no dearth of issues.

In the third place, Mr. Eisenhower should call upon a group of outstanding citizens to help him realize his expressed hope that communism and espionage will not be political issues in 1954. Faced with difficult problems, Presidents have often appointed non-partisan commissions "to study and report." The task of evaluating the nature, extent, and form of the internal-security problem needs this kind of attention.

BUT THE APPOINTMENT of a commission would mean little unless the members were thoroughly pledged to the basic values of a democratic society. Such a commission should include men of the caliber of Judge Charles E. Clark, Judge Learned Hand, former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, William T. Evjue, Delbert E. Metzger, Robert M. Hutchins, Monroe Deutsch, Paul Hoffman, William T. Gossett, Telford Taylor, Charles P. Curtis, John Lord O'Brian, Monsignor John O'Grady, Dr. John McKay, Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School. Until this commission has rendered a complete evaluation of the whole area of internal security and its reconciliation with the values of a political democracy, the President should attempt to prevail upon responsible Republican and Democratic leaders in the House and Senate to declare a moratorium on Congressional investigations of "subversive" or "un-American" activities.

And since the make-up of such a commission would be of vital importance, the chief counsel and staff should be recruited with great care; the ablest young men in our law schools should be utilized and such experts drawn from academic life as Harvard's Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Robert K. Carr of Dartmouth, and Robert E. Cushman of Cornell. The Federal Bureau of Investigation must not be permitted to wield any veto power or even influence the selection of members

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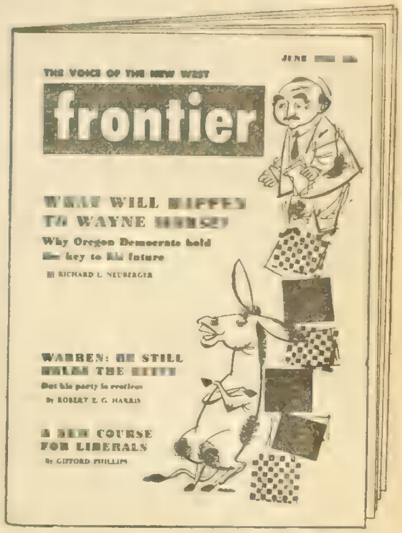

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of the commission or its staff, since it would be assumed that one of the subjects to be investigated would be the role of the F. B. I. in internal security. If the President cannot induce Congress to grant an appropriation adequate to finance such a commission, then let him ask the Ford Foundation to divert some of the $15,000,000 allocated to the Fund for the Republic for this purpose. Better that the commission operate without power of subpoena than that Congress should dominate its investigation. For one thing, the Congressional power of investigation should be scrutinized by a body over which Congress itself has no control. The report of such a commission would go far toward relieving the suspicions and unreasoned fear that the demagogues have inculcated.

AND WHAT about the loyal opposition? The Democrats cannot afford to play 'possum with the issue of McCarthyism, hoping that it will embarrass and divide the Republicans. They cannot hope to win by proving that they are more "anti-Communist" than McCarthy—but nicer about it. Nor will pious protestations of patriotism and loyalty ward off his phony accusations. They cannot afford to be placed on the defensive, for they will discover, if they have not already done so, the difficulties of proving that they are *not* witches.

The opposition to McCarthyism must be a principled opposition. It must reject categorically the notion that communism can be fought as a heresy; it must scotch the myth of the omnipotence of communism. It must not permit McCarthy to exploit his version of the "Communist menace." It must expose his demagoguery by pointing up the real issues and by showing what his voting record has been on these issues. It must formulate a foreign policy consistent with its domestic program and one that does not breed McCarthyism at home. It must vigorously defend civil liberties. Let Mr. Stevenson, following the example of Wendell Willkie, volunteer to defend some government employee called up for a loyalty hearing or let him argue the legality of the "listing" of "subversive" organizations by the *ex parte* action of the Attorney General.

The Democrats must recover their nerve. They must learn to stand erect in the presence of J. Edgar Hoover. They must steel themselves to risk his displeasure by cross-examining him when he testifies against them. They must realize that the Democratic Party is directly in the line of McCarthy's fire. They must, finally, expose the real conspiracy which today threatens the nation's internal security: namely, the conspiracy of McCarthy and his cohorts to subvert the Bill of Rights. The Democrats have leaders—one need only mention Senator Lehman—who have consistently opposed McCarthyism. Their counsels must prevail, for the party cannot hope to win—indeed, it may not survive—if it flinches on this issue.

If the Democratic Party is to resist McCarthyism, then the labor movement must encourage it to act in this fashion. To this end, the unions must quickly step up the tempo and scale of their political-action programs. Politically they have tended to lean on the Democrats; now the relationship is likely to be reversed. If labor has enjoyed a degree of immunity from the witch hunt these last few years, it has been because its allies, the Democrats, were in power; the situation has now changed.

FINALLY, the President should draw upon that backlog of respect and admiration which led many independent voters to select him as their choice to provide solid, constructive leadership in a time of trouble. He must reject the advice of the smooth manipulators and the cynical power-grabbers. He must now act for himself and for the millions who elected him and for his country. He must mobilize all Americans of good-will, conservatives and liberals, Democrats and Republicans, alike.

Senator McCarthy has now clarified the fundamental issue. He has made it plain that he is driving for the Presidency, for total power, for the ultimate destruction of democratic procedures. On this issue there should be no disagreement between conservatives and liberals. Men of good-will may disagree on domestic policy; they must agree on the basic issue of fair play and respect for constitutional freedoms. Has the President the courage, the imagination, the intellectual grasp of the principle at stake to lead the way, saving both his Administration and the vital contribution which American leadership can make to a world in trouble?

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Fahrenheit 451. By Ray Bradbury. Ballantine Books. Cloth, $2.50; paper, 35 cents.

The Writer in America. By Van Wyck Brooks. Dutton. $3.

For the Sake of Heaven. By Martin Buber. Translated from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. Harper. $3.

Chéri and the Last of Chéri. By Colette. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

Great English Short Novels. Edited and and with an Introduction by Cyril Connolly. Dial Press. $6.

Henry James: The Untried Years, 1843-1870. Volume I. By Leon Edel. Lippincott. $5.

The Heavy Day. By John Hart. George R. Preston. New York. $2.

Charles Dickens. His Tragedy and Triumph. By Edgar Johnson. 2 vols. Simon and Schuster. $10.

The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud. Volume I. *The Formative Years* and *the Great Discoveries, 1856-1900.* By Ernest Jones. Basic Books. $6.75.

Prince Bart. By Jay Richard Kennedy. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.95.

Long March. By William Styron. *Discovery No. 1.* Edited by John W. Aldridge and Vance Bourjaily. Pocket Books. 35 cents.

Little Novels of Sicily. By Giovanni Verga. Translated By D. H. Lawrence. Grove Press. $3.

Joseph Wood Krutch

Ben Jonson of Westminster. By Marchette Chute. Dutton. $5.

My Mother's House and Sido. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod and Una Troubridge. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

Evolution in Action. By Julian Huxley. Harper. $2.75.

Lélia: The Life of George Sand. By André Maurois. Harper. $5.

Dead Man in the Silver Market. By Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. $3.

Man, Time, and Fossils. By Ruth Moore. Knopf. $5.75.

The Web of Life. By John H. Storer. Devin-Adair. $3.

Circle of the Seasons. By Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead. $4.

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The Journals of Lewis and Clark. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $6.50.

The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. $5.75.

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Major Campaign Speeches of Adlai E. Stevenson, 1952. Random House. $3.50.

H. H. Wilson

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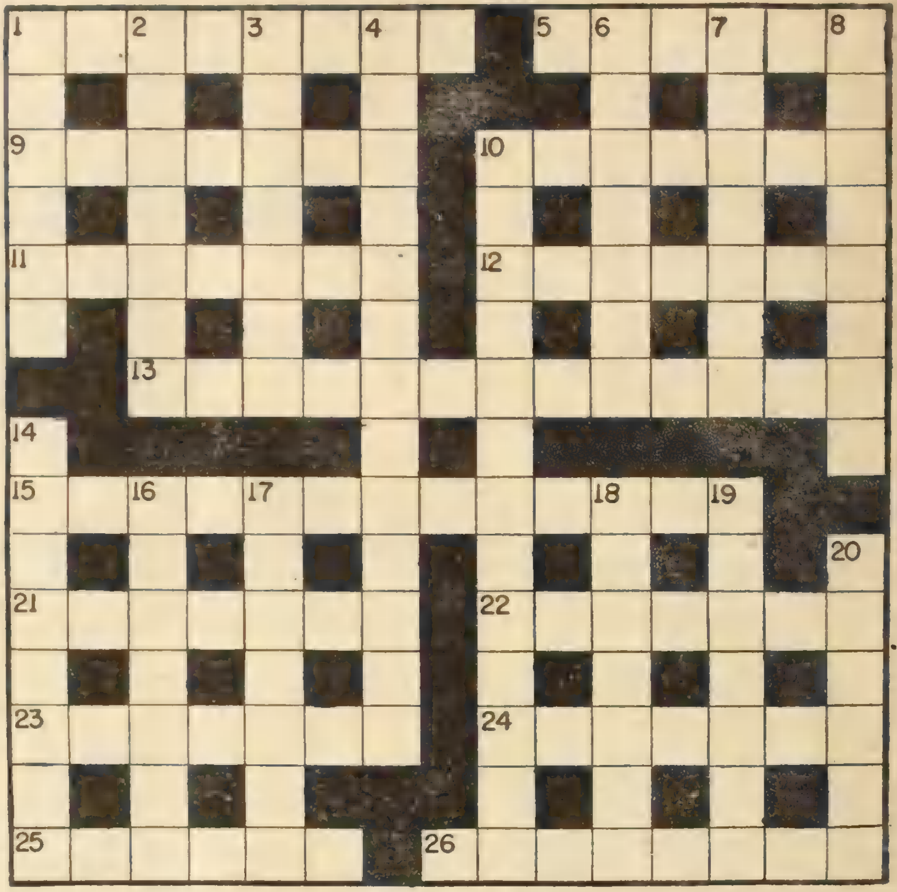
Crossword Puzzle No. 545

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 This sort of fly is after a big bird to suspend in oil. (8)
5 and 14 down. One does as an author who gives witness, as well as a controversial figure; but the retiring person goes from the bench to here. (6, 8)
9 Go in orderly fashion, or with plenty of spirit? (4, 3)
10 The painter who makes you see a little room, and nothing else. (7)
11 The road levels, the sky goes up, and the paint peels. (7)
12 Plunging. (7)
13 Construct or confine, when there's some question of goods delivery. (3, 2, 2, 4, 2)
15 Is earth so sad? (13)
21 Old bag in *La Boheme?* (7)
22 Bring back surplus money in Scandinavia. (7)
23 A competitor with retrogressive art in a bad canvas. (7)
24 Loose. (2, 5)
25 Is back with a Nordic lad inside a Chinese province. (6)
26 Resembles losing a pound in the process. (8)

DOWN

1 Show up as a former attitude? (6)
2 A portion comes up under a starburst. (7)
3 Photographed, and placed in the track-meet? (4-3)
4 You will have finished this, as an example, with favorable prediction as to the outcome. (6, 7)
6 Awkward. (7)
7 Get up to work and slow down the boat with both sails and oars. (7)
8 Close breaks? (8)
10 Where to look for the cost of transportation? (If it stays up, better not come down!) (13)
14 See 5 across.
16 Sat *inter alia* in London, rather than France. (7)
17 Started making combinations, four at a time. (7)
18 Lesions under your feet? (7)
19 Strong drink with butter? Coarse, of course! (7)
20 "--------'d with sanctimonious theory." (*The Princess*, Tennyson) (6)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 544

ACROSS:—1 REFLEX ACTIONS; 9 BURST; 10 PUNCTILIO; 11 EN ROUTE; 12 CLOSETS; 13 OLIVE; 14 ANTEDATED; 16 BAGPIPERS; 18 MOUNT; 19 IMPOSED; 21 BORACIC; 22 GRISETTES; 23 TUTTI; 24 MEDICINE LODGE.

DOWN:—1 RUBBER OF BRIDGE; 2 and FOR CRYING OUT LOUD; 3 ENTHUSE; AMPLE; 5 TUNICATES; 7 SALVE; HOUSE DETECTIVE; 14 ANECDOTIC; TRUNCATED; 17 INSTEAD; 18 MARITAL; 20 PRIAM; 21 BISON.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

Speak Out, America

The National Lawyers Guild calls on Americans everywhere to speak out against the modern inquisition

I.

Americans who value freedom have been heartened by the rising crescendo of resistance in recent months to the public pillorying of individuals and organizations which too grievously has pervaded the American scene for too long a period.

Fresh from his round-the-world tour Adlai Stevenson assailed McCarthyism and warned that America's prestige was being undermined by inquisitions, purges and book-burning. The General Council of the Presbyterian Church has decried the attacks upon citizenry which confuse "treason and dissent" as "utterly alien to our democratic tradition" and alerted its members in 8,000 congregations to the dangers. Leading clergymen of other denominations supported the Presbyterian statement. On October 22, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, whose membership includes Albert Einstein and Max Born, Nobel Prize winners, called upon scientists everywhere "to strengthen the spirit of free inquiry by clear and courageous public expression" and urged scientists to lose their fear of being "labeled" for saying things they believed. And, on November 16 the faculty of Columbia College went on record as firmly opposed to current Congressional investigations of educational institutions "because they are creating, in academic communities, and in the nation at large an atmosphere of apprehension and distrust that is jeopardizing the cause of free inquiry and threatening the right of dissent, which is the foundation of civil liberties in a free society."

II.

Public pillorying has not been the private preserve of Congressional committees. The Attorney General has not refrained from wielding the weapons of character assassination. His attack impugning the loyalty of an outgoing President should forever shatter the notion that any American is safe as long as the modern Inquisition is allowed to continue.

Here we do well to grasp the key point stressed by Mr. Truman in his broadcast to the nation: "This tragic debasement of high office by the Attorney General is bad enough, but the thing I wish most to get over to you tonight is that this incident is only the most publicized and the most recent example of the decay of the basic principles of freedom now taking place in this country."

Of less recent vintage is Mr. Brownell's assault on the reputation of the National Lawyers Guild, a bar association which, for 17 years, has endeavored to promote justice, the general welfare, and defend the civil rights and liberties of all Americans. In advance of a hearing and without prior notice—Mr. Brownell publicly announced before a convention of the American Bar Association his "determination" that the National Lawyers Guild was a "subversive" organization "at least since 1946." He then asked the Guild to show why it should not be listed as such. Thus we have the astounding spectacle of the chief law officer of the land—acting not only as prosecutor and judge—but announcing his sentence in advance. Mr. Brownell's concept of fair play is indeed bizarre.

Mr. Brownell charges the Guild with no unlawful action. He refers to no action on its part claimed to be injurious to our country or its institutions. His charges relate only to the alleged political beliefs of some of its members, or supporters, to the alleged similarity of some of its views with some views of the Communist Party, and to its action in opposing Congressional inquisitions and legislation or prosecutions affecting Communists, among others, which, the Guild contended, invaded basic constitutional guarantees.

Typical of the charges and of evidence used against the Guild are the following: that one member allegedly acted improperly when representing a person accused of espionage in a case in which the Guild had no part; that Communist publications allegedly "reported with approval" Guild activities; that the Guild intervened as friend of the court to defend civil rights and liberties in certain cases involving Communists; and that it opposed certain legislation and Congressional investigations said to be directed at Communists.

The Attorney General's charges thus rest wholly upon the pernicious device of "guilt by association." The application of this alien device has now become widespread in our land. As Henry Steele Commager recently said: "It is time that we see this doctrine of guilt by association for what it is; not a convenient device for detecting subversion, but a device for subverting our democratic principles and practices, for destroying our constitutional guarantees, for corrupting our faith in ourselves and in our fellow men."

Full freedom of association is essential to modern democracy. In most spheres of life today, the individual can make his influence felt only by joining with others in an organization. Hence the attack on free association, through the use of guilt by association, constitutes one of the most dangerous anti-democratic developments of modern times.

We maintain that the Attorney General—or any other government official for that matter—has no constitutional authority to proscribe organizations for their views or associations. Under our Constitution, as the Supreme Court has said, "no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion. . . ."

III.

The National Lawyers Guild is dedicated to resisting the onslaught by public officials on basic Constitutional rights. It has, therefore, instituted suit in the Federal District Court challenging the constitutional authority of the Attorney General to blacklist organizations. If this challenge is upheld, the inquisition and character assassination by public officials will have been dealt a severe blow.

What is at stake is something more than the right of a bar association to exist untrammeled by a political appointee. What is at stake is the cause of freedom—the right to think and associate with others to advance common lawful aims free from intimidation or coercion by would-be thought police.

The counter-attack against the Inquisition has begun. Will you help it succeed?

Speak out and say what you think about the proscription of organizations. Urge organizations with which you are affiliated to speak out.

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A Review of the La Follette Biography

Letters

Rejoinder by Dr. Bodde

Dear Sirs: Never before have I tried to answer any review made of a book with which I have been connected. Kenneth Rexroth, however, in the November 14 *Nation,* has written a review of Fung Yu-lan's two-volume "History of Chinese Philosophy" (translated by myself from the Chinese) which requires a rejoinder.

Among factual misstatements is Mr. Rexroth's assertion that Volume I of the Fung History was originally published by Veitch in Peking "shortly before the change in regime," by which, from the context, he unmistakably has in mind the Chinese Communist triumph of 1949. The actual date, clearly stated at the beginning of both volumes, is 1937, and the name of the publisher was Vetch, not Veitch. Mr. Rexroth elsewhere speaks of "Tantric and Syncretic Buddhism" with reference to the History, though neither term appears in that work. His concept of "classical," as applied to China, must be an elastic one, since it allows him to lump the Mohists and Legalists (fifth and second century B. C.) together with the early Neo-Confucians (ninth century A. D.) as "later philosophers of the Chinese classical period." These errors are in themselves of no great consequence, but they inevitably arouse speculation as to the care with which Mr. Rexroth read the work he is reviewing.

Much more fundamental is Mr. Rexroth's criticism of Fung Yu-lan as "a conservative in regard to the documents," from whom "you would never guess . . . that the authenticity of attribution, the admixture of later material, the very nature and meaning of some books, such as the Shi Ching, the I Ching, and the Tao Te Ching, have been questioned continuously almost since their first appearance in history." The reason why Dr. Fung devoted no critical discussion to the Shih Ching—not Shi Ching, as Mr. Rexroth spells it—is simply that this work can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a philosophical text, that it considerably antedates the rise of Chinese philosophical speculation, and that it was therefore not germane to Dr. Fung's subject. The same is not true, however, of the I Ching, and in Volume I of the History, pages 379-82, Mr. Rexroth will find a detailed discussion of this work, in which its earlier divination corpus is clearly differentiated from its much later philosophical Appendices, and the traditional attribution of the latter to Confucius is unequivocally rejected.

In the case of the Tao Te Ching, similarly, Mr. Rexroth will find in Volume I, pages 170-72, a denial of the popular attribution of this work to an elder contemporary of Confucius, and an analysis of the much later biography of its alleged author, Lao Tzu, which shows clearly that this biography is a gross confusion of fact and legend. Other similar examples of Dr. Fung's critical approach to doubtful texts could readily be cited.

Apropos the Tao Te Ching, Mr. Rexroth himself maintains that "many, perhaps most of the authorities, . . . believe that the Tao Te Ching is a kind of psalter, a collection of mystical apothegms collected from all sorts of sources, some possibly Indian, and designed to be chanted in a community of monks." I challenge Mr. Rexroth to advance convincing evidence in support of either the first six words or the remainder of his statement. No organized monkhood, Taoist or Buddhist, existed in China until several centuries after the Tao Te Ching had been written.

Most serious of Mr. Rexroth's indictments, however, is his assertion that Fung Yu-lan "is *always* partisan" (Mr. Rexroth's emphasis), and that his works all "purport to trace through Chinese philosophy a sort of master tendency, culminating in Dr. Fung." Reading these and similarly phrased charges, one cannot but wonder whether they do not result from a confusion in Mr. Rexroth's mind between the Fung History, first published in Chinese in 1934 and translated by myself, and the Fung "Spirit of Chinese Philosophy," first published only ten years later and translated by E. R. Hughes. The former work is what its name implies: an inclusive and—within human limitations—a reasonably unpartisan history of its subject. The latter work, on the contrary, is one of a series of books, dating from 1939 on, in which Dr. Fung develops his own philosophical system. It therefore makes no pretense at being a systematic history of Chinese thought but is an admittedly selective account, laying stress on those particular elements from the past that have influenced Dr. Fung in creating his own philosophy.

This suspicion as to a possible confusion between two different books is heightened by the manner in which Mr. Rexroth refers to certain Chinese texts as "the Lao Tse Book, the Chuang Tse Book, the Lieh Tse Book." This terminology is strikingly reminiscent of the way in which Mr. Hughes, though with greater exactitude in romanization, refers in his Spirit translation to "the *Lao Tzu Book,* the *Chuang Tzu Book,*" and so on. In my own translation of the History, on the other hand, the same titles are invariably rendered more briefly as "the *Lao-tzu,* the *Chuang-tzu,*" and so on. Similarly, Mr. Rexroth's term "Inner Light," used by him to describe Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, is one that appears frequently in the Hughes translation, whereas it never once occurs in my translation of the History.

Mr. Rexroth really lets the cat out of his bag of critical judgment, however, when he praises Wieger's "History of the Philosophical and Religious Opinions of China" as "best of all perhaps" of the alternatives to the "*always* partisan" Dr. Fung. Persons acquainted with the loose paraphrases of Chinese texts which, in this book by Wieger, are intended to serve as a history of Chinese thought will agree with Mr. Rexroth, though for quite different reasons, that "nothing could be less like Dr. Fung." That the Fung History is open on various grounds to valid criticism this writer would be the last to deny. These grounds are not, however, those that Mr. Rexroth has singled out for his attention.

DERK BODDE,
Professor of Chinese,
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

Mr. Rexroth Explains

Dear Sirs: Perhaps I should have made it a little clearer that I was trying to discuss all of Fung Yu-lan's work which has so far appeared in English, using the history which Derk Bodde translated as a base. I feel that Dr. Fung is important and has received too little attention from other than scholarly publications.

I was not, however, reviewing the other work. It is my opinion that the general tendency to interpret the history of Chinese philosophy in terms of his own is at least as characteristic of the two-volume history and the short history as it is of the "Spirit of Chinese Philosophy," which is, after all, also a histori-

[*Continued on page 556*]

Volume 177, Number 25
New York, Saturday, December 19, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

War of Succession

A hard-fought battle for control of the Republican Party is now under way. It began with Senator Taft's death, which created an opportunity for McCarthy to assert command of the strategic right wing of the party. But the fighting remained more or less under cover until quite recently, when persistent rumors that the President would not seek reelection brought it into full view of a nation-wide TV audience. True or false, the rumors were taken quite seriously by the rival factions within the G. O. P. and explain the bitter struggle now going on.

The Dewey-Brownell elements promptly grabbed the headlines from McCarthy, challenging his reputation as the party's leading spy-catcher and hurler-of-accusations. To the same end, Senator Jenner sought the spotlight as the Administration's favorite inquisitor. From California, Thomas L. Stokes reports that the Dewey-Brownell strategy is meeting with success and that McCarthy is beginning to be regarded there as a rather clumsy red-baiter. Enraged by this, McCarthy made an open declaration of war against the Administration in his television-radio speech of November 24. His immediate target is John Foster Dulles; witness the rebirth of interest in the John Paton Davies case and the ugly smear campaign now being organized against Arthur H. Dean, our chief representative in the Panmunjom negotiations. But the Senator is clearly stalking the President and his Attorney General, the first in order to make it difficult for Eisenhower to hand on the succession to Mr. Dewey or some other favorite, the second because Brownell is the generalissimo of the Dewey forces. At the same time Senator William Knowland has aligned himself with McCarthy on at least two key issues the better to prevent Vice-President Nixon, who is quite a spy-catcher himself, from concluding an alliance with the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

First Major Mistake?

Not at all pleased by these developments, a group of middle-of-the-road Republicans are trying to moderate the struggle for power: Representative Frelinghuysen by a proposal to consolidate the McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner committees in a single joint committee of the House and Senate; Senator Duff, who would replace the three committees with a Presidential commission; and others who would change the seniority rules and then replace McCarthy, as chairman of the key committee, with someone like Senator Williams of Delaware. But these efforts are not likely to succeed.

In the meantime the President has begun to act and sound like a leader and to reassert his command of the party. If he has finally decided to call the turn on McCarthy—and his intention will be made clear once Congress reconvenes—then the latter's open declaration of war on November 24 may turn out to have been his first major tactical mistake.

Franco and France

Western diplomatic circles are beginning to be seriously disturbed by the deterioration in French-Spanish relations. The Spanish dictator, known as a Germanophile since he was a young captain in World War I, is apparently taking advantage of every opportunity to injure France. When the French deposed the old Sultan of Morocco, Franco, who in his own country suppresses every political party except the Falange, suddenly became a champion of democracy in Spanish Morocco, encouraging the growth of all kinds of Arab political factions—so long as they were anti-French. The authorities in Paris believe they can trace some of the assassinations in French Morocco to groups harbored in the Spanish zone, and expect even more trouble from them as time goes on.

Last week the friction between the two countries spread from North Africa to the journalistic front in Madrid and Paris. Franco began things by expelling Jean Creach, Madrid correspondent of *Le Monde*, who while usually sympathetic to the Franco regime had reported on the unexpected "nationalist" opposition within the Falange to the Washington-Madrid military pact. The Quai D'Orsay retaliated by expelling the Paris correspondent of the Madrid *A. B. C.* Franco promptly banned *Le Monde* in Spain, and the Spanish Newspaper Association, which is under the dictator's control, is now demanding that all Spanish correspondents be withdrawn from France and all French correspondents be expelled from Spain.

One thing is clear: so long as Franco feels he has American support he will continue to give free rein to his hostility to France.

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Felix S. Cohen

With the death of Felix S. Cohen, at forty-six, not only have the United States Indians lost their most resourceful defender and wisest counselor; American liberalism, applied anthropology, and the philosophy of law have lost one of their best thinkers and perhaps their subtlest literary voice. Felix Cohen, like his father, Morris Cohen, and like John Dewey, reached out for a wider and more substantive content for American philosophy. Both as thinker and as man of action, he added significantly to the American heritage.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the product of many minds and especially Indian minds, had in Felix Cohen its main architect and most resourceful interpreter and implementer. The genius of that act lay in its creation of government-Indian relations based on mutual consent and an experimental attitude on both sides. Now, when the Administration and the controlling elements in Congress appear intent on destroying government-Indian reciprocity, renewing the dissipation of the Indians' lands, and threatening the Indians' spiritual existence, the death of Felix Cohen is a bitter loss indeed.

Mr. Eisenhower's Proposal

WAS the President's address to the United Nations a clever diversionary move in the cold war or was it a sincere and modestly practical plan to initiate international cooperation in the one area of atomic development—the industrial use of nuclear energy—where it might be conceivable? Even Mr. Eisenhower's supporters are divided on this question. Those most fiercely opposed to any deal with Russia would like to believe that the President's proposal to create an atomic stockpile under U. N. control to which all nations possessing fissionable material would contribute was only a trick to catch Moscow off base while also distracting the public eye from the meager results achieved at Bermuda and the continuing differences among the Western allies. The Russians, this theory holds, were sure to reject the proposal; they would never contribute to an enterprise launched by the United States anyhow, and they probably have little fissionable material to spare. So the President could afford an offer which would be dangerous in the extreme if it ran any chance of being accepted. Others, less bellicose, favored the plan as a serious effort to make a small dent in the wall of suspicion and "security" that blocks all progress toward control of the new weapons of mass destruction. A few voices, sounding somehow a little hollow, hailed the President's speech as a great and stirring call to peaceful cooperation and disarmament.

Without wishing to appear pusillanimous we incline to believe that Mr. Eisenhower was trying with some success to do all these things at once—and maybe a couple more. His speech served to dramatize for the world as well as for the American people the monstrous dimensions of the atomic threat: it was at least a first instalment of "operation candor." It certainly took the spotlight off Bermuda, sounding a positive note that was sorely lacking in the news from the conference itself. It carried the added weight of the approval of Churchill, Eden, and Cherwell, Laniel and Bidault. It won credit abroad by putting the proposed stockpile under the aegis of the United Nations. And at the same time it did force Russia to an awkward decision, somewhat as the Marshall Plan did, by inviting it to join in a program from which all nations would benefit but in which Russia would inevitably take second place. (The Communist press could blast it as a cheap substitute for Moscow's plan to abolish atomic weapons, but since Eisenhower openly declared his intention, in the interest of agreement, to by-pass the stalemated military problem, this charge lost some of its effect.) In terms of domestic politics, the degree and kind of cooperation would be modest enough if the Kremlin should accept, so that all but the most irreconcilable Red-haters would probably back the President, at least at the start. All in all it seems to us that within its narrow limits the move was both clever and useful.

AS THIS WEEK began the Soviet government still had Mr. Eisenhower's suggestion under advisement. Should it turn the offer down it would suffer a diplomatic defeat greater than it would risk by accepting. Once it had agreed in principle, it could of course make use of the negotiations which would follow to try to gear the plan to its own concept of a peace offensive.

In applying the proposal there will be problems to meet almost as tough as those presented by the Baruch control plan. Chief among them will be the problems of safeguarding the international stockpile without any international force to do the job and of determining the ratio of material to be contributed by each power without any system of international inspection to check and report on the amount possessed by each. In the effort to resolve these problems the Soviet government would find many opportunities to turn the tables, if it chose, on the United States. Though Moscow will probably never believe it, by far its most effective way to regain the initiative would be to act with generosity rather than suspicion. For the President's proposal, cautious though it was, would in its working out involve a sharing of now-secret information and even of power that would be as difficult for the United States as for Russia.

If both sides should prove willing to display the moderate degree of courage and cooperation called for, the new atomic plan could lead to more far-reaching efforts —those efforts which will be required to overcome the imminent threat of atomic destruction so convincingly described by Mr. Eisenhower.

Bermuda to Berlin

THE Bermuda conference showed what happens when a group of bald men try to let down their hair. It was bound to be a frustrating experience.

Sir Winston Churchill had hoped to recapture the glory and the Anglo-American intimacy of Casablanca, Quebec, Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. But 1953 is not 1941-45. Dwight Eisenhower is not Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The old gentleman of Downing Street must have winced at the pangs of anticlimax. What thoughts must have passed across his memory that morning as he brooded alone on a chair at the water's edge on the Bermuda beach. He doodled with his cane in the sand. Then he gazed long and intently at a solitary ship crawling along the horizon. He sat thus for forty-five minutes. Then he rose and walked falteringly up the slope to the road. But it was not the road back that Churchill had hoped to find. That eluded him, probably forever.

In the platitudinous tradition of conference pronouncements, the final communiqué put the accent on unity among the United States, Britain, and France. An American official told newsmen the conference's main accomplishment was "enabling us to see how each other's mind works." In fact, the minds of the three participants approached major issues quite differently.

Each of the three on the closing day presented his government's attitude toward Communist China. Their differences are well known. A United States delegation spokesman was honest enough afterward to admit: "No effort was made to bring the differing views on China into alignment." So the United States and Britain stood by their opposite positions concerning recognition of and trade with the Peking government.

The French too remained at variance with the United States. Unlike the British, they have not established relations with Red China. But unlike the Americans, they are not against the Soviet proposal to bring Chou En-lai to a five-power conference. Such a broadened meeting, the French hope, would enable them to begin discussions with the Chinese looking to a negotiated settlement of the Indo-China war. However, the French bowed to the Americans on this. When they encounter Molotov in Berlin on January 4, Bidault will join Dulles and Eden in resisting the Soviet demand to invite the Chinese Communists to the conference table. The rejection will probably take the form of telling Molotov that the proposed Far Eastern conference on Korea affords ample opportunity for Peking to enter discussions with the other major powers.

The French were in a lamentable predicament in Bermuda. Because the Laniel-Bidault Cabinet must resign in mid-January when investiture of the new President of the French Republic takes place, both the American and British leaders in Bermuda considered it pointless to negotiate with the existing government. It will be for a future French Cabinet to seek a majority for the E. D. C. treaty's passage. Hence neither Eisenhower nor Churchill thought it worth while to press the French for any assurance of early presentation of the treaty to Parliament.

On the eve of Bermuda the French indicated they would ask President Eisenhower and Churchill for some guaranty that American and British armed forces would stay in Europe. In addition, the French wanted to move toward a firm agreement regulating Britain's association with the projected European army. All that the French got, though, was a vacuous phrase offering "durable cooperation" between American-British forces in Europe and the European Defense Community.

Throughout the Bermuda conversation Churchill did not once mention his plan for a top-level meeting with Malenkov. He has obviously shelved that idea out of deference to Washington's distaste and Eden's coolness.

On the other hand, Churchill was the only member of the Bermuda party realistic enough to speak openly at a plenary session about possible failure of the entire E. D. C. program. If it were to collapse, he suggested, he would want to discuss some way of overhauling the North Atlantic alliance. This was apparently a renewal of Churchill's earlier suggestion that Germany be taken straight into NATO if the French refuse to ratify E. D. C. (See page 541 for James P. Warburg's proposal for a German settlement.) However, neither Churchill nor anybody else has indicated how one can circumvent or override France's right to veto German membership in the Atlantic pact. Dulles promptly answered Churchill by stating the American view that the alternatives to E. D. C. are "so feeble and hazardous that we don't want to discuss them."

The French failed to squeeze into the communiqué even a few cautious words acknowledging their right to seek a truce or a compromise settlement in Indo-China. That was the very least Laniel and Bidault could have taken home to placate the growing popular anger against the useless and seemingly hopeless Indo-China struggle. Just before Bermuda one of President Eisenhower's top advisers was saying privately in Washington that the United States would review its entire relations with France if the French were to withdraw from Indo-China. Considering the increasingly overt preference of the Eisenhower Administration for the German as contrasted with the French allies, the meaning of this hint was obvious enough.

JOURNALISTS in Bermuda discovered on the conference's first evening that transparent paper was being slapped over cracks in the Big Three alliance. At the opening session the principals compared their appraisals of Soviet policy since Stalin's death. Churchill said the West must be strong but must avail itself of every chance for contacts with Moscow at all levels. It must try to infiltrate the Soviet Union culturally, he went on, and enlarge its trade with Russia. "There's a deep change inside the mighty Kremlin," Churchill told Eisenhower and Laniel, "and we should consider the situation in that light." He finally urged that Russia be given assurance that "she won't get another dose of Hitler."

Mr. Eisenhower's outlook was very different. Churchill had spoken of post-Stalin Russia's "new look." The President tossed this aside by insisting that nothing essential has changed in the Soviet Union since Malenkov succeeded Stalin.

Bidault talked of internal economic stress in the U. S. S. R., especially in agriculture. He derived his information from the speech of Nikita Krushchev, Soviet Communist Party chief, who publicly divulged in October the failures in farm output, notably in livestock. Bidault implied that these deficiencies might make Moscow more amenable. At any rate, he suggested, one should keep an open mind as to new trends in Soviet policy.

THESE DIVERGENCES among the Western powers are meaningful. Whatever outward solidarity is observed in Berlin, Dulles, Eden, and Bidault will enter the talks with Molotov with varying mentalities and aspirations.

Which is the true American attitude? President Eisenhower, in his celebrated atomic speech before the U. N. Assembly, proclaimed:

> The government of the United States approaches this [Berlin] conference with hopeful sincerity. We will bend every effort of our minds to the single purpose of emerging from that conference with tangible results toward peace—the only true way of lessening international tension.

Is the American delegation really going to Berlin, then, hopeful of tangible results? A group of United States correspondents were given precisely the opposite impression earlier the same day by a highly responsible American official in Bermuda. His thinking about Berlin, so far as successful negotiation with the Russians is concerned, was utterly defeatist. He declared the four-power conference at best would be an opportunity for pressing the Soviets "to expose the bankruptcy of their policy." Berlin, he stated, will be no occasion for reaching decisions. In other American official quarters it was said the primary purpose of the Berlin discussions, rather than being serious negotiation with the Russians, is to persuade the French, British, and Germans that the means of seeking agreement with the U. S. S. R. have been exhausted. From this it would follow, as the Eisenhower Administration sees it, that the only alternative is swift approval and formation of the six-nation European army, including rearmament of the German republic.

PLAN FOR GERMAN UNITY

An Expert's Proposal . . *by James P. Warburg*

THERE can be no assurance that even the most sincere effort will, at this late date, bring about an acceptable all-German settlement. But one thing is certain: unless that effort is made, the NATO treaties, if ratified, will never be carried through in such a way as to achieve their purpose. The NATO plan can be redeemed from failure only by proving to the peoples of Europe that it is Russia, and Russia alone, which stands in the way of an honorable and satisfactory all-German settlement.

The first requirement of a Western program for an all-German settlement is that it must provide not only security but *a sense of security* for the people of France and the other countries of Western Europe. It must provide reasonable assurance against German domination, aggression, or betrayal, as well as maximum attainable security against Communist subversion or Russian military attack.

Second, the proposal must seem just and desirable to the majority of the German people. It must restore their unity, guarantee their freedom, and permit the development of a peacefully prosperous economy. It must settle the question of Germany's frontiers in such a way as to minimize the risk of future revisionism.

Third, the proposal must give Russia the assurance that Germany will not become either a pawn or a partner, much less a prime mover, in an anti-Soviet coalition.

Fourth, the proposal must be such as to assure the Czechs and the Poles, much as it assures the peoples of Western Europe, that the new Germany will not become a menace to their security, prosperity, and freedom.

There are six major problems involved in an all-German settlement: (1) the final determination of Germany's frontiers; (2) the rights Germany shall or shall not be given as to the maintenance of military forces and the manufacture of arms; (3) the rights Germany shall or shall not be given as to the joining of alliances; (4) the obligations, if any, which Germany shall assume for further reparations; (5) the degree to which Germany shall be left free to determine its own economic structure; (6) the degree to which Germany shall be left free to determine its own political structure. These are not the only problems involved in a settlement, but they are the most important.

1. *Frontiers.* At Potsdam, in August, 1945, Britain and the United States agreed to let Russia annex the northern half of East Prussia with its Baltic port of Königsberg. They agreed further to place "under Polish administration," subject to the final determination of a German peace treaty, the following German territory: the southern half of East Prussia, the eastern part of Brandenburg, and all of Pomerania, Upper Silesia, and Lower Silesia. Some ten million German inhabitants were evicted from these lands and forced to migrate into the rump of Germany, in addition to some three million Germans evicted from Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

One thing upon which practically all Germans agree is that they wish to restore Germany's 1937 frontiers. To accomplish this in whole or part will be the major aim of any future all-German government. The greatest danger that a new German nation might be won to an alliance with Russia lies in a possible future German deal with Russia at the expense of Poland. So long as the present frontier stands, this danger cannot be eliminated. A peace settlement must therefore provide for an adjustment of the frontier which will deprive the Kremlin of this powerful instrument of seduction. This must be a *sine qua non* in any Western proposal for a settlement.

Since the Kremlin is well aware of the value of its present position, negotiations may well break down on this point. Nevertheless, it is an issue upon which the Western powers must be both firm and precise. There would seem, in this case, to be ample room for a reasonable compromise, even though the Western position has been weakened by delay and morally undermined by the formal recognition of the Soviet annexation in East Prussia and by French quasi-annexation of the Saar.

CONSIDERING all the circumstances and all the water that has flowed under the bridges since Yalta and Potsdam, the writer suggests that the Western powers make the following specific proposal: *That Germany shall be permanently deprived of East Prussia and Upper Silesia, but that the remaining former German territories annexed by Poland in 1945 be returned.*

This proposal is based upon the following reasoning: East Prussia became a strategically provocative German island when the Polish Corridor was established after World War I. Most of its rich agricultural land was owned by a relatively small number of Junker families who through alliance with the military clique had for years drawn heavy subsidies from the German taxpayers. Its loss will not seriously hurt the German people. Its annexation by Poland will largely offset the loss of the Polish Ukraine.

There was no justification whatever for the Russian seizure of the northern half of the province. Stalin simply demanded the cession, and Truman, Churchill, and Attlee agreed. Having,

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JAMES P. WARBURG, author and publicist, has been primarily concerned with American policy toward Germany. This article is a condensed version of a proposal which the author submitted to the Eisenhower Administration before it took office. The proposal is discussed in detail in Mr. Warburg's latest book, "Germany, Key to Peace," published by the Harvard University Press and copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1953.

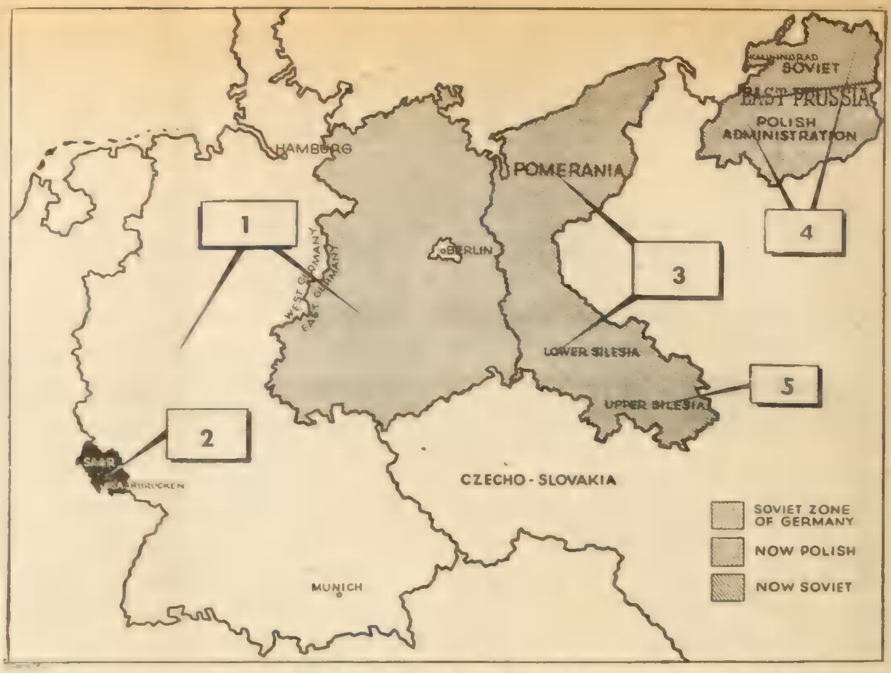
since then, formally recognized this annexation, the Western powers cannot now demand or even suggest that Russia give up this territory to Poland. Yet it is not altogether out of the question that Russia might voluntarily make such a move—perhaps retaining some sort of rights to the port of Königsberg—in order to retain the good-will of Poland, provided that an otherwise acceptable settlement of the German problem could be reached.

The case for recognizing the Polish annexation of Upper Silesia rests on different grounds. The population of this rich industrial province is partly Polish, and the territory has at various times belonged to Poland. Moreover, a peaceful Germany does not need the coal fields and the heavy industry of Upper Silesia if it retains its coal and industry in the West. Ceding this area to Poland would give that country an economy healthily balanced between agriculture and industry and—perhaps as important—make Poland a second source of coal supply for the other countries of Europe.

The reason for restoring the agricultural provinces of Lower Silesia, Pomerania, and Brandenburg to Germany is that, without these lands, the new Germany would have to become a heavy importer of foodstuffs and hence a heavy exporter of manufactured goods. This would make Germany an unnecessarily severe competitor for Great Britain and the United States in the markets of the world.

A second and equally important reason for the return of these provinces is that it would relieve the population pressure within Germany and make possible the resettlement of some of the now homeless refugees. A census of these expelled persons, as well as a study of the density of Polish settlement in the annexed territories, would help to determine whether all or only a part of these agricultural provinces should be returned.

THE WESTERN powers cannot logically or morally sustain the foregoing proposal for eastern frontier revision unless they rectify their own position with respect to the Saar. This matter will have to be settled with the French before any approach is made to the Soviet Union, and such a settlement will not be easy. The Saar issue, more than any one single factor, has poisoned recent Franco-German relations. It has become the symbol of irreconcilable nationalism in both France and Germany.



1. Germany Unified; 2. U. N. Mandate Followed by Plebiscite; 3. Return to Germany; 4. Present Division Retained; 5. Remains Polish.

The real significance of the Saarland is economic rather than political. The disputed area comprises only 2,835 square kilometers, densely populated by about 950,000 German-speaking and ethnically German inhabitants. This small area contains extremely rich coal deposits, producing annually about 15,000,000 tons of high-grade coal. In addition, a highly developed metallurgical industry produces pig-iron and about 2,500,000 tons of steel per annum, using the iron ore of neighboring French Lorraine. This economic interdependence of the Saar and Lorraine led Bismarck in 1871 to annex Lorraine to Germany, claiming that the Ruhr and the Saar "needed" the iron ore of the French province and that this justified Germany's taking it. Much the same argument in reverse is now put forward by France.

Morally, the French claim to the Saar on these grounds is as indefensible as Bismarck's claim to Lorraine. There are, however, certain extenuating circumstances. While Bismarck's claim rested, at bottom, upon the need to build a dominant Germany, the French claim rests, at bottom, upon the need to prevent France from being dominated by Germany—not upon the desire to make France the most powerful nation on the Continent.

French production of steel totals only a little over 10,000,000 tons per annum. The output of the German Ruhr is over 15,000,000 tons, with considerably greater potential capacity. If the Saar remains integrated with France, German and French steel production will be almost equalized. If the Saar is returned to Germany, France will produce only about 60 per cent as much steel as Germany. This is what lies at the heart of the dispute.

One might suppose that if the Schuman Plan merger of coal and steel production is assumed as a reality, these nationalistic considerations would be rendered obsolete. However, French insistence upon retaining the Saar—or, at the very least, keeping it separate from Germany—arises not only out of anachronistic nationalism but also out of the realistic fear that the watered-down Schuman Plan merger will result in German domination of the six-nation pool. This fear is justified by the fact that Britain's abstention and the influence of the British decision upon other nations have kept the Schuman Plan from embracing a larger part of Europe, in which the German influence might have been diluted. French fears are also justified by the unwise concessions made under American pressure to the Ruhr monopolists.

The first step in the Western proposal

should therefore be the suggestion that the Saar be placed for a certain number of years under a United Nations mandate, guaranteeing its political independence until its status is finally determined by a plebiscite.

The second step should be that the Saarlanders be permitted, without interference by France or Germany, to elect a new Constitutional Assembly, to adopt a new constitution and to elect a new government. Through this process the Saarlanders could freely debate and determine what their government's economic policy should be.

The third point in the proposal should be an Anglo-American agreement to reconsider and revise the concessions made to the Ruhr monopolists, in such a way as to insure so far as possible the restoration of the Schuman Plan to its original, single-free-market concept.

2. *German Rights as to Militarization.* French security—European security, for that matter—cannot be achieved by any plan which provides for a rearmed and divided Germany; it can be achieved only by a plan which reunites Germany and keeps it demilitarized until such time as an effective system of collective security can be brought into effect.

The Western powers should propose that under the peace treaty Germany shall be kept disarmed and demilitarized for a period of five or perhaps ten years, with the explicit provision that if universal disarmament shall not have been achieved at the end of that period, all restrictions applicable to Germany alone shall be lifted.

The Western proposal should further provide for continuous inspection by a United Nations commission to enforce German disarmament and demilitarization, with any violations to be reported at once to the Security Council. The United Nations commission should take over its duties as soon as the occupation forces of the four powers are withdrawn; this should be not later than one year after the signing of the peace treaty.

This proposal would satisfy both French and Russian fears of a resurgence of German military power. It would give Germany no just grievance. Finally, it would put a premium upon the early translation into action of the present, universally hypocritical lip-service to universal disarmament.

3. *German Rights as to Alliances.* A parallel formula should be applied to the question of Germany's right to enter into military alliances. This right cannot be denied permanently to Germany any more than the right to maintain armed forces.

The Western powers should propose a guaranty of German neutrality by all the signatories of the peace treaty for the period during which Germany is denied the right to rearm; if at the end of that period German rearmament is permitted—by reason of failure to achieve universal disarmament—then the guaranty shall lapse and Germany shall have the right to enter into whatever military alliance it may wish.

THIS PART of the proposal is probably the crucial point in working out a Western program. The United States has insisted up to this point that a united Germany must become a member of the NATO alliance. Russia cannot reasonably be expected to agree to any all-German settlement on that basis. In this observer's opinion, neither Britain nor France will in the long run support the American position if Russia takes a reasonable attitude on other aspects of a settlement. Unless we are prepared to yield on this question, there will be no point in making any proposal. Whereas the make-or-break point for Russia will probably arise over the question of Oder-Neisse frontier revision, the make-or-break point for us will be the decision as to German neutrality.

4. *Reparations.* The question of reparations has been unnecessarily confused by the sloppiness of the original Yalta and Potsdam agreements and by subsequent Russian refusal to account for the reparations illegally extracted from the Soviet zone. It is suggested that the Western powers make the following concrete proposal: (1) that reparations through transfer of capital assets shall cease, except perhaps for a small number of specific plants still to be designated for removal; (2) that there shall be no further reparations out of current German production until after Germany shall have repaid Britain, France, and the United States the sums they have invested in West German relief and reconstruction; (3) that after the three Western powers have been repaid, a fixed total amount, to be agreed upon for each country claiming further reparations, shall be paid out in annual pro rata payments, but only to the extent that such payments can be made without depressing the German living standard below the West European level. These annual payments are to be made by Germany only during the period of enforced demilitarization.

5. *Economic Organization.* The four problems of unification already discussed are very largely matters in which the chief difficulty will be to achieve four-power agreement. The two remaining major items, which concern the economic and political organization of the new Germany, require German agreement as well as four-power consent. In the last analysis, the basic structure of the economy of the new German nation will be determined very largely by the political nature of the all-German state.

6. *Political Organization.* Just as the four occupying owners will have to recognize that they cannot determine the nature of Germany's economic organization, so also they will have to accept the fact that there is not very much they can or should do to determine its inner political structure.

The Western powers should insist—as they already have done—that an all-German government come into being as the result of free campaigning by the political parties and freely held elections. They should insist—as they already have done—upon the constitutional guaranty to all German citizens of the political freedoms. The Russian note of March 10, 1952, indicated pos-

sible Russian acceptance of these demands. It remains necessary to nail down a solid agreement as to these basic matters.

We cannot be sure that a new Germany, so created, would become a peaceable and productive member of the European community. If a united Germany is given justification for feeling itself treated as a permanently second-class member of the European family or if Germany again becomes the object of competitive wooing by Russia and the West, then the chances are that Germany will once more play off East against West and become arrogant, aggressive, and unmanageable. If, on the other hand, the new Germany, being neither wooed nor treated as an inferior, is permitted to work its way back to a position of earned equality, then the forces of peaceable industriousness and reason may be expected to gain the upper hand.

One thing, however, is certain: if an all-German settlement such as here proposed can be reached, the chances for creating a favorable European context will be vastly improved. To the extent that Germany ceases to be a bone of contention, the strains of the cold war will be relaxed. A Germany whose neutrality is respected by both sides can become not only a buffer but perhaps something of a bridge over the cleavage which now divides Europe.

THE FREEDOM TO SEE

With or Without Glasses . . *by Ephraim S. London*

EVER since their invention movies have been the prime target of censors in the United States. Greater restrictions are imposed on them than on any other art form or medium of communication. Movies were not even entitled to the liberty of the press until 1952, when the Supreme Court recognized that they were a means of communication. Before that the courts of the country had been blindly following a 1915 decision of the Supreme Court holding that movies were merely a "spectacle . . . not to be regarded as an organ of public opinion."

The most repressive form of movie censorship, the licensing system, will be reviewed by the Supreme Court during its present term. It is being challenged as unconstitutional in two cases, one involving the picture "La Ronde," suppressed in New York, and the other "M," banned in Ohio. Although the system operates in only seven states and about sixty large cities, it sets the standards for most films made in Hollywood. The areas in which there is licensing—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, etc.—are some of the most lucrative markets for American films, and the major producers will not risk losing them.

EPHRAIM S. LONDON, a member of the New York Bar, has represented the moving picture interests in several censorship cases, including the ban on "The Miracle."

Almost all the licensing agencies operate in the same way. Before the public can see a picture, it must be inspected and approved by a board of one or more censors. If it is not approved, it may not be shown within the board's jurisdiction. A censor's rejection of a picture can be appealed to the courts, but in most cases—roughly 499 out of 500—the courts cannot or will not reverse a censor's decision.

WE WOULD not tolerate a licensing system for books, magazines, newspapers, or plays. Why, then, are we complacent about the licensing of movies? The reason generally given is that movies have a broader appeal and therefore a greater capacity for evil; hence they must be more stringently regulated. The broad appeal of the movies, however, is really a cogent argument against regulation. In a democratic society the greater the audience reached by any medium of communication, the greater the need to keep it free.

I have often speculated about the qualifications of a censor. Is he supposed to have a higher moral code, a quicker perception of indecency, a greater knowledge of pruriency? What training prepares a candidate for the job? What tests are given to determine his fitness? Whatever the qualifications, the appointments are usually political. With two or three notable exceptions, among them Dr. Flick of the New York censorship division, most censors have no greater fitness for their work than might be expected of a minor politician.

The general incompetence of the members of licensing boards is particularly dangerous because their judgments, of necessity, are personal. The various motion-picture censorship laws prohibit films found "immoral," "harmful," "indecent," or "prejudicial to the best interests of the people." But there are no objective criteria for determining whether a scene or an entire picture is objectionable on these grounds. The test is the reaction of the individual viewer. And the reactions of censors are often irrational and inconsistent. One licensing board will pass a picture in its entirety; another will not pass it unless certain scenes are cut; a third board will hold the same film to be completely unacceptable. "Tomorrow Is Too Late," winner of an award from *Parents Magazine* and passed by the New York censorship division, was banned in Maryland. "Latuko," sponsored by the New York Museum of Natural History, was suppressed in New York, but a New Jersey court declared that only a pervert would consider the film obscene.

Personal censorship by the license boards often extends to religious, political, and social ideas. Many of the films of the past few years dealing with racial discrimination, such as "Pinky," and "Lost Boundaries," were banned in various cities in the South. "Curley," an

Our Gang type comedy in which white and colored children were shown together, could not be released in Memphis, Tennessee, because, the Memphis censors declared, "the South does not permit Negroes in white schools nor recognize social equality between the races even in children." The chairman of the same board described another film, "Imitation of Life," as "the worst case of racial equality" he ever saw.

On the theory that the audience may imitate "wrongful" conduct that is not condemned on the screen the censors insist that in movies virtue must prevail, wickedness must be punished. Marital problems may not be solved by divorce, for that would encourage it; the innocent may not be convicted, for that would inspire lawlessness. Last year the Ohio board rejected "Native Son," based on the novel about a Negro hoodlum. The underlying theme of the story is that the hoodlum was made an enemy of society by society itself; that the slum in which he was compelled to live and the thwarting of his ambitions by racial barriers created a bitterness and resentment that finally led to violence. The board refused to pass the picture on the grounds that it was "against public interest in undermining confidence that justice can be carried out; and presents racial frictions at a time when all groups should be united against everything that is subversive."

The majority of licensors have little technical knowledge of the medium they govern and rarely consider the artistic merit or purpose of the pictures they review. At the same time that "Latuko," a serious documentary film on the life of aborigines, was suppressed in New York because a few natives appeared without clothing, a profusion of striptease and burlesque films were approved.

The licensing system is only one of the many kinds of censorship to which movies are subjected. There is in addition, censorship by the motion-picture industry through the Motion Picture Code; censorship by unofficial pressure groups such as the Legion of Decency, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Protestant Motion Picture Council, and American Legion; and police censorship by criminal action against indecent or obscene films. The cases pending before the Supreme Court attack only the constitutionality of the license system. There are crucial differences between suppressing a picture under a license law before it has been exhibited and trying to ban it by police action after it has been shown. The mere existence of a licensing system imposes a restraint. The licensors, paid to find evil, are much quicker to find objection. Under the criminal laws a film may be suppressed only if it is obscene, lewd, or indecent; under the license laws films are suppressed on those and on general ideological grounds.

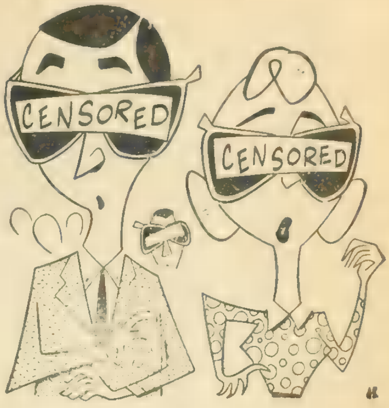
A PICTURE attacked under a penal law has the benefit of certain legal protections that are not afforded under the licensing laws. There is a right to fair hearing and trial under the criminal laws but not under the license laws. A government official charging that a moving picture is obscene must prove that it is obscene as a whole. A licensor may refuse to approve a picture if he finds a single scene or line objectionable. A few weeks ago the Ohio board banned "The Little Fugitive," a picture about a child's day at Coney Island, because a fragment of a scene was said to be offensive. The picture could not have been banned under a criminal statute.

Under a criminal complaint, a movie must be proved obscene or lewd beyond a reasonable doubt. The licensor, on the other hand, need only show that he was not entirely arbitrary or capricious; if there is any doubt about his decision it must, as a matter of law, be resolved in the licensor's favor.

The licensing system, as a result, imposes much greater restraint than the laws punishing indecent pictures. The movie "M," for example, banned in Ohio, was not and could not be interfered with in the hundreds of places without licensing systems where it was shown. The same immunity is enjoyed by a great number, probably a majority, of the films rejected.

The framers of the Constitution were fully aware of the dangers of licensing. The First Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of the press, was adopted primarily to prevent licensing of communications. Licensing of publications was the means used by the Church of England to control the first printing presses, and the system was imported by the colonies. The first fight for liberty of the press in this country was for emancipation from that system.

The censorship boards and the legislatures that control them realize that the laws under which they operate are obsolete and legally unsound. A few months ago Dr. Flick, chief of the New York division, described the New York censorship law as "archaic," and Dr. Clyde Miller, one of the administrators of the Ohio censorship bureau, said of the pending court test of the law, "I feel we are almost sure to lose it."



3-D—or C——d?

In several states where the licensing system is used the legislators have been pressed to modify or repeal the existing laws. Thus far no action has been taken, and the issue has been left for determination by the Supreme Court. It may be that the lawmakers are reluctant to have their governments lose the substantial income derived from censoring. A charge of $2 to $3 per reel is usually made for reviewing the pictures submitted, and the average collections by state censorship boards range from $200,000 to $300,000 per year.

The question of the constitutionality of the licensing laws was submitted to the Supreme Court last year in the "Miracle" and "Pinky" cases. In accordance with the general policy of the court those cases were decided on narrow rather than broad constitutional grounds. The court held that the provisions of the license laws involved in those cases were unconstitutional but left open the question whether all movie licensing laws are invalid. That question will again be raised in the "M" and "La Ronde" cases. If the court decides the "M" and "La Ronde" cases without deciding the principal issue of whether all such statutes are unconstitutional, the question will be presented again, as often as is necessary, until the issue is finally determined.

MCCARTHY'S WINDFALL

Robert E. Lee and the F.C.C. . . *By Arthur R. Main*

Washington

OF HIS half-hour broadcast on the White case last month, ex-President Truman devoted the final two minutes to McCarthyism, explaining that he was not "referring to the Senator from Wisconsin—he is only important in that his name has taken on a dictionary meaning for the world." Nevertheless, Senator McCarthy immediately announced that he was notifying the Federal Communications Commission that he wanted facilities equal to Truman's—that is, a full thirty minutes of radio and TV time—in order to answer what he termed an attack on him.

Reporters who asked the Senator what he would do if the networks refused were answered: "I think I will get the time." He did—$300,000 worth for nothing. After all, radio and TV executives were aware that the President had recently appointed two McCarthy-approved Republicans to the F. C. C.

The latest appointee is Robert E. Lee, a former chief clerk of the F. B. I. whose sole experience with mass-communications media has been as moderator of Facts Forum, a new and heavily subsidized radio-TV panel show which seems to have as its goal the elevation of McCarthy to the Presidency of the United States. If Mr. Lee possesses a single qualification for sitting on the F. C. C., which has ultimate authority over the air waves, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* thinks "it is not apparent." The newspaper adds that there are "ample reasons why he should not have been appointed and why, having been appointed, he should not be confirmed by the Senate." A bitter fight is expected in January when his nomination is placed before the Senate for approval.

If Lee has no qualifications, why was he appointed? On October 14 *Variety* wrote that the new F. C. C. member "in all probability will be the guiding spirit, with the blessings of the Administration, in reactivating the drive against AM-TV personalities who are reputedly Red-tinged." The article went on: "While the F. C. C., as such, would remain aloof from assuming an active role in the campaign against subversion in broadcasting, the assumption is that Lee, an ex-administrative assistant to F. B. I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, would be in a propitious spot to case the industry as a forerunner to action by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

The circumstances leading up to the appointment were in themselves interesting. Last April McCarthy, sitting as a one-man subcommittee, summoned F. C. C. Commissioner Walker to a secret session and warned him not to do anything that would help Milwaukee school officials obtain, for educational purposes, a television channel which Hearst was seeking as a commercial outlet. Lee now has Walker's place on the commission—at the insistence, according to the magazine *Broadcasting*, of Senator McCarthy.

WHETHER or not the new member knows anything about broadcasting, he has had long and varied experience in putting the finger on alleged "subversives." In 1947 he directed a loyalty investigation of State Department employees for the House Appropriations Committee, preparing a coded list of 108 persons he considered to be "loyalty risks." This list somehow found its way into McCarthy's hands when the Senator needed names to support his smear of the State Department in his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech. The Lees and the McCarthys are old friends; Mrs. Lee was matron of honor at the recent wedding of McCarthy and the former Jean Kerr.

While a paid employee of the House Appropriations Committee, Lee worked in the 1950 Maryland election campaign of John Marshall Butler against Millard Tydings, a campaign in which McCarthy was active and Lee's co-worker, Jon M. Jonkel, was convicted of violating the Maryland Corrupt Practices Act. An investigation of this election by the Senate Rules Committee indicated that Lee and his wife collaborated with ex-F. B. I. agent Don Surine and with others on McCarthy's staff. The Lees helped to arrange financing for such purposes as the publication of a faked composite photograph showing Tydings in warm comradeship with Earl Browder. A pamphlet, "Back to Good Old Dixie," distribution of which was aided indirectly by the "Irish Catholic with a Confederate name," was sent out as a bid for Negro votes. The Senate Rules Committee found that this pamphlet "was neither published nor paid for by the four Negroes listed as its sponsors."

Mr. and Mrs. Lee, the committee noted, were legal residents of the District of Columbia at the time they worked for Butler. "The 'back street' campaign conducted by non-Maryland outsiders," said the committee report, "was of a form and pattern designed to undermine and destroy the public faith and confidence in the basic American loyalty of a well-known figure. It followed a specific theme and course which has become, unfortunately, a means and weapon which strikes to destroy as suspiciously subversive, rather than simply to defeat an issue."

Lee moderated the Facts Forum program when McCarthy appeared as its first guest. The program is advertised as carried on 180 radio stations and 50 television stations. It sponsors "discussion groups" in the United States and foreign countries, the discussion being heavily weighted with extreme right-wing polemics. Mrs. McCarthy left the Senator's staff several months before their marriage to do research work for Facts Forum.

While the program advertises that it provides a forum for different political views, its advisory board shows no evidence of non-partisanship. Writing on

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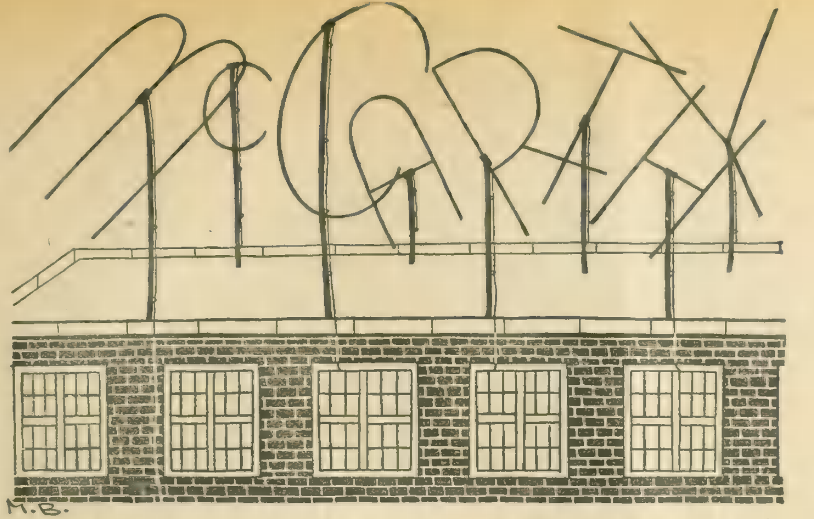

May 14 in the Dallas *Morning News,* Colonel H. L. Hunt, multimillionaire Texas oilman and close friend of McCarthy, named himself as "chief sponsor" and the following as "counselors": Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Lloyd Skinner, John Wayne, Hanford MacNider, Governor Allan Shivers, W. G. Vollmer, General Robert E. Wood, Dr. Francis P. Gaines, and General Albert C. Wedemeyer.

DR. PEALE is a former chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, an extreme right-wing group now headed by Edward A. Rumely, a convicted German agent. "Apostles of Discord," a new Protestant study of "fringe groups promoting hate and disruption" compiled by the Reverend Ralph Lord Roy, makes significant mention of Dr. Peale. "On his own stationery," it says, "Peale urged the nation's Catholic priests to read 'For Americans Only,' stating that 'as religious leaders, it is our duty to be wise and informed . . . in current movements, many of them swordlike, which may seriously affect the perpetuity of freedom. . . . This book, written jointly by a former member of Congress (Samuel B. Pettengill) and a distinguished Catholic economist (Paul C. Bartholomew) will give you a deeper insight into contemporary trends.' " And further: "While no longer connected officially, Peale continues to work closely with the Committee for Constitutional Government . . . and other similar groups of the extreme right.'

Not only does Dr. Peale advise Facts Forum but he is on the "select advisory committee" of Spiritual Mobilization, which was initiated in 1935 by James W. Fifield, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles. "In December, 1952," Mr. Roy says in "Apostles of Discord," "Rabbi Julius J. Nodel of Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon, expressed the fears of many Jews and Negroes in a sermon attacking the activities of Fifield and his cohorts."

General Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck and former chairman of America First, is so enthusiastic about Facts Forum that its literature is distributed by a number of Sears stores. In some areas Sears is paying for Facts Forum broadcasts, and the October number of *Facts Forum News* lists Sears as a contributor. At the height of the 1952 election campaign General Wood was chairman of a Chicago dinner at which Senator McCarthy, its televised speaker, sought to identify Adlai Stevenson with communism. A sworn statement of the dinner committee filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives records payments to Sears, Roebuck of $877, after the election, to reimburse the company for the use of its employees.

The White House recently appointed General Wood to head a group to dispose of government surplus property. Wood then announced his resignation from Sears, Roebuck, presumably so that he could devote more time to Facts Forum and the government. Between 1934 and 1949 General Wood contributed $16,000 to Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, which the Buchanan committee of the Eighty-first Congress, investigating lobbying activities, charged with "an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

An early Facts Forum speaker was Allen Zoll, founder of American Patriots, Inc. The 1952 report of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith put Zoll prominently among the "troublemakers."

According to *Facts Forum News,* $100 was awarded by Facts Forum as a special bonus to a woman who condemned "Unesco, the Covenant of Human Rights, the Genocide Convention" in a letter published in a Dallas newspaper. Lesser awards were made to persons who sent similar letters to other newspapers or to national magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post.*

COLONEL HUNT backed General Douglas MacArthur for the Presidency. He is now seeking a winner and visualizes McCarthy as a candidate who could enlist Dixiecrat and right-wing Republican support. Hunt wants to draw middle-of-the-roaders into McCarthy's camp through Facts Forum. Five years ago *Fortune Magazine* rated Hunt as probably the richest person in the country. His oil holdings alone are reputed to be worth more than a half-billion. Because of the "oil depletion" tax loophole, most of his income from this source is tax-free.

When McCarthy visited Texas last June he was a guest of a number of oil men, including Hunt. At that time Marquis Childs, the columnist, declared that Hunt and others had arranged with McCarthy to put him on television regularly. On September 20 Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent of the Providence *Journal,* reported that he had been offered $125 by Victor Johnston, executive director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, to appear on Facts Forum in an interview with McCarthy. Johnston, who came to Washington in 1947 as administrative assistant to McCarthy, told Collins that the money was to be paid by Hunt. Collins agreed at first, then changed his mind and explained why. "I had watched McCarthy take statements out of context," he said. "I well understood what he could do with a pair of scissors on a film in which he and I appeared but over which I had no editorial control." According to Collins, Johnston told him that Hunt had "an income of two or three million dollars a week, and he, Johnston, was just trying to help him spend the money on 'our kinds of guys.' " Collins concluded that McCarthy's frequent appearance on television shows could be expected. McCarthy's "nomination for the Presidency," he added, "could be an objective."

A Dallas resident, Mrs. Cordye Hall, accepted an invitation to visit the Facts Forum library and was presented with six books. "Not one," she writes, "was what I consider objective; two were highly prejudiced in the direction of the extreme right wing; one was written by an ex-Communist and bordered on paranoia; another was about an ex-Communist; and one, of which Facts Forum had approximately 150 copies, was written by a man jailed twice by the federal government for refusing to give names of contributors to his pro-fascist publications during World War II. I was alarmed to contemplate the harm this well-financed organization might do, and I inquired who selected the books. I was told that the reading committee would consider any publications brought to them. Accordingly, I submitted Stringfellow Barr's 'Let's Join the Human Race,' Grenville Clark's 'A Plan for Peace,' the current issues of *United Nations World* and the *United Nations Bulletin*."

Mrs. Hall said that she was informed "that these were not the type of publications Facts Forum wanted." Having asked "what type they wanted," she "was told that they were currently considering a book recommended by the National Economic Council" of Merwin K. Hart.

THERE'S NEVER PEACE

In West Virginia's Hills

by William C. Blizzard

Charleston, W. Va.

"THE story of coal is always the same. It is a dark story. For a second's more sunlight men must fight like tigers. For the privilege of seeing the color of their children's eyes by the light of the sun, fathers must fight as beasts in the jungle. That life may have something of decency, something of beauty—a picture, a new dress, a bit of cheap lace fluttering in the window—for this, men who work in the mines must struggle and lose, struggle and win."

So wrote "Mother" Mary Harris Jones in the autobiography she published in 1925, a few years before her death, and she knew whereof she spoke. In the West Virginia coal fields that were her home for thirty years, off and on, she saw the feudal coal-camp system enforced by machine-guns until the great spread of union organization in the early thirties revivified the United Mine Workers there. While the elimination of thugs and the upsurge of union strength have not made West Virginia a paradise for the miners, the most obvious gun-toting aspects of coal-company domination in the state have now been virtually eliminated.

Except in Widen. Widen is about sixty miles from Charleston. A strike, originally spontaneous but now supported by the United Mine Workers, has been going on there for more than a year. With a population of about 1,200, Widen is part of a demesne of 125 square miles owned by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company. The lord of this vast area, which covers parts of three West Virginia counties, is J. G. Bradley of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and, on occasion, of the West Virginia hamlet of Dundon, at a short but pleasant remove from the dinginess of Widen.

J. G. BRADLEY is seventy-one years old and set in his ways. Apparently he does not realize that this is no longer the nineteenth century. For forty-three years he has kept the mine at Widen, which normally employs some 700 men, a non-union operation. His is probably the biggest non-union mining company in the United States. Widen is the only large coal mine in West Virginia that has not been organized by the United Mine Workers. The New Deal appeared and disappeared, the U. M. W. A. made sporadic efforts to organize Widen, and still the Bradley empire remained untouched.

Bradley likes to tell the world that his good treatment of his employees accounts for this state of affairs. In fact, however, he has relied on the traditional weapons of the West Virginia coal operator—who, like Bradley, is usually not a West Virginian—to prevent unionization. He has reaped the benefit of the typical coal town's isolation: the company owns the highway and the only railroad entering Widen. A union organizer or any other person whom J. G. Bradley wished to exclude would have a poor chance of getting into or staying in the town. Widen is twenty circuitous miles back in the hills from the nearest town with paved streets. Widen's streets—Bradley's streets—are unpaved; Widen's houses—Bradley's houses—are unpainted; Widen's toilets—Bradley's toilets—do not flush, for the reason that they are outside privies. There is nothing in Widen from the bank to the soda fountain which is not owned outright by Bradley.

With his great economic power Bradley has succeeded through the years in electing many of the officials of Clay County, where Widen is located, as well as of the nearby counties of Braxton and Nicholas, chunks of which are owned by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company. In the present strike situation the company has had little difficulty in obtaining injunctions and the protection of armed guards honored with the designation of "deputy sheriffs." Yet as far back as 1922 the William Kenyon subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor said after a visit to West Virginia: "The system of paying deputy sheriffs out of funds contributed by operators and not out of the public treasury is a vicious and un-American

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WILLIAM C. BLIZZARD is a reporter and photographer on Labor's Daily, *Charleston, West Virginia.*

policy and a practice that should cease." Unless Clay County has augmented its treasury in some unforeseen way the practice persists at Widen. The boss of Bradley's armed guards is Charles W. Ray, for twenty-five years a member of the West Virginia state police and chief of police of Charleston under former Mayor Carl Andrews. Andrews is now secretary of the West Virginia Coal Operators Association and a member of the editorial board of the Charleston *Gazette*.

Bradley would object strongly to my assertion that he is not a West Virginian, although he might concede that he spends most of his time in Boston. He points out that he was a Republican delegate from West Virginia and chairman of the state Y. M. C. A. for twenty-four years. However, few of us in these hills speak with a Harvard accent. At any rate, outside capital, part of which was Bradley's, developed West Virginia, and outside capital, largely Northern, has controlled the state politically and economically since at least the turn of the century.

WE WEST VIRGINIANS, sitting on top of one of the greatest natural sources of wealth in the world, have been forced to see that wealth enrich others while we remain a comparatively backward "hillbilly" state. During the last session of the legislature the school teachers presented figures showing that West Virginia has the largest per capita mineral production in the United States: for each man, woman, and child minerals to the value of $412.54 are produced. Yet the state ranks thirty-ninth in the nation in educational expenditures per pupil.

The great bulk of our tax income is taken from the pay checks of our wage-earners through sales taxes and so-called gross-sales taxes, both of which the consumer actually pays. To his eternal credit Governor William C. Marland this year proposed a severance, or depletion, tax on coal and other minerals in order to finance our schools and roads. For this he was roundly abused by the coal operators, the Chamber of Commerce, and almost the entire West Virginia press. A prime function of our press seems to be to keep people in ignorance of the way they are being bilked of their birthright. The columnist Victor Riesel was brought into the act to label Marland's severance tax "socialism." A legislature composed of men who did not represent the coal miners of West Virginia, a legislature most of whose members did not represent the best interests of the majority of West Virginians, killed the severance tax.

The national press has emphasized the violence which has accompanied the Widen strike in order to discredit the strikers. Actually strike violence through the years has resulted from the efforts of a few men to maintain their dictatorships in the West Virginia hills. The miners have chosen the United Mine Workers of America as the instrument by which they hope to obtain their freedom. For this they have been spied upon, sent to jail, beaten, and murdered by the political and gun-carrying henchmen of the operators. If the miners have not always answered such tactics with soft words it is not surprising.

The Widen strikers have been the victims of West Virginia's ancient and infamous Red Man Act, a "conspiracy" law aimed at people who organize to defend their rights as free citizens. Fifty-two were thrown into a tiny filthy jail at one time, then interrogated and threatened with murder charges. Four have been indicted on murder charges in connection with the killing of Charles Frame, a J. G. Bradley guard who was shot last May 7 in a picket-scab skirmish.

When Jennings Roscoe Bail was tried for the murder of Frame a jury was imported from Braxton County, and the Clay County prosecuting attorney was "aided" by lawyers who admitted in open court that they had been hired by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company for that purpose. Young Bail was convicted of second-degree murder. But when a miner, Delbert R. Nichols, was murdered in a pasture lot, his admitted killer was freed in the same courtroom. One of the attorneys who prosecuted Bail served also as defense attorney for this killer.

More recently Attorney General Brownell procured federal-grand-jury "conspiracy" indictments against thirty-seven of the strikers, the government compounding the farce by declaring that it was acting in the name of "civil rights"! So these sturdy hill people have discovered that in challenging the rule of J. G. Bradley they have somehow offended the Eisenhower regime in Washington.

In the last elections the miners were strong enough to elect the present governor or, more accurately, to defeat his opponent, that arch-traitor to them and their union, Rush D. Holt. In order to win the present struggle in Widen and future struggles there and elsewhere they must learn not only how to mobilize to defeat their enemies but how to combine politically to elect their friends. Only by intelligent political activity can they refute the old cry of their beloved Mother Jones:

"There is never peace in West Virginia because there is never justice. Injunctions and guns, like morphia, produce a temporary quiet. Then the pain, agonizing and more severe, comes again. . . . Medieval West Virginia! With its tent colonies on the bleak hills! With its grim men and women! When I get to the other side I shall tell God Almighty about West Virginia!"

CORRECTION: Through inadvertence some lines were dropped from the article by Charles Alan Wright in the issue of November 21. A passage on page 427 beginning, "*Item:* Only last June Senator William Jenner announced that he planned to discuss with Senator McCarthy 'a possible inquiry into the status of lawyers who have defended alleged Communists or former Communists,'" should have continued, "It is to Senator McCarthy's credit that he refused to make such an investigation unless it was demanded by the American Bar Association."

BOOKS

Fighting Bob

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JUNE 14, 1855-JUNE 18, 1925. By Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette. Two Volumes. The Macmillan Company. $15.

By William T. Evjue

IN THE concluding lines of the funeral oration delivered over Robert Marion La Follette, Sr., in the rotunda of the Wisconsin state capitol on June 22, 1925, Dr. A. E. Haydon of the University of Chicago Divinity School said, "The old enemies against which he fought still are in the field: the causes which he championed still call for battling, heroic hearts. The future democracy of which he dreamed still is to win. . . . And here, here in his presence still, we may with bowed heads and quiet courage dedicate ourselves to that sublime and splendid task."

Dr. Haydon's words point up the chief impression one carries away from this tremendously valuable biography of a man whose dramatic life story it tells for the first time in a comprehensive way. The two-volume work is the result of more than a quarter of a century of painstaking preparation on the part of his wife, Belle Case La Follette, and his daughter Fola. Mrs. La Follette wrote the first twenty-six chapters, which carry the story up to 1910. There the narrative is taken up by Fola.

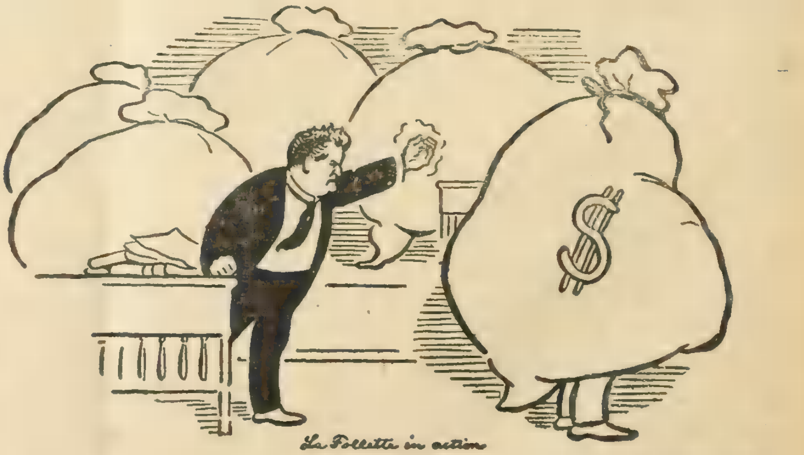
One cannot relive the turbulent and courageous life of this great champion of American democracy without realizing that we must make much the same fight today, when once again the massive evil of special privilege has gained the citadel of government and is assaulting the American heritage with its weapons of hysteria and intolerance. The life of La Follette is a superb study of how fear and bigotry were used to mask the plundering and profiteering against which he fought. Then the charge was "radicalism," "socialism," and "pro-Germanism." Today it is "communism," used in the same way by the forces of McCarthyism to distract attention from the colossal swindle of the tidelands-oil deal and the other raids upon the public domain now preparing in Washington.

One wonders how La Follette would fare in the present struggle to give democracy greater vitality and purpose. Certainly, one cannot come away from this biography without a deep respect for his ability. Perhaps no one in our history with so little official political power ever achieved so much. He lived to see most of the planks of the minority platforms his Wisconsin delegations presented at the national conventions—only to have them rejected as "socialism"—become the law of the land.

In Wisconsin, where he wielded a power he never had nationally, he wrought reforms which gained the state the reputation of being the "ideal commonwealth." These were not battles easily won. Mrs. La Follette recounts his fight to achieve justice in railroad rates. The railroads accused him of telling only part of the story in the examples he used to expose their methods. His answer was to prepare a study of the rates charged by the two principal railroads in the state, listing every station in Wisconsin and comparing the rates between them and their markets with corresponding rates in Iowa and Illinois. At a special session of the legislature he presented an incontrovertible argument based on this study that made a book of 181 pages. This was typical of his thoroughness in getting the facts to back his positions. Is there a place for such truth-seeking today when the hucksters of TV and radio give a man like Richard Nixon complete laundry service with the frothy suds of soap opera, and when representatives of the big New York public-relations firms take over the White House prior to a Presidential report to the nation?

LA FOLLETTE never lost his faith in facts and in the ability of people to understand them. The biography deals in detail with the proceedings on bill after bill in the Senate in which he took part. Because he came with the facts and insisted that opposing Senators do the same, they feared and hated him. Wisconsin's most recent contribution to legislative debate is the exposition of how a Senator can exploit the immunity bestowed by his office to slander his fellow-citizens.

Before the atmosphere of hate and resentment in the Senate, La Follette never flinched. He used all his great talents as a debater against the plundering of the big-business interests which dominated his party. And when the session was over, he hit the hot, dusty Chautauqua trail to explain the issues and to read the roll calls on Senators, some of whom did not return to Washington thereafter. He would never allow the rules of senatorial courtesy to draw him into a conspiracy against the interests of the people, as was the case with so many Senators. When he made a



Drawing by Art Young
Reproduced from his autobiography "On My Way"

WILLIAM T. EVJUE is editor of the Capital Times *of Madison, Wisconsin.*

speech in another state he often discomfited some fellow-Senator who out of courtesy and a desire to appear before one of his crowds had introduced him.

THE HOSTILITY built up in these years came to a climax in the ordeal that he suffered in World War I. American history may never record another instance in which one man became the target of so much abuse and slander. In the hysteria engendered by the super-patriots of the day his oldest and dearest friends left him and joined in the cries of "disloyalty" and "treason." Men who owed their positions to him, including many faculty members of the University of Wisconsin whose interests he had always championed, used their prestige and power to blacken his name. The legislature branded him disloyal. The newspapers lied about him. For eight months the Associated Press refused to correct a report of his speech in St. Paul in which he was quoted as having said that "we had no grievances against Germany," when, as the A. P. later acknowledged, he had actually said we *did* have grievances. This misquotation was an important part of the charges brought to expel him from the Senate.

La Follette had supported and sponsored some sixty measures to back the war effort once the nation was involved, but this was never mentioned by those who vilified him as a traitor. Against the raging storm of hysteria he fought his battle during the day and at night went home to keep vigil at the bedside of Bob, Jr., who was close to death with a serious illness. The illness of his son sapped his income, and only through the help of a few loyal friends was a mortgage foreclosure on his beloved farm home at Madison avoided. It is one of the proudest memories of my life that as a member of the Wisconsin Assembly I led the fight against the resolution of censure passed against him at a time when he stood almost alone in defense of the democratic ideals for which we were presumed to be fighting.

La Follette won his vindication after the hysteria had abated. In 1922 he was reelected by the biggest vote ever received up to that time by any candidate in Wisconsin. And after he had come home from Washington for the last time, the legislature, the board of regents of the university, the alumni association,

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and many other groups passed resolutions honoring his great service to the state and nation.

The present biography is not concerned simply with his public life. In a tender and moving narrative it depicts the warm human qualities of the man—a man who could find time at a particularly critical moment in the affairs of the Senate to write to a Madison veterinary to plead with him to save one of his beloved horses which had become ill. But most notable is the picture of his deep and everlasting devotion to his family. One wonders how he ever found the time to write the letters he did to members of the family—letters scribbled in his own handwriting, full of love and humor.

SINCE THIS remarkable biography was written by members of his family, the historian may approach it with some reservations about its objectivity. But there is much evidence to show that no effort has been made to represent him as infallible. The material, taken from newspapers, books, magazines, Congressional and legislative records, personal interviews, and letters, gives the case against him as well as for him. His unusual and rather shameful personal attack on Senator Kellogg, one of those who led the expulsion movement against him, is set forth with the notation that Mrs. La Follette was critical of his conduct in that instance. Commenting on her husband's failure to support Lieutenant Governor Davidson for governor against Irvine Lenroot, Mrs. La Follette wrote, "Bob is perhaps justly criticized for having encouraged Davidson to run for lieutenant governor if he questioned his capacity to lead the Wisconsin movement independently. I would not claim that in meeting the exigencies of politics Bob was always consistent."

Because it was written by members of his family, the La Follette biography has a beauty and warmth it might not otherwise have had. This is illustrated in the letter of Fola to a friend describing the old Senator's death. "He went to sleep," she wrote, "and we shall not hear his voice again—strangely that was the thought that came to each one of us when dear Dr. Marbury looked up and signed to us that all our yearning and love could do no more for him. The transition was so gentle and untroubled that, though he had his hand on Daddy's pulse, Dr. Marbury could not be certain it had come until he listened with the stethoscope. We kissed his brow in silence and turned to Mother—and she gave us of her strength, speaking of how Daddy had loved life and found it good. And from this thought it seemed as if everything flowed. Through all the hours and days that followed each one gathered strength and courage from the other."

After his death they found among his papers a note scribbled in pencil which is photostatically reproduced at the end of the last chapter. It read: "I would be remembered as one who in the world's darkest hour kept a clean conscience and stood to the end for the ideals of American democracy."

The New Revisionists

PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE. Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes. The Caxton Printers. $6.

By D. F. Fleming

AFTER World War I, Harry Elmer Barnes was the most extreme of the revisionist historians who corrected our perspective on the origins of that conflict, though they did not reverse our war-time judgments as completely as Barnes believes. Aided by Senator Nye and other politicians, they did convince us for a time that our part in the war had been a mistake.

This book is an attempt by a new school of revisionists, again led by Barnes, to do the same thing for World War II, though they have little hope of success. Barnes says that only two or three small publishers will publish their books, which are mainly ignored but occasionally reviewed by "hatchet men" assigned for the purpose, and that they do not get into the libraries. Only some "devastating . . . disaster" will cause us to turn to the current revisionists. This volume is their attempt to have their case ready for espousal when and if the time comes. It is a symposium condensing the previous works of eight revisionists.

They look tolerantly upon Hitler's efforts to disregard what they think was the iniquitous treaty of Versailles after World War I, upon Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, and upon Japan's conquest of China. The last phase of the "China incident" was precipitated, it is suggested, by a Chinese attack upon Japanese troops near Peking on July 7, 1937, since a Chinese attaché in Tokyo had been "truculent" toward Japan in talking to one of our officials there a few days before the Peking clash.

The authors disagree about President Roosevelt's role in the 1938 Munich crisis. Frederic R. Sanborn thinks he issued his peace messages because he feared British and French air power was too weak, but Charles C. Tansill and Barnes agree that Roosevelt exerted pressure for peace in 1938, and for resistence in 1939, because "he did not want any war to start in Europe which might terminate so rapidly that the United States could not enter it." It was, they assert, "his purpose to conquer Germany."

These charges illustrate the bitterness of the attack upon Roosevelt. Succeeding chapters produce impressive evidence that his Administration made secret war plans with the British, armed rapidly, took a long series of steps toward hostilities with Germany, applied increasingly effective economic pressure upon Japan, and was finally negligent in warning the Pearl Harbor commanders of Japan's impending attack. It is charged that F. D. R. cleverly drove Japan to attack us because 80 per cent of our people were for holding him to his anti-war pledges, "unless attacked."

This story omits two things: (1) our deep and constantly increasing conviction that Hitler and his racists must not be permitted to conquer the Old World; and (2) the steadily rising aversion among us to buying peace with Japan by permitting it to control China. We were revolted by the rapacity of both the German and the Japanese empire, and we rightly feared being boxed in by them. That we now face new threats

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D. F. FLEMING, professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, is the author of "The United States and the World Court" and other books.

does not mean that we were wrong in disposing of those threats.

The revisionist case deserves to be heard, and we can learn something from this statement of it, but its advocates will not save us from destruction in a third world war by attacking our part in the last one. What is required is swift realization by all of us that atomic weapons have made these ever more destructive wars obsolete, that we are in a completely new situation in which none of the old remedies will prevent our destruction.

If the revisionists will turn their fire upon today's rapid drift toward the death of Western civilization, they may help us avoid the "one more war" after which there would be nothing left worth arguing about.

New Books in Brief

Mathematics as Knowing

MATHEMATICS IN WESTERN CULTURE. By Morris Kline. Oxford. $7.50.

An unusually successful attempt to explain to the unmathematical what mathematics is about. Though it might be said to cover much the same field as Hogben's "Mathematics for the Million," two books could hardly be more different in emphasis or in point of view. To Hogben mathematics is primarily a tool; it has no existence aside from its methods and no importance except as an aid to doing. Professor Kline, on the other hand, is concerned more with knowing than with doing and often takes the reader into the realm where metaphysics and mathematics merge. There are excellent chapters on the new geometries and their relation to the Einsteinian universe, and there are others on the meaning of statistics and probability. Most original of all perhaps is the discussion of some of the newer attitudes toward the problem of determinism versus chance. The book is not for the too casual reader but is quite comprehensible without much preliminary knowledge of mathematical techniques.

The Kidney Through the Ages

FROM FISH TO PHILOSOPHER. By Homer W. Smith. Little, Brown. $4.

This seems a rather flippantly misleading title for a book which, though written for the layman, deals in more or less technical terms with the story of evolution from the viewpoint of a physiologist specializing in the functions of the renal system. "The Kidney Through the Ages" would no doubt be a worse title, but it would at least suggest what the book is about.

As soon as living organisms began to live outside the water, where all life was cradled, they were faced with the necessity of maintaining an internal watery environment; and upon the kidneys, which are far more than merely organs of excretion, devolved the complicated task of maintaining the proper chemical balance in the internal environment. Hence Professor Smith can trace the whole course of vertebrate evolution in terms of the evolution of that organ. Like all present-day biologists he finds it necessary to face sooner or later the question whether an adequate account of life can be given in mechanistic terms, and though his answer is nearer yes than no he recognizes that it cannot be as simple as was once thought possible. "Materialism" is, he says, a misleading term "because the ultimate nature of matter and energy remain unknown."

A Classic Document

THE JOURNALS OF LEWIS AND CLARK. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $6.50.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark ranks high among the most momentous events in our history. As Mr. DeVoto says in his introduction to this volume, "It gave not only Oregon but the entire West to the American people as something with which the mind could deal." However, the journal of the two explorers, a truly classic document, has remained surprisingly inaccessible. The authoritative Thwaites edition of 1904-05 is not only rare and costly but extends to seven volumes of text and one of maps. It is a veritable buffalo of a book, a feast for hungry scholars, but altogether too Gargantuan a meal for the general reader. With the growing interest in the American past something more digestible was badly needed. We should be grateful therefore to Mr. DeVoto for the skill with which he has reduced the journals, not to pemmican, but to a well-trimmed roast that retains all the flavor of the original.

Enthralling History

THE TRAITOR AND THE SPY. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. $5.75.

In *The Nation* of December 5, 1953, Van Wyck Brooks remarked that "historical writing in this country has virtually dropped out of literature." All too often scholars appear to be solely concerned with communicating with other scholars, and as a result the general reader is thrown into the arms of popular writers who strain themselves to be entertaining while neglecting their homework. It is a pleasure, therefore, to hail this book, an enthralling narrative that never condescends to the reader. Dealing with one of the most familiar episodes in our history, the treason of Benedict Arnold, Mr. Flexner has not only rechecked the source material used by pre-

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vious writers but has dug out other contemporary data, including hitherto unknown documents belonging to the André family that throw new light on the character of the unfortunate major.

Inevitably, though, the traitor rather than the spy is the central figure in the drama, and the author, while not mitigating Arnold's crime, helps us to understand it. Clearly his motive was not ideological except in the sense that he saw himself the victim of democratic incompetence and ingratitude. A brave and able soldier, Arnold was quarrelsome, supremely egotistical, and greedy of fame and fortune. His decision to sell out sprang from thwarted ambition and the need for money to maintain himself in the style he felt his due. Moreover, he was egged on and abetted by Peggy Shippen, his young, socially ambitious wife who, this book makes clear, little deserved the sympathy she received at the time and even from some later historians.

Glamorous Ghost Towns

THE BONANZA TRAIL. By Muriel Sibell Wolle. Indiana University Press. $8.50.

An excellent guide to the ghost towns and mining camps of twelve western states. Mrs. Wolle, head of the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Colorado, is an enthusiast who has personally visited hundreds of them after soaking herself in their history and legends. She reports succinctly on their past glories and present states of decay. To readers willing to drive over rough back roads—or even get out and walk—to see for themselves these relics of a vanishing America, the author offers maps and ample directions. Armchair travelers will find that Mrs. Wolle's many drawings convey most successfully both the grimness and the glamour of her subject.

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Terror and Satire

FAHRENHEIT 451. By Ray Bradbury. Ballantine Books. Hardbound, $2.50; paper, 35 cents.

This horror tale of American life in the near future should be ranked among the best novelettes of the year. Fahrenheit 451 is "the temperature at which book-paper catches fire, and burns." The hero is a melancholy "fireman"—the Hamlet of an asbestos Utopia who begins to question the whole rationale of book-burning among the miracles of applied science. His wife is completely satisfied, or at least stupefied, by her "family" on the three-wall television, which now speaks to her personally at only a small extra cost. The firemen are hardly necessary at all since people only want to be "happy." The electronic hound can easily track down the occasional dissenters and fanatics who still cherish the written word, while the jet bombers thunder overhead and the nation is mobilized and demobilized for the three-minute wars. The action of the story begins here; the result is one of the most brilliant over-all jobs of social satire to appear recently.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WE ARE terribly earthbound. And the earth to which we are bound today is not always pleasant to contemplate. Though we fear departures from this burdensome earth we long desperately for release. This need for release takes several forms in the theater. One of them is an occasional flirtation with fantasy and fairy tale. What we like most and cordially welcome in Sidney Howard's "Madam, Will You Walk" (Phoenix Theater) is this flirtation.

It so happens that the production of this play is a departure in more than one sense. The Phoenix Theater is located in the professionally unlikely neighborhood of Twelfth Street and Second Avenue, its top price is $3, and it is committed to a program of unusual plays. These are virtues in themselves—and the Phoenix represents a drive that deserves support.

The first production—in which Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy are starred—is encouraging. I will not quibble, as others may more or less justifiably do, with some of the casting. The production is of uneven merit both in conception and execution, but the whole is sensible and certainly competent. The main point is that the play was worth doing and nothing in its production really impairs our enjoyment of it.

If we think of "Madam, Will You Walk" in terms of its social background both at the time of its composition—around 1939—and the present, we may find an additional interest in it. For the late thirties—after the fall of Madrid—was a period in which both the tremors and the fervors of the early thirties had become dissipated, and we were confused by an economic situation which was neither depression nor prosperity and a moral atmosphere which was neither revolutionary nor comfortably secure. We were standing still and were not at all sure of where we stood or where we were headed. We were suffering from what might be described as hysterical timidity.

Sidney Howard wrote "Madam, Will You Walk" at that time as a kind of comedic call to courage. We were losing our sense of adventure, even of fun. Without the aid of any systematic coercion we were growing hesitant about all forthrightness of feeling, of conviction, of anything that might be regarded as eccentricity. The Devil in Howard's play (named Dr. Brightlee) summons us to dream, to inquire, to take chances, and to recover the joy of life with all the dangers which that inevitably implies. Howard became the "devil's" advocate, but the Devil in his play is a liberating force, an activating spirit, a rebel against complacency, palsied conservatism, and every form of inertia. The Devil is God's chief arm, urging us to live a full life for the greater glory of all creation. Such a "devil" today is assuredly a heaven-sent messenger.

"Madam, Will You Walk" is literate and frequently funny. It has a certain amiable impishness. It attempts to fly with good-humored agility. If it is not everything it should be, it is because the author's effort is more wilful than spontaneous, the writing more intelligent than winged. The actual incidents of the plot are somewhat trite—earthbound again!—and the whole rather more a flirtation with fantasy than a real affair. What the play needed was either the sparkle of a Shaw or the sprightly imagination and language of a Giraudoux. But need we reject "Madam, Will You Walk" because it is not the equal of "The Madwoman of Chaillot"? Certainly not. I found Howard's play far more engaging than most of the smash hits of the season.

I LIKED "Kismet" too. This is the "musical Arabian night" (at the Ziegfeld) made from Edward Knoblock's play in which that grand old actor Otis Skinner delighted the town in 1911.

One might become severe with several aspects of this musical, but to do so is to take the theater "seriously" in a way not entirely beneficial to it. The fact is that the Arabian-night aspect of Knoblock's play is perfect musical-comedy material; the Borodin "Prince Igor" score which is used—and probably abused —can't be spoiled under any circumstances; and there is a generous supply of people, color, and special numbers.

Alfred Drake seems to me to have developed—vocally and histrionically—and to have become an excellent performer in this production. Doretta Morrow and Joan Diener are nice to look at and to listen to. Jack Cole has devised some lively dance routines, particularly those involving the Princesses of Ababu —Patricia Dune, Bonnie Evans, and Reiko Sato—who are invigoratingly cute. Beatrice Kraft does a semi-Hindu-bit that is rhythmically and visually piquant, while other players act effectively under Albert Moore's pleasant direction.

Outstanding Records of 1953

B. H. Haggin

The following are outstanding among LP records of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Haydn Society: HS; Urania: U; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: BG; Bartok: B):

Bach: Chorale Preludes for organ; Schweitzer (C ML-4601); Videro (HS). Clavierübung Part 3 for organ; Callaway (HS 3060/1; recording unclear). Italian Concerto; Kirkpatrick (HS 3059; with less interesting pieces). "Goldberg" Variations; Kirkpatrick (HS 3062). Cantata No. 146 "Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal"; Viennese musicians under Prohaska (BG).

Banchieri: "Festino"; Primavera Singers under Greenberg, and Winogron (Esoteric).

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas Opp. 109, 111; Schnabel (V; with other sonatas). Perpignan Festival performances of Trios Op. 97 ("Archduke") (C ML-4574), Op. 1 No. 2 (4573), Op. 70 No. 2 (4571; with uninteresting Op. 11); Casals, Schneider, Istomin. String Quartets; Budapest Quartet (C; poorly recorded). Sonatas for cello and piano Opp. 69 and 102; Fournier and Schnabel (V). Symphonies Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6 ("Pastoral"), 7, 8; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; No. 4 defectively reproduced). Septet; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). Piano Sonatas Opp. 106 ("Hammerklavier) and 53 ("Waldstein"); Solomon (performances lacking in power) (V). Piano Sonata Op. 57 ("Appassionata"); Schioler (V; with Liszt Concerto). Quartets Op. 18 Nos. 1 and 2; Paganini Quartet (V).

Berlioz: "Romeo and Juliet"; Munch conducting Boston Symphony, etc. (poor performance) (V). Funeral March for "Hamlet"; three pieces from "The Damnation of Faust"; Sebastian and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (U; with Franck's "Redemption").

Brahms: Variations on a Theme of Haydn; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; with Elgar's "Enigma" Variations.

Bull: "In Nomine" and other early English keyboard pieces; Geraint Jones and Elizabeth Goble (L). Pavana and other English keyboard pieces; Charles Koenig (EMS).

Chopin: Sonata Op. 58 and other pieces; Lipatti (C). Concerto No. 1; Sandor and Philadelphia Orchestra (C). 24 Preludes; Gulda (L).

Copland: "Rodeo"; Ballet Theater Orchestra under Levine (Capitol; with Bernstein's "Fancy Free"). Suite from "Appalachian Spring"; Rother and Berlin Radio Symphony (U; with Piston's Suite from "The Invisible Flutist").

Delius: "Brigg Fair," "The Walk to the Paradise Garden," other pieces; Collins and London Symphony (L).

Dvorak: Slavonic Dances; Talich and Czech Philharmonic (U).

Farnaby: Canzonets, sung by the Oriana Singers under Hobbs, and pieces for virginals, played by Winogron (EMS).

Handel: "Israel in Egypt"; Koch and Berlin Symphony etc. (BG). Sonatas Op. 1 for violin and figured bass; Campoli and Malcolm (L).

Haydn: String Quartets Op. 20; Schneider Quartet (HS).

Janacek: Slavonic Mass; Bakala and Brno Radio Symphony etc. (U).

Mahler: "Das Lied von der Erde"; Bruno Walter with Vienna Philharmonic, Ferrier, and Patzak (voice too old) (L). Symphony No. 1; Borsamsky and Radio Berlin Symphony (U better than VA).

Mendelssohn: "Scotch" Symphony; Solti and London Symphony (L).

Mozart: Perpignan Festival performances, with Casals conducting, of Piano Concertos K. 271 (Hess), K. 449 (Istomin), 482 (Serkin; feeble in first movement), and 595 (Horszowski; too delicate in first two movements), and Flute Concerto K. 313 (Wummer) (C). Violin Concertos K. 216 and 218; Gerard Poulet with Austrian Symphony under Gaston Poulet (R; with poor performance of Handel's "Water Music" and good performances of Mozart overtures conducted by Koslik). String Quartets K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465; Budapest Quartet (C; recorded sound not good). "Così Fan Tutte"; Glyndebourne Festival (V; imperfectly dubbed from 78 rpm). Symphony K. 201; Möldike and Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra (HS; with Symphony K. 183). Piano Sonata K. 310; Lipatti (C;

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with Bach's Partita No. 1 and other pieces).

Musorgsky-Ravel: "Pictures at an Exhibition"; Cantelli and NBC Symphony (V; with Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet").

Prokofiev: Symphony No. 5; Tuxen and Danish State Radio Symphony (L).

Purcell: Pavan and Chacony; New Music Quartet (B; with less interesting pieces by Gibbons and Locke).

Rossini: "The Barber of Seville"; de los Angeles and others under Serafin (V).

Scarlatti: 6 Sonatas; Casadesus (C; with Rameau pieces).

Schubert: Impromptus Opp. 90 and 142; Schnabel (V). Impromptus Op. 142; Curzon (L). "Die Winterreise"; Schmitt-Walter and Giesen (L). Songs; Souzay (L).

Smetana: "The Bartered Bride"; Prague National Theater (U).

Strauss: Songs; Poell and Felbermayer (VA).

Stravinsky: "Oedipus Rex"; Stravinsky conducting orchestra and chorus of Cologne Radio etc. (C). "Pulcinella" Suite; Rother and Berlin Radio Symphony (U; with Respighi's Suite No. 3 of Old Airs and Dances for the Lute).

Tchaikovsky: "The Sleeping Beauty" (with cuts); Fistoulari and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (some poor tempos) (L). Theme and Variations from Suite No. 3; Schuricht and same orchestra (L; with Capriccio Italien). Piano Concerto No. 2; Pinter (unimposing) with Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother (U).

Verdi: "Otello"; Toscanini with NBC Symphony, etc. (V). "Il Trovatore"; Milanov, Bjoerling, Warren, etc. (V). "Aida"; Tebaldi, Stignani, etc. (Del Monaco very bad) (L).

Vivaldi: Concerto Op. 3 No. 8 and other pieces, some not interesting; Società Corelli (V). Concerto in E minor for cello (with Couperin Pièces en concert and the spurious Boccherini Concerto in B flat); Fournier with Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger (L).

Miscellaneous: "Pops" numbers—Dance of the Hours from "La Gioconda," Overtures to "Zampa," "Mignon," "Hänsel und Gretel," Suite from "Carmen," etc.—played by Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; some defectively reproduced). Danco Recital of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Music (L). Corena performances in Famous Operatic Excerpts Volume 2 (L). Canzone Scordate sung by Souzay (L). A Tribute to Lotte Lehman (V). Mozart and Verdi arias sung by Pinza (V). Philadelphia Orchestra "First Chair" (C). Vocal music from the court of Ferdinand and Isabella; Pro Musica Antiqua (EMS). Elizabeth love songs and instrumental pieces sung by Cuenod and played by Chiasson (Lyrichord). Songs from Kern's "Roberta" (C). "Bix" Beiderbecke (C GL-507/8).

[*Continued from inside front cover*]

cal study. I am well aware that Dr. Fung does not mention Tantric and Syncretic Buddhism—that was the point. I do not think the particular system, or lack of it, of romanization that I used at all important. There exist an indefinite number to choose from. Certainly there is no doubt about whom I meant—although I myself prefer Tzu to Tse.

I used "inner light" to convey within the limited space some idea to the general reader of what Ch'an Buddhism stood for. I know it does not occur in Derk Bodde's translation. I am willing to grant that "most authorities" is a rash statement. But the nature of the community which produced the Tao Te Ching is certainly the point of dispute. I could even have pointed out that there exist those who believe it a collection of cryptic psalms of an erotic mystic cult. I am also aware that American academic circles ignore, perhaps very justly, such speculations.

The real point at issue is, systems of romanization aside, whether Fung Yu-lan is a safe guide for the uninformed reader. I should say he is about as objective a historian of philosophy as Bertrand Russell or Hegel. I hold no brief for Fr. Wieger, let alone Lin Yutang. I am certainly well aware that he has no academic standing whatever outside his own world. But, again, that is just the point. It is impossible to fit Chinese philosophy into the frame of Jesuit neo-scholasticism. It is very easy to envelop it in the general atmosphere of twentieth-century philosophy and, so doing, subtly blur and distort its outlines. Fr. Wieger was a deliberate choice. I knew very well how provocative his name would be.

In conclusion, it is amusing that Derk Bodde should think I had not read the book, or had read it carelessly. I still consider Fung Yu-lan conservative as regards the documents. Perhaps what we need, as I said before, is an anthropological approach to the subject—something like the work of Marcel Granet, another provoking name. I assure Derk Bodde that I found the book intensely interesting, even entertaining, and I think his translation excellent. I cannot recommend it too strongly, always with the proviso that it is a history of philosophy by a philosopher. Of course, like Ezra Pound, I am utterly without academic standing.

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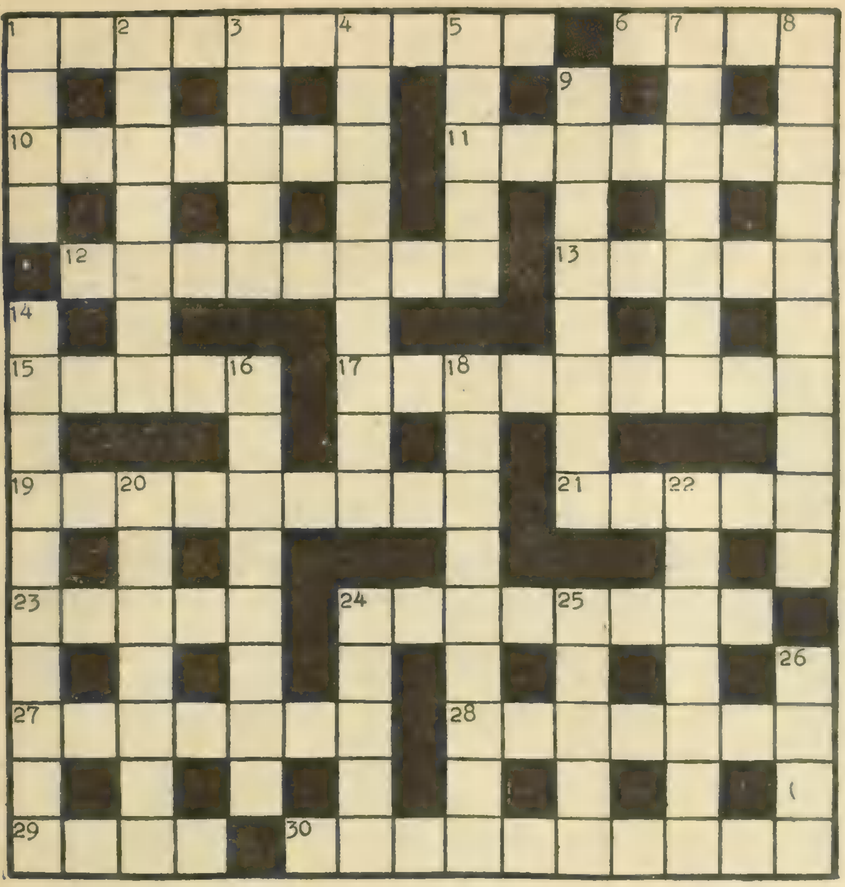
Crossword Puzzle No. 546

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6. The wife of one who joins part of the crew? (10, 4)
10 Do rates change the way you like some foods? ? (7)
11 See 15 across.
12 Irradiated pledge exposed to the other side. (8)
13 The writer of 7 when the article is rejected. (5)
15 and 11. It seems to be rising fair. (2, 3, 2, 3, 2)
17 The last part makes you mad, and gets you in trouble. (9)
19 Why a midget has to reach for weapons? (5, 4)
21 A burning passion? (5)
23 Black molasses. (5)
24 See 20 down.
27 Nothingness. (7)
28 It starts out as though it might be pretty backward, yet almost has a conclusive triumph. (7)
29 Just the bird to make a profit, by the sound of it. (4)
30 Carry a plot where they used to worry. (4, 6)

DOWN

1 Find fault with sea food? (4)
2 Torn in time? Quite the opposite! (7)
3 Formed by removing water from trees. (5)
4 Several hundred more than 12, with Edward of 30, perhaps. (5, 4)
5 A few shots for 19, for a song, perhaps. (5)
7 And put up a "slow" sign! (7)
8 Revealing something no longer important? (10)
9 With gay spots, perhaps, the orchestra should get a little money! (8)
14 Shores seen vaguely, not as common as the synonym implies. (5, 5)
16 Sort of lies around what might tell them, sometimes indicated by * * *. (8)
18 Ship exemplified by Siva. (9)
20 and 24 across. Abril? (5, 2, 8)
22 29, for example, braised, but not necessarily 10! (3, 4)
24 Some things are in his favor. (5)
25 Extreme in painful transactions. (5)
26 This should be a sign that Verne's captain will return. (4)

• * •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 545

ACROSS:—1 EMULSIFY; 5 and 14 JUDGE'S CHAMBERS; 9 PASS OUT; 10 UCCELLO; 11 SCRAPER; 12 DOUSING; 13 PUT UP OR SHUT UP; 15 HEARTBREAKING; 21 MUSETTE; 22 RESTORE; 23 ENTRANT; 24 AT LARGE; 25 SHANSI; 26 BESSEMER.

DOWN:—1 EXPOSE; 2 UNSTRAP; 3 SHOT-PUT; 4 FUTURE PERFECT; 6 UNCOUTH; 7 GALLIOT; 8 STOPGAPS; 10 UNDERCARRIAGE; 16 ALSATIA; 17 TETRADS; 18 INSOLES; 19 GROGRAM; 20 VENEER.

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THE *Nation*

December 26, 1953

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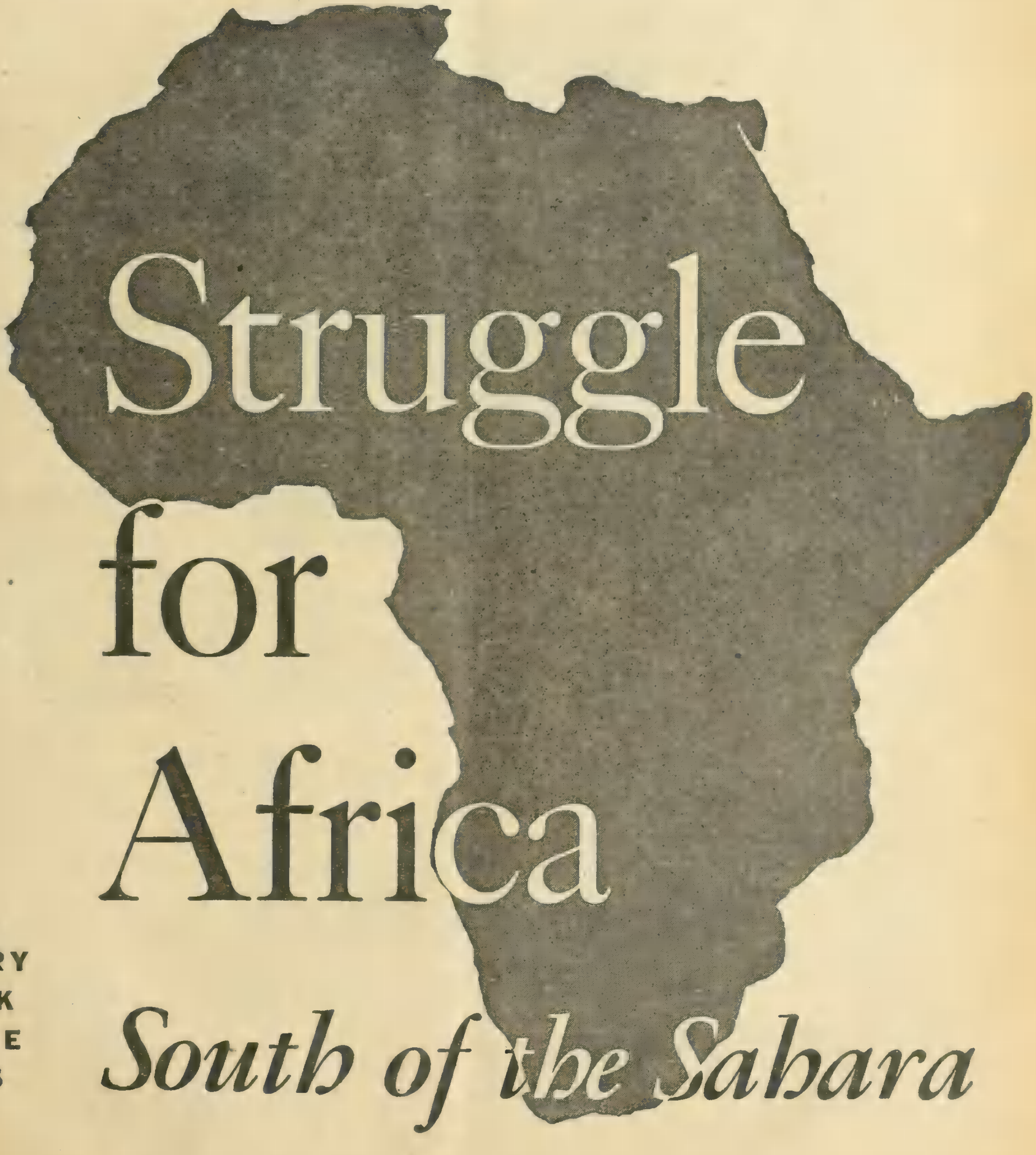

Struggle for Africa

South of the Sahara

EVERY
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THE Nation Bulletin Board:

ALONG about last July, when the Dodgers and Yankees were busy wrapping up the pennants in their respective leagues and most people were thinking about vacations gone and to come, the planning of our special civil-liberties issue got under way. Editorial Director Carey McWilliams, an authority in the field—his book "Witch Hunt" is even more timely today than when it came out in 1950—started the ball rolling with a preliminary outline. After the rest of the staff had mulled over the outline—and written copious comments—the skeleton began to take on some flesh.

Then came the difficult job of reducing general ideas to specific articles and specific authors. This involved an awesome amount of correspondence with upward of 150 writers and experts to find out which were available and could have pieces ready in time for the issue. Since writers are a verbose tribe, a substantial number of letter were just devoted to clarifying what was in the editors' minds—and in the writers'.

After this phase of the operation was finished, the manuscripts started coming in—more, unfortunately, than could eventually be put into the issue. However, some outstanding articles which had to be omitted will appear in later issues, since the problem of civil liberties is more than a week-long affair.

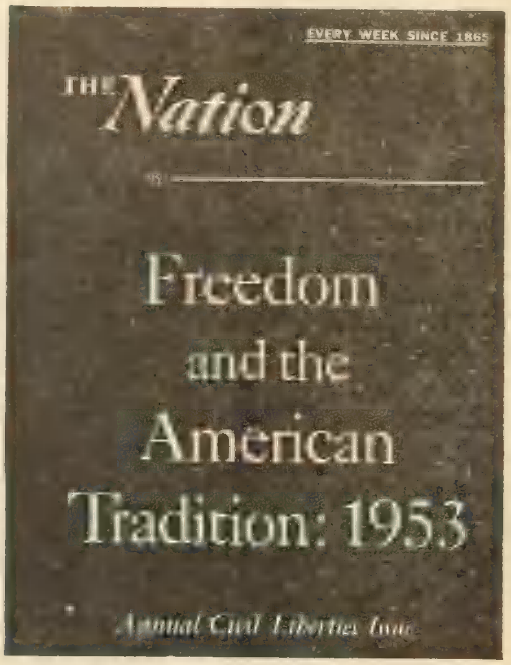
Once the manuscripts were in, it was all over—all but the editing, layout, printing, distribution—and then the reading by *Nation* people.

A few days after the issue appeared, scores of letters began to come into the office with comments on its contents—and bundle orders (see ad on this page for details). One of the writers said: "It was a tremendous lift for me to get *The Nation's* civil-liberties issue. I read almost the whole of it in one evening, and it embodied some of the finest thinking I've seen anywhere on civil liberties. The statements from people like Herbert Lehman and Margaret Chase Smith were particularly heartening. *The Nation* is the only liberal publication in America with the courage and the intellectual vigor capable of delivering such a solid blow for freedom. Please send me twenty-five extra copies of the issue. I've got some friends who could benefit from reading it."

NATION READERS seem to like the idea of the new book club—announced in the civil-liberties issue. The orders have been coming in steadily, and if they continue, we should be on the way to maintaining a successful enterprise which will provide readers with the kind of books they want at substantial savings—plus a free bonus book for every four books purchased. (See back cover.)

The *Freeman*, in a recent promotion campaign, attributed to such publications as *The Nation* a major influence "in forming political thought and attitudes in America." It's nice of the *Freeman* to say so, particularly since it represents a point of view well to the right of Herbert Hoover—and doesn't really wish us very well.

Bruce Catton, a contributing editor of *The Nation* (he reviews the Ickes book in the current issue), has received fabulous reviews on his latest book, "A Stillness at Appomattox." It's the last of his trilogy on the Army of the Potomac. The book has been favorably commented on by virtually every major newspaper literary supplement. I'll be giving you further reports on Mr. Catton and the book in the near future.—MARTIN SOLOW



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Volume 177, Number 26
New York, Saturday, December 26, 1953

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

South of the Sahara

THERE are in reality two Africas; the Sahara is the dividing line. "The desert," writes G. H. T. Krimble, "separates tongues and peoples as well as economies; fauna and flora, climates and cultures. To the north is *l'Afrique blanche;* to the south *l'Afrique noire.*" It is to black Africa that this issue of *The Nation* is dedicated—an area nearly three times as large as the United States, with a population almost as great, and so overwhelmingly black that all its white inhabitants could be put into a city no larger than Chicago. Here is the last stronghold of the old European empire, and the most promising threshhold of the new American empire. Here are produced one-fifth of the world's copper and tin, nearly one-fourth of its manganese, more than half of its gold, 80 per cent of its cobalt, 98 per cent of its industrial diamonds. And here live more than 140,000,000 people whose unhappy fate it is that their first real bid for freedom should coincide with the opening of the atomic age. More than half the world's known supply of uranium lies in Africa south of the Sahara.

The editors acknowledge with thanks the assistance of John V. Murra, formerly economic affairs officer and African area specialist with the Trusteeship Division of the United Nations, in the preparation of this issue.

These are the basic factors, each given added potency by East-West tensions, behind the post-World War II struggle for the dark continent. In this struggle the United States has immense stakes, ideological, political, economic. Yet the stakes are confusing and sometimes appear contradictory. Out of our rich revolutionary memories arises a natural sympathy for all peoples who seek freedom; for many decades, here and abroad, we wrote into the record our steadfast abhorrence of empire. But all our wealth is not in memories, and both Wall Street and the Pentagon are writing quite a different record. "The public investment of United States money in Africa now runs more than a half-billion dollars," said the Chicago *Daily News* recently, "and the private investments may be as much or more. Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast military resources of this continent suggest that the nineteenth-century imperialism of England, France, Belgium, and Portugal is child's play by comparison."

Must imperialism follow investment? Not necessarily, as Fenner Brockway points out in one of the articles in this issue, provided certain conditions exist. These conditions do not generally exist in Africa south of the Sahara. There are heavy American investments in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. Largely for the efficient and orderly development of these mines, and of other resources, the British have just pushed through a federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland *against the will of the African inhabitants.* The British Labor Party objected, but does anyone suppose that the Washington Administration did? Comilog, a French firm in which United States Steel has a 49 per cent interest, has discovered and is preparing to develop a large high-grade manganese deposit in French Equatorial Africa. Will this make the United States more friendly, or less, to the plea for freedom for the Ewe people so eloquently expressed by Sylvanus E. Olympio in this issue?

However we may feel ideologically, we are politically and financially increasingly committed to empire—either our Allies' or our own in competition with theirs. How much of our billions in foreign aid to France, Britain, and Belgium has gone to strengthen the machinery of colonialism? Mr. Olympio speaks of the French "colonial-development fund" and asserts that its ultimate source was Marshall Plan money. Whether we give or we invest, we invite responsibility. And in the view of some of our empire-minded allies at least, we are at last learning to discharge that responsibility in proper fashion. Ivor Thomas, writing in the London *Times,* complained that during and before World War II the colonial powers could not get a fair hearing from the United States. "In the past few years, however," Mr. Thomas wrote, "a great transformation has taken place in the official American attitude. . . . I am deeply conscious of how much the United Nations owes in this matter to the solid good sense of Mr. Foster Dulles." This was written in 1951, when Mr. Dulles was chief of the United States delegation to the United Nations. Today, as Secretary of State, he is in a position to put the United Nations—read colonial powers—and Mr. Thomas in even greater debt to

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him. The recent behavior of our representatives on the Trusteeship Council show how far we have strayed from our traditional position on the freedom of peoples.

But the new community of interest we have found with the Old World empires is not entirely a matter of money. The cold war has added a new dimension to every square inch of the earth's surface: a hill becomes a fortification, a river is a military barrier, a road turns into an armored column, a mine is measured in terms of armaments potential. Thus Africa has become a major strategic land mass: If Europe were lost, North Africa would still stand as the staging area for Allied troops. Britain's reaction to the threatened loss of Suez has been the enlargement of military facilities in Kenya. Congo railroads, now being expanded at a feverish rate, will serve excellently—according to Albion Ross of the New York *Times*—to enable the Allies "to fall back on East African bases in case the Suez area should be lost or neutralized."

THUS it is at a time when the protection of the Western world's vested interests in Africa south of the Sahara has become seemingly a matter of life or death that the winds of revolution are sweeping across the continent. If the white man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of Africa's resources, the black man has never before been so keenly aware of the value of freedom. Mr. Olympio tells us something of the genesis of the movement toward independence; our newspaper headlines have been telling us daily of its growth. From the passive-resistance movement in South Africa to the bloody and prolonged miniature war against the Mau Mau in Kenya, the African rebellion has taken on different forms. For everything about the status quo in Africa is complex, including the efforts to change it. A glance at the map on page 559 shows only part of the complexities—the divisions of the continent and the diversity of the authorities in control. What the map does not show is the enormous diversity of conditions—political, economic, social—within each region; nor does it show how the boundaries, most of them drafted on conference tables thousands of miles from Africa, arbitrarily cut across tribal and even family units. Some of these complexities are revealed in the articles which follow; also revealed are some of the tragic human results which have followed the arbitrary imposition of a modern industrial economy upon peoples ill prepared to receive it and—with a few exceptions—not sharing in its profits.

The United States is in Africa to stay, just as it is in Europe. But we have yet to decide, in the light of treasured human values and our own ultimate security, in which direction we shall throw our influence. "It will not be many years before the same kind of upheaval now appearing in Asia will be witnessed in Africa," said Ralph Bunche two years ago. In most of Asia we lost the ideological battle; shall we lose it in Africa, too?

AFRICA AND AMERICA

An Investment in Freedom . . *By Fenner Brockway*

London

I KNOW personally the leaders of most of the rising national movements in Africa. I will tell you what they think of America and what they ask of you.

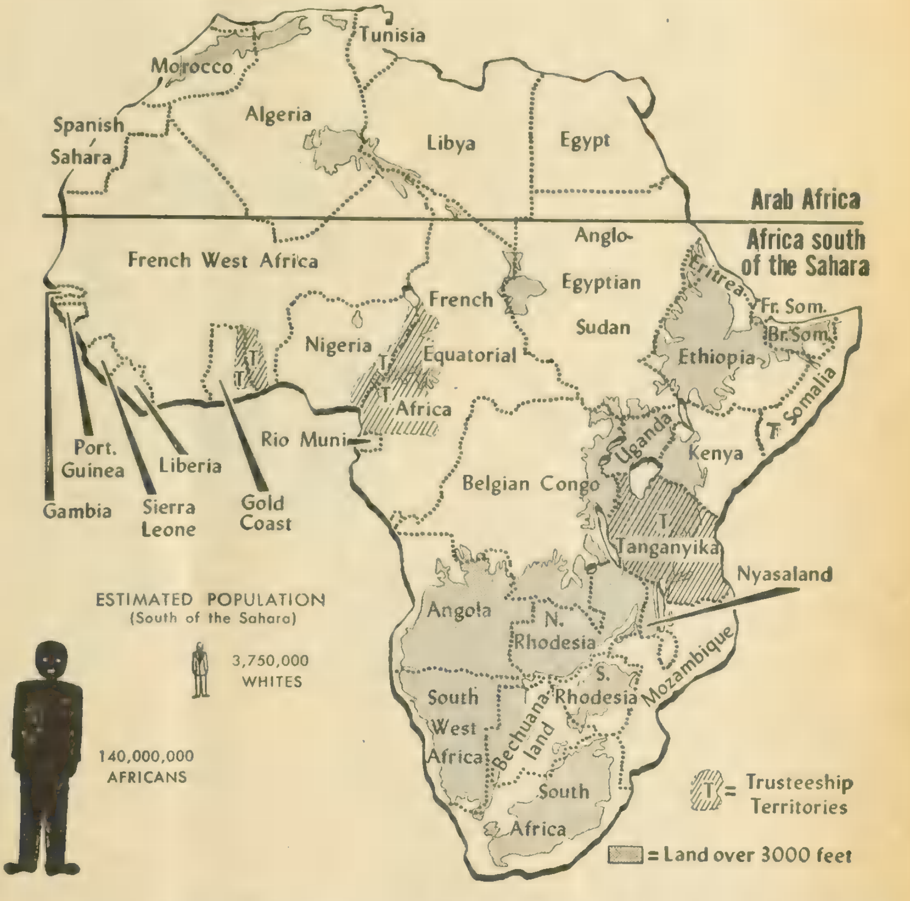
I am not saying that all Africans speak in exactly the same terms. There is some difference between Africans in the British and French empires. The attitude of Africans who have accepted Communist ideology and who cannot consequently see any good in America is somewhat different from that of others. But allowing for these exceptions, it is remarkable how most Africans speak with one voice. I have sat round a table with the most influential Africans from ten countries, and it has been difficult to detect any divergences in their views about the major problems of the world.

Let me illustrate this by their reactions, not to America, but to Europe. Six years ago prominent West European Socialists who had been working on a plan for economic union came to the conclusion that the participation of Africa was essential: Africa had the raw materials and certain foodstuffs which Europe lacked. So, optimistically, these Socialists from France, Britain, the Benelux countries, and Italy invited African representatives to come to Paris to work out a joint economic plan.

The African representatives came. They came from British West Africa, French North Africa, the Sudan, British East Africa, British Central Africa, and Madagascar. They would have come from South Africa if they had been permitted visas. They did not come from Belgian, Portuguese, or Spanish Africa because national democratic movements and leaders had not yet emerged in these territories. Thirty or forty African representatives came and were effusively welcomed. But they would not play ball.

They refused to cooperate in West European economic union for two reasons. Americans may deplore their decision, but it is as important for Americans as for Europeans that these reasons should be understood. First, the Africans said, and they said it unanimously, that Western Europe belonged to one of the two power blocs into which the world is divided and they were not prepared to associate with either bloc. They declared they would refuse just as categorically a similar invitation if it came from Eastern Europe. Their spokesman, a leader from Algeria, explained their position in these words: "We do not possess self-government and cannot influence world events. We have no responsibility for the division between East and West, and we cannot identify ourselves with either. When we have self-government we will make our decision. It will probably be the same decision as India's—to work for reconciliation and peace."

Those of us who indorsed the right of peoples to govern themselves found it difficult to reject that reasoning. We found it still more difficult to reject their ground for non-participation, though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South Africa
ESTIMATED POPULATION (South of the Sahara)
3,750,000 WHITES
140,000,000 AFRICANS
T = Trusteeship Territories
▨ = Land over 3000 feet

South of the Sahara the white man settled mostly in the temperate climate of the highlands (shaded areas). Today these are the most troubled regions of the continent. The United Nations has voted to turn Southwest Africa into a U. N. trust territory; South Africa, which now controls the areas, has refused.

FENNER BROCKWAY, Labor M. P. for Eton and Slough, is popularly known in Britain as "M. P. for Africa" because of his interest in African affairs. He is chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, which includes all major non-Communist democratic movements in Africa.

Americans have no reason to share our sense of shame as we listened to Africa's verdict: "We cannot join an economic union with West Europe because it is West Europe which is responsible for our political servitude. The West European nations are our imperialist masters—Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain. Give us self-government and we shall be prepared to discuss economic union with you. Not until then."

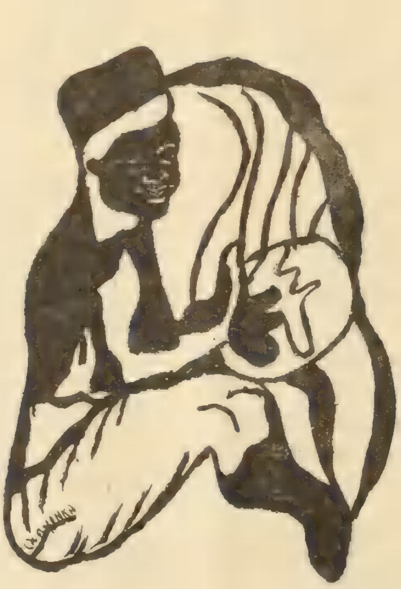
That was that. The African representatives who had been called to Paris to plan a joint economy with Western Europe stayed in Paris to establish a Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism with the object of ending West European occupation of their territories.

THE FIRST REASON the Africans gave for rejecting the hand of Western Europe applies also to America. So long as they are denied the democratic right to decide for themselves, Africans will turn a deaf ear to appeals to support the Western group of nations of which America is the leader. They pour scorn on tributes to liberty while they themselves are denied liberty. And the spokesman who indicated that the present tendency of African thought is to indorse India's policy of independence of both the Eastern and the Western bloc is undoubtedly right. From nearly every African representative I have heard the same view; it appears to be instinctive with them. It is the declared policy of Dr. N'Krumah, the first African Prime Minister of a British colony.

In only two African countries have I heard a different view—Tunisia and the Sudan. Mr. Bourguiba, the leader of the Neo-Destour in Tunisia, has declared his allegiance to the Western cause, despite his imprisonment by the French; and in the Sudan, Mahdi Pasha, the powerful political and religious leader of the Independence Front, has also come out in support of the West. It is right to add, however, that in both cases, particularly in Tunisia, dissent from the opinions of these leaders has been expressed.

African reluctance to associate with the American-led Western bloc, however, does not mean sympathy with the totalitarian dictatorships of the Communist countries. I am astonished not only by the small grip which communism has on Africa but by the failure of the Communists to exploit the glaring injustices, both economic and political, from which the African population suffers. Except in French Africa, the Sudan, and South Africa, Communist influence scarcely exists.

The French are themselves to blame for such Communist influence as is to be found in North Africa. They have suppressed the newspapers published by the national movements of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, and in consequence the people have turned to the Communist press, where, alone among French papers, they have seen their news and case presented. In French Equatorial Africa, Communist influence used to be considerable, again a reflection of the strength of the French Communist Party; but it has been lessened by the influence of democratic progress in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, within the neighboring British sphere. In the Sudan, Communist influence is limited to the trade-union movement, where certain students deported from Egypt because of their Communist activities have gained official positions. In South Africa, Communists have taken advantage of the weak stand of the dominion Labor Party on the color issue and have fairly wide influence in both the African and the Indian National Congress. But that is just about as far as Communist influence extends in Africa. Despite the persistent and skilful efforts of British and French Communists to woo African students in London and Paris, Africa remains for the most part untouched by the Communist wave which has swept over such a large part of Asia.



The sketches in this issue are the work of Miranda Burney-Nicol, a self-taught young African artist from Sierra Leone who is now in the United States studying sociology and history of art. She signs her work with the name by which she is known at home—Olayinka.

Why is this? In the case of Africa north of the Sahara, populated largely by Arabs, the reason lies in the hold of the Moslem faith on the people. Religious views are also a powerful antidote to communism in countries, such as Uganda, where Christian teaching, both Protestant and Catholic, has gained a hold on the people. But the common factor against communism in most African countries is the democratic traditions of their tribes and their own experience in the struggle for liberty.

African tribal life had for the most part a day-to-day democratic community-consciousness which rejected dictatorship. Where there were chiefs, they were accepted only so long as they acted as the fathers and spokesmen of the people. Other tribes, like the Kikuyu in Kenya, recently much maligned, resented personal power so strongly that they would not have chiefs: their clans were administered by councils of elders. Indeed, one of their grievances against the British is that government-selected chiefs have been imposed upon them. A significant feature of African life today, in countries often separated by hundreds of miles, is the revolt of the people against the power of the chiefs, who too often have become stooges of the imperial administration.

STILL MORE important, African leaders have come to love liberty in the course of their struggle for it. Their intellectuals have imbibed the teachings of the British liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century and of Jefferson and the philosophers of the American Revolution. They have continuously had to fight against repressions of speech, writing, association, and movement, against infringements of habeas corpus, against arbitrary imprisonments and deportations. Having gone through these experiences, they are not tuned to welcome the denials of civil and political liberty inherent in totalitarian communism.

But—a warning. To the masses of Africa, doomed to wretched poverty and horrible disease, often suffering from land hunger, driven into the towns to serve as cheap labor, issues of civil and political liberty seem of little account. They want bread and land and life. So communism can make an appeal, just as it has done successfully over large areas of Asia. Only if Western Europe and America, and especially America because of its greater material resources, respond to this need, will the African people resist the appeal of communism.

This brings me to the second doubt which is in African minds regarding America. African leaders everywhere appreciate the absence of American political imperialism, but at the same time they fear the danger of American economic imperialism. There is ex-President Truman's Point Four. There is American capital investment.

RECENTLY I was in Uganda. I flew 200 miles from its African capital, Kampala—the British capital is twenty-five miles away, beautiful but bureaucratic in its isolation—to Toro, once a paradise for fishermen and hunters, but now the fish have been nationalized and the game protected. Motoring across the plain, past a road sign "Give Way to Elephants"—and in fact forty wild elephants sported near-by—we came to the Mountains of the Moon. Here copper has been discovered, and a mining company, largely American-financed, has begun work. In our rusty and dusty old car was the local African princess, a pleasant rounded woman who except for the color of her skin might have been an English housewife. Like English housewives, she was not wanting in expressiveness. She poured out her fears of what the copper mine might bring.

Uganda is a protectorate which the British have in many ways honestly protected. No non-African is permitted to own land, and in consequence Uganda is free from the "European settler" problem which has set ablaze neighboring Kenya. But now, said the princess, European and American technicians will pour in to direct the copper mine, Europeans will arrive to take the skilled jobs, and Africans will be recruited as cheap labor to do the rough work. A multi-racial society, socially and economically divided, will develop in the shadow of the Mountains of the Moon, and wealth will be drained from Uganda's mineral resources to absentee and alien investors.

This is an example of what is happening in many parts of Africa. It would be reactionary to reject capital investment or the coming of technicians. What can be done to protect the Africans? We will cross the mountains into the Sudan to find the answer. There the most remarkable economic enterprise in the whole of Africa has been carried out, and it has been carried out with justice to both capital investors and the Sudanese.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS ago a triangle of land of which Khartoum is the apex and the White and Blue Niles, joining at the city, are the longer sides was arid space. Now this same land, a million acres in extent, produces huge crops of cotton and millet. The peasant who earned £35 in 1938 earned £650 last year, and the whole scheme is now owned by the Sudan government—the territory will shortly become self-governing—and the 35,000 fortunate tenants. The investors have had their interest for forty years, and the loans have been either repaid or guaranteed.

The scheme began as a tripartite venture of the Sudan government, the tenants, and two British companies. For forty years the Sudan government received 40 per cent, the tenants 40 per cent, the companies 20 per cent of the income. A proportion of income was used for education, health, the erection of village halls, football fields; among the people there has been a social as well as an economic revolution. Three years ago the concession to the two companies came to an end. They were fully paid up. This vast venture, involving an enormous irrigation scheme, has been completed by British capital and British technicians—I should pay the same tribute if they had been American, French, or German—without any vestige of economic imperialism; its final result is to give the new self-governing Sudan its richest revenue-producing property.

HERE, I BELIEVE, is a model of how capital investment, which one admits must be mostly American, can be directed to Africa without the economic exploitation of the population. Apply the principle of the Sudan Gezira scheme to those copper mines in Uganda. A concession should be granted to investors for a period of years. The necessary technicians should be welcomed: they should be given a contract for a period of years, but there should be in the background a board representing the Uganda government and people. A proportion of the revenue should be devoted to education, health, housing, and to the training of Africans in technical and skilled work. Fifty years from now the copper mines of the Mountains of the Moon should be African-owned and African-run.

One hopes the time will come when investment in the undeveloped territories will become a United Nations function under a world authority. It is time we gave our attention to this need.

America has the privilege of being the wealthiest country in the world. It has given an example to the older nations by rejecting the tradition of political and territorial imperialism. It has thereby won the good-will of all African peoples. It can become, if it will, the pioneer of policies which will also reject economic imperialism. That would win the admiration and devotion of African peoples.

Will America rise to this high opportunity, for the good not only of Africa but of all the emerging peoples, for the good of the world?

GROWTH OF UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM AFRICA
(IN U. S. DOLLARS)

	1937	*1949*	*1951*
Congo	1,471,000	21,895,000	52,020,000
French West Africa	2,434,000	5,609,000	13,737,000
Gold Coast	17,937,000	45,290,000	80,386,650
Nigeria	11,589,000	26,875,000	51,543,830
Northern Rhodesia	620,000	18,028,000	18,152,600
Union of South Africa	6,560,000	36,513,000	98,910,000

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

QUEST FOR LIBERTY

An African Speaks . . *by Sylvanus E. Olympio*

Lome, Togoland

IN THE Gold Coast to the west of my country and in Nigeria to the east every adult, from the most illiterate and poorest farmer's wife to the polished graduate of an English or American university, will go to the ballot boxes at the next general elections and elect an African government of their own design. In the Gold Coast, particularly, the government chosen will be a real government, very nearly if not wholly a sovereign government, freeing the country almost completely from the colonial system.

But in Togoland, which is my country and which I love, and in the Ivory Coast and Dahomey and other parts of French West and Equatorial Africa, even to speak aloud the wish that we might follow our brothers and neighbors to freedom from colonial rule seems to be regarded by our rulers as verging on treason. Self-government for its colonies is the oft-proclaimed objective of every truly modern colonial power. For us Togolanders, who live in a colony which belongs to no power but is merely intrusted to France for the time being by the United Nations, the guaranty of self-government is spelled out by the U. N. Charter itself. Yet in Togoland, more than anywhere else in West Africa, the only results of our insistence that this guaranty shall be progressively implemented have been recriminations, persecutions, broken heads, and prolonged visits to the local jails. For two years or more we have lived in an atmosphere of tension, hostility, and repression unknown among our Gold Coast neighbors only two miles away. It is so bad that a recent and highly conservative U. N. visiting mission felt obliged to draw attention to it.

In the childhood years of our fathers the rival powers of Europe carved up West Africa into zones of influence, trade, protection, and sovereignty. The Africans were not consulted; except for a few powerful chiefs whose friendship had to be bought, they were hardly considered. The lines drawn by the Europeans ran ruthlessly through tribes, villages, and even individual farms, careless of all African history, tradition, language, or authority, and above all careless of the worth of the African as a human being and the certainty that he would some day insist on his fundamental rights.

Such a frontier line cut like a butcher's knife through my Ewe people, dividing us first between the British Gold Coast and the German Togoland, and dividing us again when Togoland was shared between Britain and France after the First World War. Although our protests date as far back as that time, it is perhaps true that not many of our people understood the full implications of our fragmentation, for it was the common policy of all the colonial powers to keep us in a state of ignorance and undisguised exploitation.

BUT AS THE second great war engulfed the world, including ourselves, ran its course, and passed, we entered a time of crisis. On the one hand, our people's minds became filled with an understanding of freedom and our hearts burned with a longing for it. On the other hand, this understanding and this longing forced the colonial powers to adopt new policies which might appease our demands and still serve their own interests—an attempt at compromise which gave birth to conflicts and contradictions. We were caught in the middle in a clash of colonial ideologies which is for us what the cold war is to the world at large.

Americans, too many of whom still seem to think of Africa in terms of war dances and witchcraft—which as entertainment we prefer, anyhow, to your Elks and Lions—may not realize how profoundly the Second World War affected the social and political structure of West Africa. Contact with foreign troops stationed here or passing through, the enrolment of thousands of young West African men and women in the Allied armies, the intensive propaganda of the Allied governments to rally us to the war effort and of the Vichy government to make us boycott it—these things could hardly be expected to have only a temporary influence on our lives. The Allied governments convinced us of the value of liberty, and promised far-reaching changes in our political status and our standards of living. The Vichy government, which retained control of French West Africa for three years after the fall of France, urged us not to abandon our skepticism, enforcing its arguments by arresting, throwing into concentration camps, and even shooting Africans who believed in the Allied cause. My people, the Ewes, whose very families are divided between the British and French administrations, were asked to fight one another.

The war over, we awaited anxiously the fulfilment of the promises of Britain and France. Both moved almost simultaneously, though independently, to announce a new era for West Africa; and both disappointed us bitterly. The British offered a clear assurance of ultimate self-government, but the constitutions they presented to West Africa in 1946 were marked by a caution completely out of touch with the facts of African political life. In the Gold Coast and the part of my country attached to it dissatisfaction reached a climax in 1948 with riots and disturbances, and Britain saw more clearly the writing on the wall. Its present policy of peaceful withdrawal from West Africa, leaving behind only the friendly ties of trade, technical assistance, and mutual respect, was then firmly established, and the following years have seen the people of the Gold Coast creating the constitutional structure of a free,

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SYLVANUS E. OLYMPIO is a distinguished West African leader who has represented the Ewe people—1,000,000 strong—before the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

equal, and independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

From France came a flow of idealistic words adorning a new idea, the French Union—an idea of partnership between France and its colonies whose purpose arouses the gravest suspicions. Obviously the French Union does not much resemble the British Commonwealth of Nations—or the King of Cambodia would not be insisting that his country be given a status like that of Pakistan. Obviously the French Union does not allow its junior members to become genuinely self-governing—or Vietnam and Laos would not be complaining that it bars their independence.

The fact is that the granting of self-government—for which the French language has no adequate word except *indépendance*—to any of the French colonies would destroy the whole conception of the French Union, no matter what flexibility is claimed for it. France, rightly proud of its race and culture, has never really abandoned the idea that it has a sacred mission to "assimilate" its colonial peoples, even though the emphasis now is on the assimilation of territories rather than individuals. Further, France believes firmly in the theory of a strongly centralized government, and considerations of international prestige and of economy seem to Frenchmen to demand the closest integration of the colonies with the mother country.

THESE IDEAS are basic to the concept of the French Union. They explain why Paris remains not merely the sentimental or even economic heart of the empire, as London is to British countries, but also the political heart, making policies and laws for all the peoples of the Union. In British West Africa control of policy and lawmaking is passing rapidly from British into African hands; in the French territories this control is held firmly in Paris. Our single Togoland deputy joins the handful of other French colonial members of the National Assembly in Paris to form an insignificant minority which can in no way influence any major decision on colonial policy, far less on West African or Togoland policy.

At home they have given us a Territorial Assembly which has no legislative power in the real sense of the word. Its main responsibility is the local budget, in which more than half the expenditures are compulsory and cannot be amended by the Assembly. It is forbidden to discuss political problems, even the problem of its own lack of authority. Earlier this year, for example, an African member offered a motion calling upon the Assembly to examine the French government's draft of a new law purporting (and that itself is an interesting story) to increase the Assembly's powers. The governor's representative vetoed the discussion.

All power remains in Paris; that, I repeat, is the cornerstone of the French Union. Paris decides which of us may vote, even for the members of our powerless local organs; and the French have a genius for arranging colonial elections everywhere in the empire so as to insure that pro-government parties hold control. Paris shapes the form of our economy. It is true that the colonial countries are now making greater efforts than ever before to develop the economic resources of their colonies, but no one can pretend that they are doing it for the benefit of the colonial peoples. The main object of the biggest schemes is to restore the economic stability of the colonial powers themselves. The Volta River aluminum project in the Gold Coast, the development of iron and gold mines in French Guinea, and a new phosphate-extraction project in Togoland are cases in point. The agricultural products to be given priority—ground nuts, cocoa, coffee, and so forth—have been carefully chosen to satisfy economic appetites overseas rather than hungry stomachs at home. These policies not only restrict the earnings of the colonies to the selling prices of the raw, unfinished products; they also ignore the need for planning the economy of each colony so that it can eventually become an independent state.

Furthermore—and this is one good reason why these policies exist—trade and industry are still almost exclusively in the hands of European companies. The role usually left to the African is that of small middleman or buyer. Nearly all processing, even in the primary stages, is carried out in Europe or America, taking profits and taxes with it. Import and export trade is naturally suited to African experience and skill, but in the French territories economic activities are controlled in such a way as to favor the operations of the large European firms.

WE UNDERSTAND that West Africa will need technical and financial assistance from Europe and America for some time. So far we have seen little, except in concealed forms, of the help which we know the United States and the United Nations are ready to give. When France speaks with pride of its colonial-development fund, we are obliged to remind ourselves that this fund is largely made up of Marshall aid from America to France. As for Point Four and U. N. technical assistance, which we need so badly, we can only guess that our governments do not want us to be influenced by association with foreign technicians.

We need foreign capital too; we believe there is room for it in West Africa, to the advantage of everyone. And we know that capital investment needs stable governments—which brings me back to the beginning. For we are convinced that self-governing West African states, full members of the United Nations, can offer better prospects to the world than a collection of colonial dependencies fighting for their freedom and dangerously open to all influences which promise to help them in their struggle.

We cannot tolerate the prospect of remaining as dependent territories when the Gold Coast and Nigeria, on either side of us, have won the independent status of India and Ceylon. The evident solution for West Africa is some kind of federation which will satisfy the smaller units' aspirations for self-determination without leaving them weak, isolated, and unstable. Unity and freedom are the aims of my divided Ewe people; unity and freedom should be the aims of West Africa as a whole.

RACIAL DEADLOCK

Dark Age in a Dark Land . . *by Basil Davidson*

London

TERRITORIES in which the white man has long been settled—in the Cape of Good Hope since the seventeenth century, in the Transvaal and Orange Free State since the mid-nineteenth century, in the Rhodesias and East Africa since the end of the nineteenth century—enjoy neither the peaceful present nor the hopeful future of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The atmosphere of the old Kafir wars is back again. The curve of tolerance dips downward. Not since the worst brutalities of the slave trade has the African shown himself so baleful as have the Mau Mau terrorists of Kenya. Nothing in Africa's history of white settlement, not even the frightful Matabele war fought by the Rhodesian settlers fifty years ago, has been more horrible than the wholesale killing with which the white man has met the Mau Mau rebellion.

While Africans everywhere in these territories gather their strength and seek new ways of self-defense, the white man seems incapable of making any genuine advance toward racial tolerance and equality. He prates of his own fitness to lead, but his leadership leads only to chaos in Kenya, to a federation in Central Africa that every intelligent African has condemned, to beastliness in South Africa that needs to be seen to be believed.

Given the proportions in which the whites are outnumbered in these territories—overwhelmingly outnumbered everywhere except in the Union of South Africa—and the virtual certainty that no policy of white immigration can ever appreciably alter this, the settlers might be expected to try to reach a friendly and expanding agreement with the non-whites. Here and there, of course, they do try, and are prepared to give up some or even all of their racial privilege, but the majority of the white men and women of East and South Africa seem incapable of envisaging a future any different from their present. Rather than approach equality of opportunity with Africans, most of them would prefer to "fight the bastards for as long as we can, and then get out if we must." Understandably, the Afrikaans-speaking whites are generally more desperate in this purpose than others, knowing that while the Europeans can always go back to Europe, they themselves have "nowhere to get out to."

THE RACIAL deadlock in East and South Africa is of course a corollary of economic conditions. This is a region of "permanent white supremacy" and "cheap African labor." Its basic economy was well described by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, in a fairly recent statement. Defending his government against the criticism that it encouraged the drift of Africans to the towns—bad for the farmers and bad for racial segregation—Sir Godfrey said: "The Europeans insist on this drift to the towns. They insist on having this native labor. . . . We cannot exist for five minutes without the native today. He is absolutely essential to our wage structure if nothing else." And he went on, rubbing in the point: "If we went on a purely European basis with the present conditions of living and pay—I am not complaining about them but merely pointing out a fact—the country would be sub-economic and down and out in five minutes."

This system of helotry was imposed by force. By 1846 the British had fought their seventh Kaffir war in the Cape Province; the Boers, farther to the north by this time, were spasmodically at war with the Bantu for most of the nineteenth century. British settlers pushing northward into the lands beyond the Limpopo established their dominion through bloody struggles with the African peoples already living there. Other whites, and other regiments from home, were meanwhile pushing westward from the shores of the Indian Ocean, bamboozling, buying up, or subduing the Kikuyu, Masai, and other peoples of that region. In neighboring territories the French, Germans, and Belgians, struggling to catch up with the British, went eagerly about the same business.

So long as this helotry remained within a pre-industrial framework of extensive farming or of mining solely for export, the white man's problem stayed simple. He needed only to maintain law and order, put down rebellions, suppress "agitators," and take in the profits. He could even justify his repressive action, here and there, by pointing to certain benefits of his coming—the stopping of the Arab slave trade in East Africa, the ending of tribal wars in Central Africa, the occasional glimpses of European civilization provided to Africans. Only in the last decade has this half-vicious, half-paternalist society of bond and free begun to be undermined. But the process is going on now with staggering speed.

THERE ARE two main reasons for this development. The first is the growth of secondary industry, especially in the Union and the Rhodesias, and the use of African labor in manufacturing as well as in farming and mining. Great numbers of Africans now live in and around the principal cities and, as Huggins says, are indispensable to the white man's economy. These Africans are not herded in gigantic compounds as are the native mine workers of the Rand; they live in sorry shacks in urban slums. Though they suffer from atrocious social conditions, they have gained access to the modern world of trade unions and literacy; they know where they stand.

The second reason for the recent change is related to the first. Even in territories not undergoing industrialization new ideas have been engendered in

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the Africans by the collapse of colonialism in other parts of the world and the advance of some native peoples in Africa itself. Nationalism draws together tribes and groups hitherto slumbering in isolation, knowing no way to unite against their masters. Every step the white man takes to bolster up his threatened supremacy acts now as a goad to the African. Nowhere has this been more obvious than in British Central Africa this last year or so. In the two protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia (200,000 whites and 6,000,000 non-whites) the British have imposed a federation which is intended to make Central Africa safe against African political advance. African efforts to oppose the scheme in these last two years have given birth to a vividly felt nationalism. Conservative chiefs have joined radical nationalist congresses. The very men on whom the British have most relied for indirect rule have declared their solidarity with nationalist politicians and trade-unionists.

ALTHOUGH nothing sensational is likely to happen in Central Africa for a long time, the importance of this growth in African understanding and self-consciousness can hardly be overestimated. Where the Africans used to divide whites into two kinds—those who were "with the government" and thus part of the system of protection, and those who were not with the government but were there to make money out of Africans—they now see that the two kinds are really the same. All but the merest handful of whites have wanted and worked for federation. The administration has done its best to put through federation. If the opinions of Africans were ever asked, they were completely ignored. The educational influence of all this has not been small.

Perhaps the speed of African advance in understanding is the salient point. People outside Africa often imagine that these half-dressed, woolly-headed people are hopelessly backward. Many white men in Africa share that view: "My dear chap, it'll take generations before these Kaffirs are fit to run their own affairs." It was the demonstration that this was not so that caused such spleen against what is called "that Gold Coast experiment."

White men need to revise most of their ideas about Africans. African peoples are showing themselves not only familiar with ideas hitherto regarded as the preserve of the white man but capable of a high degree of modern organization. At the same time they are reasserting the validity of many traditional forms of social behavior and demonstrating that the emergent societies will be specifically African and not mere copies of institutions brought in by the whites.

AS AN EXAMPLE of their capacity to organize along modern industrial lines I would cite the achievements of the Northern Rhodesian African Miners' Union. Formed in 1948, it has already succeeded in more than doubling wages in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt. Late last year it called a general strike in the copper mines that lasted three weeks and was completely successful—almost an unheard-of thing in Africa. Its membership now includes a big majority of the 40,000 African mine workers in the territory. Why should Africans in this very backward protectorate have proved so successful in building a trade union? Perhaps because in this territory alone the government gave them the chance of showing what they could do.

In the realm of ideas African nationalism can generally teach the whites a lesson in humanity and good sense. It is not exclusivist, as white nationalism has always been in Africa: it demands equality, not supremacy. Whether this moderation can be maintained is of course another matter; whites at the moment are doing their utmost, consciously or not, to provoke its displacement by an exclusivist black nationalism. The African National Congress of South Africa, in a 1951 statement which inaugurated its great campaign of non-violent resistance to racial laws, declared: "All people, irrespective of the national groups they may belong to and irrespective of the color of their skin, who have made South Africa their home and who believe in the principles of democracy and equality of man are South Africans. All South Africans are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality." Compare this with the narrow-minded selfishness of almost any statement of white policy in South Africa.

The same moderation prevails in Central Africa, where the African Congresses of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, though sorely provoked, have never departed from their readiness to admit the full implications of multi-racial democracy. Will others take the road of Mau Mau? Always a temptation to the extremist wing of any nationalist movement, as European history amply shows, terrorism is not the chosen weapon of Africans today. Their best leaders and the bulk of the population condemn it. If Mau Mau gains strength in Kenya and spreads to other peoples than the Kikuyu, it will be because the whites in their blindness have laid hands on all the moderate and progressive African leaders, leaving the "bad men" in the field—who, of course, are seldom or never known.

The majority of Africans prefer to defend themselves by political and industrial organization. This form of self-defense was seen at its most effective last year in South Africa, where non-violent resistance surpassed in scale and potency everything expected of it, even by those who organized it. The deeds of the heroic volunteers who risked police violence, fines, and imprisonment gave new confidence to countless numbers of their fellows.

Is there any solid hope of breaking the racial deadlock by peaceful agreement and adjustment? Much will depend on the influence of the outside world. If it can offer only pious resolutions, while Western capital, flowing into the country in ever greater volume, preserves the old master-slave relationship, the outlook is dark indeed. The white man has one last chance in Africa: at the moment, by all the signs, he is throwing it away.

AFRICAN WORKERS

Progress from Primitivism . . *by Julius Lewin*

Johannesburg

A FOUNTAIN plays gently outside the sculptured entrance to one of the most impressive buildings in Johannesburg, the headquarters of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. Within these walls projects are planned that dominate the lives of countless people between Cape Town and the Congo. Along with other financial groups, all organized in the Chamber of Mines, the corporation controls the production of gold, copper, and various other minerals, including uranium.

Some 300,000 African laborers work in the mines of the Rand, several thousand feet underground. This enormous labor force is recruited from many areas. Less than half is drawn from the Union of South Africa: the rest comes from far afield—from Portuguese East Africa, from Basutoland, from Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Angola, and elsewhere. The Chamber of Mines spends large sums and employs a regiment of ingenious white men to insure that the recurrent shortage of African labor never becomes really serious.

The African tribesmen leave their distant rural homes, their wives and children, for about a year at a time to work in the mines. No legal compulsion is applied to make them do this. They are driven by indirect measures that the public conscience can accommodate. The Africans are not allowed enough land to live on. Their reservations, overcrowded and eroded, are unresponsive to the primitive type of agriculture practiced in them. Africans must also earn cash to pay their taxes. To this economic pressure is added the lure of the modern city. Wonderful tales are told of the excitement and magic that await the adventurous traveler to the golden Rand. As if to prove his very manhood, the African must some day set forth to the destination from which the *machona*, or lost ones, never return.

In the big city the African, released from the tightness of tribal control, explores pleasures hitherto undreamed of. He will quickly be introduced to prostitutes and homosexuals. He will learn that family ties can be loosened, that a ruthless individualism seems to take a man farther with less effort. He is paid at the average rate of under 50 cents a day and is housed and fed by his employer. One of the modern arts which the tribesman is strictly prohibited from learning is the art of organizing a labor union. Africans in the mines are denied by law the right to combine to protect their interests, a right long exercised by the mine-owners, who are careful not to compete with one another for the labor available. Uniform wage rates have always prevailed in the mines. Wages have risen slightly on the Rand in the past year, for the first time in ten years, not as the result of pressure from below, but from fear that recruitment could not otherwise be maintained.

The pattern of employment set on the Rand before the end of the nineteenth century was followed after 1930 in the copper belt of Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent, in the Belgian Congo. But significant differences mark the three areas. In the Transvaal all but 1 per cent of the laborers are migrants housed in compounds holding a maximum of men with a minimum of elementary human comfort. In Northern Rhodesia nearly 60 per cent of the laborers now have their families with them and live in houses in the mining township. In the Katanga area of the Congo as many as 83 per cent are accompanied by their families.

In Rhodesia too the low wages were raised in 1953, but here the increase was the result of a British economist's arbitration, following a three weeks' strike by the African labor union. A dozen years earlier the idea that African tribesmen could organize a union had been laughed at. Legal obstacles were removed after 1940 when the British House of Commons inserted in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act a clause forbidding financial aid to a colony unless its laws allowed African trade unions to function. The black miners, given the opportunity and some assistance, were not slow to follow the example of the white miners, long organized in their own exclusive union of skilled men. This latter union had never been able to prevent the black miners in Rhodesia from taking part in semi-skilled work, like blasting and drilling, as the parent white union on the Rand had always done. None the less, a rigid color bar had from the beginning prevented black men from doing the best-paid types of work. These are still reserved for white immigrants to the colony from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

THE WHOLE system of migrant labor is wasteful and destructive of human energies and aspirations. It plays havoc with the social structure of the tribes deeply affected by it. In war time any white community soon feels the absence of a small proportion of husbands, fathers, and sons. In Africa, year after year, the

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percentage of able-bodied men away from the tribe has risen; it has reached 43 in parts of Nyasaland and 70 in many parts of South Africa. The Belgians were the first to think of putting a limit to the proportion of absentees. A generation ago, after careful inquiries, they set the figure at 10 per cent of adult men. Whether migration ever has been or can be kept within such limits may well be doubted. Under present circumstances, no one would propose to limit migration by law, for if this were done, people would starve. They would starve because their lands often cannot produce enough to keep them alive, let alone provide a surplus for sale.

The absence of the men leaves agriculture to women and children and to the aged and infirm. When the men do return home, it is to rest and recuperate before their next spell of work at the mines or in some other white employment. They are in no mood to respond to tribal discipline or to their chief's demands. They have learned a new freedom, and to exercise it they are ready to abandon old customs or, at best, to observe them in perfunctory fashion. Strange ideas about morals and manners, about wealth and work, even about human rights and wrongs are brought back to the tribes when the menfolk return from the mines. But these ideas do not include new ways of cultivating the exhausted soil.

IT IS THE recognizable process of industrialization, and with it urbanization, that has come to claim the best physical and mental energies in south-central Africa. But the industrialism here, mainly mining, is in the early predatory stage in which wealth accumulates and men decay. The African gets only a tiny share of the tremendous wealth produced in the three rich mining areas of the Rand, the Rhodesian copper belt, and the Katanga. He was formerly poor in a poor country; today he sees that he is poor in a rich country; and he wonders why he is told that poor he must remain.

No less a personage than Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, has told him so in clear terms. When wages in the copper belt were forced up to an average of about 70 cents a day this year, Sir Ernest was quick to issue a warning. Admitting that with copper at its unprecedentedly high cold-war price, the mines could well afford to pay the new wage rates, he pointed out that Africans in other employment and in neighboring territories were making similar demands, which were "naturally very difficult to resist. This new level is one which the present low efficiency of the average African worker does not yet justify, and which his elementary needs do not yet require."

HERE WAS a hint of the mine-owner's constant dilemma, in which he must let "I dare not wait upon I would." He would like to employ Africans in the whole range of semi-skilled and even skilled work. He knows how quickly even untutored Africans learn to use modern tools and machines. He knows, too, that Africans could, before very long, displace the more highly paid white workers at most of their jobs. The color bar in industry was nowhere introduced by the desire of employers. It is supported on the Rand by law and in Rhodesia by an agreement made under pressure of the white union.

Recently there have been indications in the copper belt that some mine-owners want to relax the color bar. The British Colonial Office has had this aim in mind since 1948 when the Dalgleish commission of inquiry showed how it could be gradually achieved. But like all mine-owners Sir Ernest remembers vividly what happened on the Rand in 1922. The falling price of gold tempted the mines to try to employ fewer whites and more blacks. The first result was a small civil war that shook South Africa to its very base. The second result was the defeat of Smuts's party at the polls and the advent of a new government formed by a pact between the Afrikaner Nationalists and the white Labor Party, both grimly determined to defend white supremacy in industry as in politics. From that time the problem and the politicians' way of handling it have remained unchanged.

The toughest element in the whole pattern of white supremacy is the fact that a racial attitude supports an economic case that is not on the face of it unconvincing when it is known how long the white workers had to struggle to secure the standards of living they now refuse to share with black workers. Today the white societies in South Africa and Rhodesia are ready to rally round the cause of the white miners whenever it is menaced by the mine-owners.

Mining policy might have taken a different course, certainly in the copper belt, where it was unnecessary to repeat in the 1930's the mistakes made on the Rand in the 1890's. The color bar in Rhodesia was almost surreptitious in its operation until in 1940 the second serious labor disturbances exposed it as a major source of African grievance. Thereafter procrastination lost more than one opportunity: a firm policy could have exiled Jim Crow and kept him in his home south of the Zambesi. Now Britain has surrendered its trust to the new self-governing Rhodesian Federation, which is dominated by white politicians; and already a "Confederate Party" is contesting elections on a policy indistinguishable from Malan's *apartheid*.

The Belgians have arranged these things with somewhat better foresight. They have never encouraged white settlement in the Congo; and they have always limited the political power of those white residents whose presence industry and trade require. Consequently, their copper mines have never felt the pres-

SOME AFRICAN WAGE RATES*
(IN U. S. DOLLARS)

Unskilled Labor	
Congo	0.38 daily minimum
Dakar	0.94 " "
French Sudan	0.56 " "
Kenya	3.00–4.20 monthly
Nigeria	0.15–0.70 daily
Tanganyika	3.00–9.00 monthly
Skilled Labor	
French West Africa	23.52–62.61 monthly
Nigeria	0.90–1.90 daily
Tanganyika	9.00–30.00 monthly
Miners	
Southern Rhodesia	7.44 monthly (average)
Tanganyika	up to 16.00 monthly
Vlakfontein Mine (South Africa)	.60 daily (average)

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

*In East and South Africa the worker generally gets food and shelter (usually in barracks) in addition to his cash wage.

sure of a white society insistently proclaiming its supremacy in "a white man's country." The Katanga mines have thus been free to employ Africans in a wider range of skilled jobs and to encourage this labor force to settle in the mining areas. The Belgians have not avoided all the harm done by migrant labor, but they perceived the danger at an early stage and took steps to diminish it. They also take regular steps to protect Africans from contamination by democratic ideas, and the Roman Catholic church is always at hand to control the education of Africans.

It may be too late now for any external agency to make an impact on the established habits of South Africa and Rhodesia in normal circumstances. The mining industry has long defended itself with ease against critics at home and abroad. The International Labor Office produced a series of conventions setting minimum standards over the whole field of contract labor. Yet Britain, Belgium, and South Africa have stood alone and unashamed before the United Nations, insisting on their need to retain imprisonment and whipping to enforce contracts against the numerous deserting migrant laborers. Even when I. L. O. standards have been reluctantly accepted in theory, they have made small practical difference to African situations. Belgium may enjoy a superior reputation for its policy of paternalism in the Katanga, but it has displayed exceptional anxiety to escape the criticism of colonial policy that the international trusteeship system allows.

YET CHANGE does come. Since the Africans' own efforts to bring it about are still weak, change comes mainly through sheer necessity, such as the need to overcome the shortage of labor. The post-war growth of industry and trade generally is slowly compelling the mines to accept the stabilization of their labor and to reduce, however reluctantly, their dependence on migrants. Making a virtue of this anticipated necessity, the Anglo-American Corporation wanted recently to build quarters for married men in the new goldfields opening up in the Orange Free State. At present, however, Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in Dr. Malan's Cabinet, is hostile to the idea. He is afraid that African workers living permanently in urban areas will learn too much too quickly.

If wise policies are not yet pursued in African mining areas, it is not for want of knowledge or direction. Twenty years ago, when the copper belt was beginning production, the Merle Davis commission, which included two Americans, described the social problems connected with this economic development. In 1946 the Labor government's Colonial Office in London issued a White Paper on colonial mining policy, full of admirable sentiments: "The rate of development and exploitation should have regard to social as well as economic considerations. . . . Provision should be made for the indigenous people to fit themselves for the highest technical and administrative posts. . . . An adequate share of the proceeds of mining should be retained in a colony." Public ownership of mineral rights and royalties should be properly safeguarded. But these noble principles have rarely, if ever, received from colonial governments and mining corporations more than the tribute of a smile—or a shudder. The White Paper has been buried and forgotten.

No more than other people will Africans be handed human rights and fundamental freedoms on a platter by benevolent foreign rulers and investors. World opinion can no doubt play its part, but in the long run the world helps those who help themselves. The hopeful fact is that African faces are turned in the right direction for progress and African feet have begun to stumble along the hard, winding road that leads to the summit where racial freedom and social justice are plainly visible.

THE CONGO TRAGEDY

The Americans' Early Role . . *by Robert Wuliger*

London

THE situation in the Belgian Congo is the direct outgrowth of the region's history. In 1876, Leopold II of Belgium organized and assumed the presidency of the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa. When Stanley, the great African explorer, was unable to interest British capital or officialdom in the lower Congo, he turned to Leopold, who sent him back to Africa to stake claims for the association. A few years later the United States recognized the association as an "independent state." Bismarck's Berlin conference of 1885, summoned to straighten out European conflicts in Africa, admitted Leopold's claims but called for free trade, the "moral well-being" of the natives, and suppression of the slave trade. King Leopold's "exclusive mission" it declared, was "to introduce civilization and trade into the center of Africa." Thus the black sheep of the Coburg family became trustee for one million square miles of African territory and guardian of some twenty million Africans.

By 1892 Leopold's drive for rubber and ivory had established an imperialism that was to become and remain the worst —because it was the biggest and richest —in Africa. Soon protests began to boil up from missionaries, muscled-out merchant-adventurers, reformers. Stanley was nauseated; Sir Charles Dilke, an enlightened imperialist, tried to stir up British opinion; the New York *Nation* spoke.

In February, 1904, the British Foreign

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Office released the report of its consul at Boma, Roger Casement, corroborating and augmenting tales that most middle- and upper-class Europeans had refused to believe. Casement described the forced labor by which European fortunes were being made, to be invested in enterprises depending on more forced labor in China, South America, and elsewhere. The grandfathers of the Africans who today swing picks, operate Bucyrus-Erie buckets, handle air hammers, and drive trucks in the Congo mines had to gather their quotas of rubber from the wild vines or have their hands chopped off, their genitals severed, their villages burned down, their children murdered. The grandmothers of the women who today pick the cotton, work on Lever Brothers' oil-palm plantations, and bring their children to the church schools to be taught what is considered good for them were tortured, murdered, raped, and driven into brothels for King Leopold's native soldiers or his white agents. Villages were wiped out, the land was expropriated, the communal society was destroyed. Roger Casement, who knew Africa from twenty years earlier, estimated a decline in population of three million by 1904. During the next eight years there was an estimated loss of at least another three million.

A vigorous movement for Congo reform now grew up in England. It was headed by E. D. Morel, an energetic, courageous humanitarian who fought Leopold's immense political machine for eight years. When it seemed, in 1906, as if Morel might be able to enlist American cooperation, one of Leopold's American advertising agents, an ex-patent-medicine lawyer named Henry Wellington Wack, suggested that for safety's sake it might be well to cut in some big American money. J. P. Morgan met Leopold at Dover. Thomas Fortune Ryan and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., saw him at Brussels. In November, 1906, Ryan's and Daniel Guggenheim's American Congo Company obtained a ninety-nine-year option to collect rubber "and other vegetable products" over 4,000 square miles, plus a ten-year option to buy 2,000 square miles of territory. (In 1921 the company traded the forest monopoly rights for full title to 386 square miles and ninety-one years' exclusive rights to mines discovered in additional territory—where it found diamonds.)

American financiers also organized the Société Internationale Forestière et Minière du Congo, known as Forminière, which obtained a ninety-nine-year monopoly on all mines discovered within six years in a district covering half the Congo Free State. King Leopold and his Belgian bankers and collaborators cut themselves in for big slices in every concession and option.

HEARST'S New York *American* of December 10-14, 1906, printed the whole story, along with exposés of Belgian bribes to Representatives and Senators, of Belgian academic front-men sent on lecture junkets to hoodwink American professors, of the use of the Roman Catholic hierarchy—including Cardinal Gibbons, who later recanted—to dignify the racket. August Belmont had represented Leopold for a while but apparently missed out on the big thing. According to the *American*, the principal members of the United States group were Ryan, James D. Stillman, Edward B. Aldrich (son of Nelson W. Aldrich, Republican leader in the Senate, and brother of Winthrop W. Aldrich, Mr. Eisenhower's ambassador to the Court of St. James's), the Guggenheim brothers, J. P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Rockefeller denied membership. Another source adds John Hays Hammond and Harry Payne Whitney to the participants. "Ryan and his associates, by the mere purchase of stock," said the *American*, "thus became part rulers over an empire larger than all of New England, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and half of Pennsylvania."

Morel's agitation for Congo reform, which had behind it most of the British press, the Anglican and Non-Conformist churches, the majority of intellectuals and labor, was also supported by Belgian liberals and labor. In addition, by 1914 the growth of plantation rubber, the collapse of world prices, and King Leopold's wasteful methods of collection had finished the Congo wild-rubber industry. By this time, however, Katanga copper had begun to yield its fabulous riches, and tin, diamonds, gold, silver, tungsten, manganese, uranium, palm oil, timber, and coffee were on the way. Since then the tyranny of King Leopold has given way to a "benevolent despotism" under which Congo labor enjoys many benefits—but neither political freedom nor a chance for higher education.

The proletariat of the Congo compounds is still the Achilles heel of the "free world." For every white man in the Belgian Congo there are 208 blacks, each a human being, with wants, feelings, and ambitions. So far the Bantu drive for opportunity has been kept in check by rigid police methods combined with a number of economic concessions. But American soldiers stationed in the Congo during the war taught the natives that there was a third class of human beings besides masters and helots—democrats; just as British tommies who shared cigarettes with Kikuyus helped to crack tradition in Kenya.

Nationalist rumblings from the Gold Coast, Tunisia, Morocco, and Natal have been heard in the Congo. Mau Mau crosses borders. Asian revolution is not an Asian secret. Many African students attend European universities, and some of them return home. The golden age of colonial exploitation is beginning to fade in the Congo as elsewhere in Africa.

AFRICA'S PRODUCTION
OF STRATEGIC MATERIAL

	1937	*1951*
Antimony	1,400	18,551
Bauxite	51,000*	35,000
Chrome	210,800	396,300
Cobalt	3,000	7,109
Copper	423,600	550,500
Lead	52,100	149,900
Manganese	591,900	948,000
Tungsten	300	581
Uranium	(figures not available)	
Zinc	37,000**	158,900**

*1942
**Includes North Africa

Source: World Economic Reports of the United Nations.

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The French Presidential Election

Paris, December 21

AS THIS is cabled, the new President of France has not yet been named. But the real significance of the voting is not to be found in the final result but in the ballots which preceded it. Why did Georges Bidault, chairman of the M. R. P., receive so small a vote in the first ballot? Because for many years his party has been largely responsible for a foreign policy the wisdom of which is gravely doubted by many sections of both the right and the left. Why did Naegelen, who belongs to a Socialist Party which officially supports E. D. C., and who has been under bitter criticism for his former governorship of Algeria, remain Laniel's most dangerous rival until the last minute? Because Naegelen, like Jules Moch, Daniel Mayer, and others among the Socialists, are critical of their own party's stand on E. D. C.

Versailles witnessed a revolt against a foreign policy whose only justification, the fear that the Russians might one day march into France, has disappeared. The balloting also represented a revolt against Anglo-American treatment of France as a second-rate power. Neither Dulles nor Eisenhower nor Churchill, all of whom sought to hurry France into ratification, succeeded in budging those Frenchmen who want no part of a foreign policy which is dictated from any foreign quarter.

The merit of Versailles was that it etched these basic problems even more sharply than did the Assembly debate which preceded the Bermuda conference. The Gaullist Senator Michel Deprès put it bluntly: "Even if the treaty [the E. D. C.] is ratified, that will not be the end of the agitation; it will only be the beginning." It would be wrong to say that the European army alone, and not the usual play of politics, determined developments at Versailles. But the rearmament of Germany dominated the voting to the point where France's new President will have to keep it forever in mind.

The new President will not have an easy job. As soon as he takes office he will face extremely serious problems of foreign and domestic policy. In the domestic sphere, he will have to deal with a working class grown more and more resentful over an economic situation marked by continued low wages and high prices. The only way to put the French economy on a healthy basis would be to carry out an economic plan along the intelligent lines proposed by Pierre Mendès-France and inspired by far-reaching ideas of social justice. Along with other reforms, such a plan would include heavy cuts in military expenditures, both for the war in Indo-China and the demands of NATO. In the sphere of foreign policy, pressure for a radical change is sure to increase in 1954 and in the years to come. The European army, so far as France is concerned, is already dead. A decision will be taken next spring; but the Kremlin will have to make many blunders to create enough opinion favorable to E. D. C. to bring about its ratification.

THE ACTUAL state of affairs is in direct conflict with current official declarations. The new President will have to take into account the general demand for a foreign policy directed above all toward preventing the military resurgence of Germany. The more the other Atlantic partners press France to accept a rearmed Germany the more the French are turning toward their traditional alliances. Moscow understands the French mood very well and is taking advantage of popular resentment over the treatment of the French representatives at Bermuda to appeal for vitalization of the Franco-Soviet pact of 1944. Numerous signs indicate that Moscow has decided not to spare any effort to attract France to its side in a common front against the rearmament of Germany.

France feels that it was treated like a naughty child at Bermuda. The furor in the French National Assembly during the debate on the European army was brushed aside and the support of German rearmament considerably strengthened. France, so anxious to put an end to its costly sacrifices in the Far East, was told not only to get on with the Indo-Chinese war but to step up its effort. French diplomacy, which has always doubted the wisdom of the American policy of "liberation," saw this policy sanctioned, however indirectly, in a document signed by all three Western powers. "The Bermuda communiqué," H. de Garland writes in this week's *Observateur*, "could have been signed by James Burnham instead of Laniel."

While the new President was being elected, senators, deputies, and everybody exercising any influence in French political life were affected by a world situation dominated by two contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, international tension has undoubtedly diminished; on the other, the potential gravity of the outlook is increased by the attitude of Mr. Dulles and the growing American emphasis on atomic strategy. These factors, together with the Bermuda communiqué, were ill calculated to prepare the ground for an enthusiastic reception by Moscow of President Eisenhower's proposal of an atomic-energy pool. However, Russia's cool reaction to the proposal does not mean, in the opinion of sharp observers, that the Kremlin may not one day accept it as a basis of discussion. Much will depend on the course taken by the Berlin conference.

While this uncertainty persists France has a mission of conciliation to perform. In spite of Bermuda the French can exercise decisive power over the future structure and policy of Western Europe. They can tilt the balance one way or the other in Western dealings with both Germany and Russia. Whether the election of December 17 will be viewed as a piece of good fortune or bad largely depends on the success with which France undertakes this mission in the months ahead.

BOOKS

A Testament for Our Time

THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES. Volume I. *THE FIRST THOUSAND DAYS, 1933-1936.* Simon and Schuster. $6.

By Bruce Catton

THERE probably is very little chance that the soothsayers of the Eisenhower Administration will look for lessons, guiding principles, or significant texts in the writings of the late Harold Ickes. The Administration is heading away from the Ickes tradition as fast as it can travel, and if its assault on the Department of the Interior has stopped short of actually dismantling the department's building, it has not stopped far short of anything else. The Ickes doctrine was fairly rigid, and it could not easily be adapted to the requirements of the Great Crusade.

So it is improbable that the upper echelon in the present Administration will bother to read the exasperating, fascinating, and profoundly enlightening diary which has just been published, and it seems a pity. For while Mr. Ickes's ideas on water power, the public domain, and the use which the private citizen is entitled to make of his federal government would hardly be comprehensible to any of the officials now in Washington, his discussion of the basic technique required of a successful government executive is something this Administration could read with profit.

Mr. Ickes was the Great Curmudgeon to be sure, he was the sardonic gifted phrase-maker who made everybody mad at him, he was the very archetype of the public servant who carries undeviating honesty almost to the point of excess; but the thing that so often gets overlooked about the man is that on top of everything else he was a prodigious political asset to the New Deal—the most solid and enduring asset, probably, that it ever had in the Cabinet. And the point is that he became such an asset, not merely because he was consistently on the side of the people as opposed to the big interests—the New Deal had many men who stayed courageously on that side but remained political liabilities rather than assets—but also because he was first, last, and all the time a superb government administrator.

The distinction is worth making. The qualities that make a successful administrator in Washington are not easy to tabulate. Perhaps they are tabulated differently by different men; certainly they are not merely the qualities that bring success to an executive in a large industrial corporation. They include driving force, organizing ability, the other familiar executive virtues; but also they must include a certain be-damned-to-you quality, a cold courage which enables its possessor to hew to the line he has laid out for himself regardless of the consequences, a stubborn insistence that the man to whom responsibility has been given must have and must constantly exercise the authority which goes with responsibility.

AN ADMINISTRATION which seems forever anxious to disarm its opponents by an excessive amiability could profitably study how Mr. Ickes did it. For instance: the year 1933 had not ended before Mr. Ickes was colliding with powerful members of his own party, in the executive and legislative branches, who wanted to tell him how to staff and operate the Department of the Interior. He refused to knuckle under to them, and in his diary he wrote:

> If I permit some of these politicians to get the idea that they can shove me around, they will not only do it but others will join them in the exercise. After all, so long as I am head of this department I am going to run it, subject only to the President's expressed wishes. I don't propose to take any orders from Assistant Secretaries or Secretaries, or United States Senators.

He had just been having a brush with Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, an extremely powerful man who was both willing and able to make life tough for an Interior Secretary who defied him, and who wrote Mr. Ickes a letter saying about as much. In his diary the Secretary remarked:

> He will be much less likely to make trouble if he knows that I am not only able but willing to fight back than if I take such a letter as he wrote me lying down.

As Public Works Administrator, Ickes had trouble with important Democratic governors. Governor Ely of Massachusetts, for instance, in the summer of 1933 was demanding that all municipal public-works projects in Massachusetts be funneled through the state government, on the ground that municipalities were simply the creatures of the state and that the federal government was little more. Ely called, long-distance, to argue the point: "He became pretty angry . . . and told me that he would take a public position against the federal government if I persisted in my opposition. I told him to go ahead."

Washington
D.C

Harold L. Ickes

A good administrator must not only repel encroachments from without; he must constantly be ready to assert the integrity of his control within the national Administration and within his own organization. Before he could make the Public Works Administration effective Mr. Ickes had to knock down the ears of his advisory board, which showed a tendency to try to decide things for him. He had to whittle his own deputy down to size when that official began assuming control over the organization. And he had to go to the White House, posthaste, to do battle when the Budget Director and Comptroller General ob-

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tained an executive order giving them a veto power over approved public-works projects. He got the order rescinded.

Now there was a great deal more to all of this than simply living up to the curmudgeon likeness which this irascible man had created for himself. In actions like these Mr. Ickes was fighting for the ability to do a decent job. He won his fight, and during the next twelve years he won many more like them, and as a result there never was the slightest question in any government operation presided over by Mr. Ickes about who was boss. He was, and it was always perfectly clear that whenever he could no longer run his own show he would get out. Unquestionably, he was often a sore trial to his associates in the Cabinet; but in the end, simply because he understood so clearly what it takes to do a government job properly, he was a political asset of very solid proportions.

Which is a lesson that could profitably be studied in Washington today. The men who might study it would have no use at all for most of the things Mr. Ickes tried to do, but they could learn much by examining the way he did them.

In the Ickes creed, for instance, there would be no attempt to appease a destructive Senator by letting him put his own men in key spots in a department he was attacking. Officials of Cabinet or near-Cabinet rank would not be rushing to and fro, vibrant with anxiety, to issue joint statements with their most malignant critics. The Administration as a whole would not be driven to the fatuity of trying to overshadow McCarthy by adopting McCarthy's tactics. The Ickes creed was simpler, and infinitely more effective—"he will be much less likely to make trouble if he knows that I am not only able but willing to fight back."

For the instructive thing about the Ickes way of doing things is that it pays off politically. It works; people like it; courage and uncompromising integrity have an enduring sheen which—who knows?—might even come through on television. Mr. Ickes understood that in American politics you get lasting popularity not by seeking it but by doing a job. When Hugh Johnson was resigning as NRA head, Mr. Ickes made a comment that seems contemporary:

> The first part of his job he did well. . . . He aroused enthusiasm throughout the country, he was a past master at carrying on the type of ballyhoo campaign that was necessary . . . but when it came to settling down to administrative work he seemed to be a total loss. He never appeared to be able to get out of his head that it wasn't all to be ballyhoo. He was so used to streaming headlines on the front pages of the papers that he had to keep reaching for these headlines.

All in all, this fantastic diary—fantastic not merely for frankness, but for its prodigious length—is a testament of uncommon value for our time. Unfortunately, it probably will never be read by the men who could most quickly profit by it.

The Black Man Awakens

STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA. By Vernon Bartlett. Frederick A. Praeger. $3.95.

By Ernest B. Kalibala

MR. BARTLETT has done a commendable job in "The Struggle for Africa." This is not as simple as it sounds, for there are three sides to the struggle—the two hundred million blacks, the four million whites in Africa, and the Western world. The major trouble with the book is that it is weighted down by historical considerations, mostly bearing on South Africa, many of which are of no immediate importance to the struggle.

In the foreword the reader is told that the information on which the author based his conclusions was obtained from existing "official" documents, colonial administrators, and European settlers. In the list of consultants no black Africans are included. This means that what is said of the African's side is said about him, for him, but not by him. The author, a brilliant Englishman, has found it rather difficult to present an impartial thesis.

The collapse of the European empires in Asia and the subsequent nationalistic demands in Africa are the major problems facing the West, particularly the United States and the United Nations. Mr. Bartlett has made an honest attempt to assess the second, but his treatment leaves the reader just about where he started. The discussion covers such a large territory, encompassing a whole range of multiform problems, that it fails to analyze the basic factors behind the new and emerging Africa.

For the sake of a background the reader should recall the three important periods of Africa's varied relationship with Europe and the white man. The first period covers the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which the European powers explored and colonized Africa. Each European power joined in the "scramble" for African territory and wealth. The use of the word "scramble" as contrasted with "struggle" is important, revealing a profound disrespect for human dignity. This period was characterized by its inhuman approach; the black man was treated as part of Africa's "raw material"—pure and simple.

The second period covered part of the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. The campaign of "scramble" terminated in the peaceful partition of Africa. The European powers, meeting in Berlin in 1884, agreed to divide Africa into spheres of influence and let each power exploit its particular area. After the partition a ruthless campaign to exploit the people, land, and raw materials of Africa was undertaken, lasting until the middle of the twentieth century. Mr. Bartlett's "Struggle for Africa" deals with this third and the most difficult of the periods in which Africa has had a formal relationship with Europe.

With the advent of the second half of the twentieth century, Africa finds itself, as Mr. Bartlett eloquently states, in the world spotlight. The black man has awakened from his slumber and has initiated a mass movement for the purpose of recovering his land and his human dignity. However, from the data in Mr. Bartlett's book the reader will not be able to assess the gravity and the importance of this struggle, especially

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ERNEST B. KALIBALA is a native of Uganda. He took his doctorate at Harvard University and served for four years as area specialist for the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, later becoming representative for Africa in the Technical Assistance Administration. In 1946 he published a book, "Wakaima and the Clay Man."

making, replete with fuzzy, smog-colored photography, actors who look as if they could use a more robust way of life, and a choppy story line. Carol Reed's man hunt in post-war Berlin is more entertaining than any other current film, but it seems a case of a good director standing still, relying a bit too much on clichés. The scratchy photography of wintry European streets has become an accepted synonym for good naturalistic lens work.

Reed saves his melodrama with innumerable tricks that give "The Man Between" a certain amount of sentiment, humor, and photographic interest. Mason's thin body and dental work are made into touching items, as though they were brought on by impoverishing war conditions. His brief affair with Miss Bloom, carried on over rooftops, in fleeing automobiles, and up and down a ragged-looking construction job, is constantly turned away from the mechanics of a chase melodrama into something more tender and interesting. It is done with techniques that remind you of "The African Queen." All the mismatching qualities in Bloom and Mason are emphasized in ways that add schmaltz and a bit of truth to their love affair. Where Bogart was forever being comically expert with his broken-down steamboat, Mason shows off in various ways as a Berlin gadabout. To the long-winded conversations that recall Huston's film Reed adds his own pattern-happy talent with a camera and a light comic touch that he has not used since his low-budget days. All in all, an ingratiating movie.

Records

B. H. Haggin

HERE is a report on recent piano recordings:

A group of engaging Scarlatti sonatas, the pleasant Handel Suite No. 5 (with the "Harmonious Blacksmith" variations), and the—to me—uninteresting Bach Partita No. 6 are played with his usual finesse by Gieseking (Columbia).

The best two of the Scarlatti group, L. 23 and 413, are played also by Lipatti with more enlivening inflection; and his beautiful playing of his instrument and of music are wasted on Ravel's "Alborada del gracioso" and Liszt's Sonetto del Petrarco No. 104 (Columbia).

Mozart's fine Sonata K.448 for two pianos is played deftly by Luboshutz and Nemenoff on a record with some less consequential pieces (Remington).

One of Mozart's lesser sonatas, the popular K.331, and the best-known and engaging Nos. 1 and 7 of Haydn are played agreeably by Leonid Hambro (Remington).

On a record with Gieseking's fine performance of Schumann's "Carnaval" are a post-war performance of Mozart's little Sonata K.545 which makes a lovely thing of this ubiquitous student piece, and the 1938 performance of the Sonata K.457, whose dubbed sound is good (Columbia).

Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations are played by Julius Katchen with complete technical adequacy and musical sensitiveness which produce satisfying statements of all but the few variations that give the work its stature: No. 20, in which Beethoven's mind attains one of the remotest points in those "strange seas of thought" Sullivan speaks of; and the powerfully expressive Nos. 29 and 31, which call for more powerful inflection (London). I suppose the few still, distant chords that follow the vehement fugue of No. 32 and are followed by the concluding apotheosis of No. 33 are an example of what to Horowitz's ears is a mere groping for something that is not achieved—and what in fact is writing that realizes with precision a meaning beyond Horowitz's understanding.

Schubert's lovely Sonata Op. 42 gets a performance by Kempff that tends to make delicate and small what—by the evidence of Schubert's directions—should be strong and large (London).

Menahem Pressler plays the "Pagodes" of Debussy's "Estampes" very beautifully, the "Soirée dans Grenade" without suppleness and grace, the "Jardins sous la pluie" more adequately. On the same record are the Suite bergamasque and other sugary early pieces and "La

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fille aux cheveux de lin," over which Pressler gets excessively sentimental (MGM).

Gieseking's excellent pre-war performances of "Estampes," sounding a little dim, and dubbed from noisy copies, have been put on a record with the recently issued performances of Debussy's "Images" (Columbia; with the pre-war performance of Ravel's "Gaspard de la nuit").

Perhaps Stravinsky's Concerto (1935) and Sonata (1941) for two pianos call for drier and sharper playing than Bartlett and Robertson's; but of what I heard I liked only the variation movement of the concerto. The humorously discordant Trois Pièces faciles (1915) and Cinq Pièces faciles (1917) are also on the record (MGM).

There is no mistaking the mastery that operates in the fitting together of the sounds in Copland's Piano Variations (1930) and Piano Sonata (1941); but as at previous hearings the ear-battering fitted-together sounds say nothing to me. Less original but more communicative is the Passacaglia (1922). Webster Aitken's performances seem excellent (Walden).

Janacek's piano music, played well by Firkusny, I find uninteresting (Columbia). And the same for the organ pieces by modern composers played by Richard Elsasser (MGM).

The adaptation of the curved violin bow of Bach's time that Rolph Schroeder uses in his performances of Bach's six Sonatas and Partitas for solo violin enables him to produce chords and to play the music without the distentions necessitated by the modern bow; but the tone is less smooth, clear, and luminous—which is to say less attractive—than the tone produced with the modern bow. The performances are in excellent musical taste (Columbia).

I cared little for Prokofiev's Violin Sonata Op. 94 a few years ago, and even less for Op. 80; but listening to them again as played very well by Stern and Zakin I have found the first movement of Op. 80 more substantial and impressive this time, and the Andante movement and the lyric episode of the finale very lovely. Op. 94 still seems to me facile, except for the powerful episode in the finale that is reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C (Columbia).

On the other hand Bartok's Quartets Nos. 2 and 6, when I heard them again recently, still conveyed no meaning to me except for the obvious humor of the Burletta movement of No. 6. The occasion was the first of Alexander Schneider's series of chamber music concerts in Circle at the Square; and while the set-up of a small audience seated around and close to the players was very pleasant, one discovered that the little chairs were less comfortable for prolonged listening than the seats in a concert hall and the ventilation much worse than in the hall (two Bartok quartets in succession made these things especially noticeable), and one wondered whether is was because the tone of the Budapest Quartet was not being enriched by the resonating effect of a stage set that it was dry and unattractive. In all other respects, of course, the playing in the Bartok quartets and Beethoven's Op. 135 was superb.

In Town Hall a few days earlier the sound of the New Music Quartet was extraordinarily beautiful; and there were all the other qualities of first-rate ensemble playing in the service of the highest musicianship to make its performance of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet one of the finest in my experience. A quartet by d'Arriaga (1806-1826), the novelty of the concert, was not worth the playing lavished on it; nor was Ravel's Quartet.

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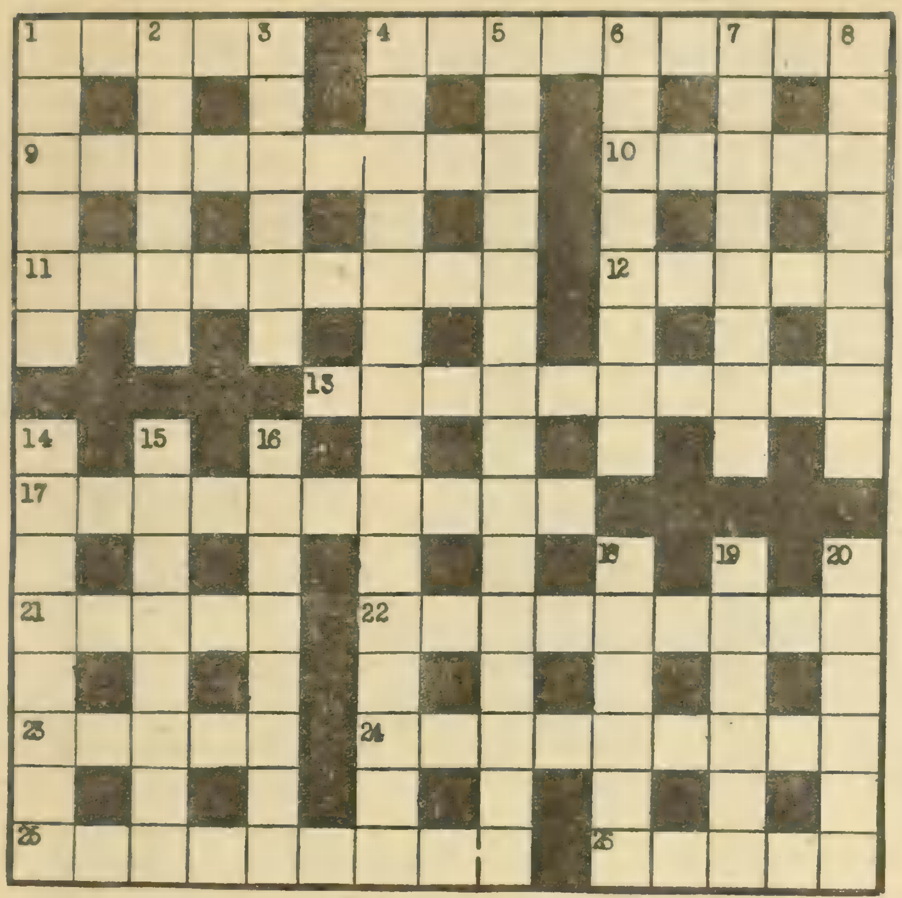

ACROSS

1 The shield of Zeus. (5)
4 Teller, found near court. (9)
9, 12 and 19 down. Enegidni? (3, 6, 2, 3, 6)
10 Turner might be a big shot in the office. (5)
11 He doesn't hold title. (9)
12 See 9.
13 The mistress has a talk with a legendary fair one. (10)
17 It's Sir Paul's music! (10)
21 The oldest one's father. (5)
22 The birthday M. composed a wild song. (9)
23 Ethan's title in Scotland. (5)
24 Only their opposite sides are equal. (9)
25 Red, as seen under the window, perhaps. (9)
26 As Fluellen said, "Ay, _____ is good." (5)

DOWN

1 Onset at [illegible] change of course. (6)
2 And taken as a matter of course in more ways than one! (6)
3 Such an 11 is not likely to lose the first beginning of 4. (6)
4 Ought to be found in a sort rode under those with their blades pointing down? (5-10)
5 A word of caution confused by Al Strong. (15)
6 This symphony doesn't signify the kind Hitler would have created. (3, 5)
7 Thrilling — perhaps, even shocking! (8)
8 Not quite delivered from pain, perhaps? (8)
14 Mineral, like finest bone. (8)
15 Changed into [illegible] rum sort of creature. (8)
16 A full course probably contains this 2. (8)
18 A sure sign it sounds like brass! (6)
19 See 9 across.
20 Sailors wrecked in the stormy sea. (6)

~•~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 546

ACROSS:—1 and 6 CARPENTER'S MATE; 10 ROASTED; 12 BETRAYED; 13 DANTE; 15 and 11 ON THE UP AND UP; 17 ENDANGERS; 19 SMALL ARMS; 21 ARSON; 23 STRAP; 27 NULLITY; 28 YTTRIUM; 29 ERNE; 30 BEAR GARDEN.

DOWN:—1 CARP; 2 REAGENT; 3 ESTER; 4 TEDDY BEAR; 5 ROUND; 7 ANDANTE; 8 EXPRESSING; 9 BANDANNA; 14 HORSE SENSE; 16 ELLIPSIS; 18 DESTROYER; 20 and 24 APRIL IN PORTUGAL; 22 SEA BIRD; 24 PAYEE; 25 ULTRA; 26 OMEN.

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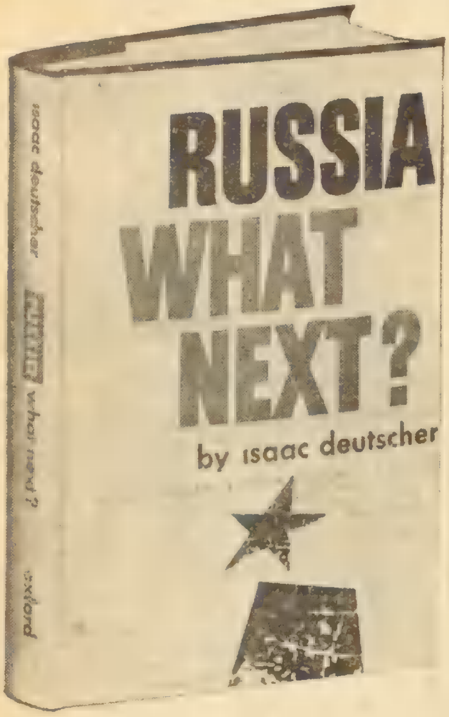

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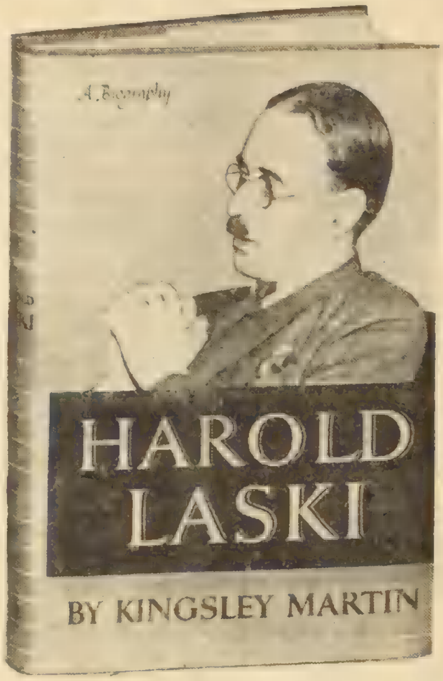

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